



Ecclesiastical Memorials;
Relating chiefly to
RELIGION,
AND THE
REFORMATION of it,
And the **EMERGENCIES** of the
Church of **ENGLAND,**
UNDER
King **Henry** VIII. King **Edward** VI.
and Queen **Mary** the First.

ALL WHICH

Being New, and Such as have hitherto Escaped our Writers
and Historians, will Communicate much more Light to
those great Transactions in this Kingdom :

AND MORE OVER

Discover further the Inclinations and Influences of the respective Princes ;
The Embassies and Correspondencies with Foreign Potentates and States,
chiefly with respect to Religion: The Oppositions made to it ; The Troubles
and Persecutions of the Professors of it: The Tempers, Practices and
Events of the Two Cardinals, **WOLSEY** and **POLE**, and other Prelates
and Great Men of Both Parties, in the respective Reigns : Besides, Accounts
of Convocations, Royal and Episcopal Visitations, Ecclesiastical Constitu-
tions, Books from time to time set forth ; with various other Matters
worthy of Note and Observation.

In **THREE VOLUMES.**

With a Large **APPENDIX** to each Volume, containing
Original Papers, Records, &c.

PSALM CXLV. 4, 7.

*One Generation shall praise thy Works unto another : and declare thy Power.
The **MEMORIAL** of thine abundant Kindness shall be shewed : and Men shall
sing of thy Righteousness.*

By **JOHN STURPE**, M. A.

L O N D O N:

Printed for **JOHN WYAT**, at the **Rose** in St **Paul's** Church-yard.
MDCCXXI.

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Ecclesiastical Memorials;

Relating chiefly to

RELIGION,

AND THE

REFORMATION of it :

Shewing the various EMERGENCIES of the

Church of *ENGLAND*,

UNDER

King *HENRY* the Eighth.

WITH

REMARKS and OBSERVATIONS made
occasionally, of Persons in Church and State,
of Eminent Note in that King's Reign.

And particularly

Of the Two *English* Cardinals,

WOLSEY and *POLE*.

VOLUME I.

By *JOHN STRYPE*, M. A.

L O N D O N :

Printed for JOHN WYAT, at the *Rose* in *St. Paul's Church-yard*.
MDCCXXI.

TO THE

Most Reverend Father in GOD,

WILLIAM,

By the Divine Providence,

Lord Archbishop of CANTERBURY,

Primate of all *England*, and Metropolitan;

AND

One of His MAJESTY'S most Honourable
Privy-Council.

May it please Your GRACE,



THAT I, with your Favour and License, Dedicate these ECCLESIASTICAL MEMORIALS to your *Grace*, is not with Intent, that You should countenance and defend all that is contained in them, or patronize the frail and fallible Author; nor yet this way to recommend my Work to the World; nor for any other mercenary Ends; as have been not unusual in Dedications to Persons of great Figure and Eminence: But indeed, to speak the Truth, that both the Author and his Book may receive an Honour and Ornament from so Great and Venerable a Name, as your *Grace's* is.

A 2

Your

Your Grace will not regard so much the private Writer, as the Gravity and Importance of the Subjects treated of: Being Matters historical of this Noble Kingdom; and chiefly, and most designedly, the Ecclesiastical Affairs and Transactions throughout the Reigns of Three Princes successively: Wherein Religion met with so many remarkable Changes, and Struggles; till at last, by the good Providence of God over-ruling the Counsels and Contrivances of Men, the Church of *England* was purged from many gross Errors in Doctrine, and inveterate Superstitions in Worship; and a happy Reformation at length effected. The Accounts whereof are so large, that besides what other Historians have writ, many more Notices remain in the divers Records and Archives of our Kingdom, to amplify this Illustrious Part of *English* History. And from faithful Collections thence, I have endeavoured to make farther Discoveries of these very weighty Concerns.

And perhaps, it may be no improper Matter of Contemplation to your *Grace*, in your high Place and Calling, in order to your Government of this Church under His Majesty King GEORGE, to observe the Method and Course taken in those Times, in the Cause of Religion, by holy Divines and Bishops, and especially your Incomparable Predecessor, Archbishop CRANMER: Who by his Wisdom, Learning and Pains, was so active and successful in reforming and restoring Religion in the Two former Princes Reigns; and which cost him

him his Blood in the Third. But we that live in these Times (unceasing Thanks be to God) enjoy the Benefit of their Labours and Sufferings.

And now nothing seems to be wanting to perfect this our Reformation, but (which I am sure is one of your *Grace's* chief Cares) a sweet Union and Concord among us, who still have this mighty Blessing of the Reformed Religion: That *with one Mind, and one Mouth, we may glorify God*; according to the Apostle's Advice to one of his Churches: And, that *there may be no Divisions among us, but that we may be perfectly joined together in the same Mind, and in the same Judgment*; as he exhorted another too sadly divided Church. And whatever Endeavours have been made to bring this desirable Thing to pass by Disputations, and Argumentations, or otherwise; methinks, the reading and pondering well these Ecclesiastical Histories, might be of considerable Influence towards the effecting it. Wherein is related, by what Measures the Reformation was carried on; and what Able and Excellent Men were employed therein; and with what Thanksgiving and Gladness it was universally received. For the godly Reformers, the great Transactors of this heavenly Work, were Wise, Learned, and Holy Men, Sufferers many of them, and Martyrs for the Cause. Who set themselves impartially to purge this Church of all its former Superstition, Idolatry, Corruption, and false Doctrine: And who made the Word of God, revealed in the Sacred Scripture,

Rom. xv. 6.

1 Cor. i. 10.

Scripture, the only Rule they made use of in this great Undertaking: And consulted also with the most Eminent Reformers of the Churches Abroad. And how infinitely joyful were all good Men then in the Restoration of the Gospel, and the Freedom to profess it? And how unanimously did they join together in the publick Service of God, then established?

These Things, I say, which are largely told in some Parts of these Volumes, might serve to reconcile, in all peaceable Spirits, an Esteem for this Church of *England*, and for the Worship and Service performed in it: Being nothing but what we see was exercised in the first and happy Establishment of it under King *Edward* the VIth: And which cost so many Years, and so much Pains and Blood. And I pray God, these, and such like Writings, may produce such good Effect.

But, my Lord, I dare not detain your *Grace* any longer, after I have recommended this my Labour to the charitable Censure of your *Grace*, and all other Pious and Judicious Readers: Being,

May it please Your GRACE,

Your GRACE's most Humble Servant,

JOHN STRYPE.

T H E P R E F A C E.



THESE MEMORIALS, respecting chiefly Religion, and the Reformation of it in this Kingdom in former Times, the Author had composed and fitted for the Press divers Years ago. But thought fit to lay them aside for a Time; and to begin rather with what he had writ of the Lives and Acts of the Four First Protestant Archbishops of Canterbury; as shewing therein the Beginning, Progress, Opposition, and Establishment of the said happy Reformation, in a continued History, under the Influence of those most worthy Confessors and Prelates. Nor did he think it convenient to burden those Books, which were large enough of themselves, by inserting those MEMORIALS into them, which would have rendred them too bulky, and less saleable: But rather chose to compile them into other Volumes by themselves, in due Time to follow the rest, in order to the rendring more compleat the former published Histories. This gave Occasion to their being suppressed hitherto.

But they being a Faithful Collection of many Important Matters which went before, accompanied, or immediately relating to, that great Work carrying on in the State, and well worthy to be known, the Author was willing and desirous, that they may now be recommended to the World; and that all that value our Church and Religion Reformed, and that are studious of this Sort of Antiquities, may enjoy them: And that they may be the more correctly set forth by himself, and have his Review, before his Death, which his great Age suggesteth cannot be far off. And he dares promise, that those Learned and Reverend Persons, who have approved and encouraged his former Pains and Studies, will not be disappointed in these now offered. And presumes, that the further Knowledge of this Part of English History will not be disagreeable to them, as well as it

may be useful and beneficial to those of this Church and Kingdom, and entertaining also to all Persons, inquisitive into the Transactions about Religion in those Critical Times, (so memorable, when the Corruptions of the Church and Churchmen began to be looked into) and the Progress made therein in those Three Reigns.

But I must let my Reader know, that I did not intend, when I took this Work in hand, to write a compleat Ecclesiastical History under those Three Supreme Governors of this Land, and of all the Occurrences and Events of Religion and the Church in their Reigns. For that hath been done, or endeavoured by some Historiographers already. Mine are only Ecclesiastical Memorials; and intended but to supply what hath been omitted by them, or to rectify some Mistakes, or Misrepresentations of Persons and Things: Or to fill up and enlarge Matters, more briefly or imperfectly related in our published Histories. Nor do I pretend to compleat those Writings. What I do is only to communicate to the World what I have of this Sort of History, out of my Store, and to digest these Notices in their proper Places, Chronologically from Year to Year, as they occurred. My Design being chiefly to bring to Light such further Particulars, as I have found in State-Papers, and Letters, and Records, and many other Original MSS. of the best Sort, after long and diligent Converse with them.

And that the Readers may be the better satisfied with what I have done in this Undertaking, and give the more Credit thereunto, I shall first shew them, with what Materials I have been furnished, and what Assistances I have had: And then, what Diligence, Care and Faithfulness I have used in the digesting of them into some Volumes.

These Memorials then are compiled from Transcripts by me taken out of divers Libraries of MSS. the choicest in the Kingdom; to which I obtained Access. Whereof one was the Cotton Library. Several Volumes whereof I had the free Perusal of, and Liberty to transcribe from, by the Favour of Sir John Cotton, Bart. then the Possessor thereof, at his own House. Such another Library, consisting of MSS. is that belonging to Bennet College in Cambridge; being the Collections of that famous Antiquarian, Matthew Parker, sometime Archbishop of Canterbury. To which I had Access by the Favour of Dr. Spenser, sometime Master of that House. Dr. John More, some-
time

Time Bishop of Norwich, and after of Ely, by his great Industry and Charge made a very large and noble Collection of such Original Writings. From them also I had his Leave, and Encouragement to take Copies, as I thought good. And the rather, for our ancient Friendship and Acquaintance, and equal standing in the University. In the Paper-House at Westminster, are repositied a great Number of Papers of State. To this House I was also admitted by the Favour of Sir Joseph Williamson Kt. sometime Keeper of that Office; a Friend having first procured me a Licence from the Council Table directed to him, to admit me. The Honourable Mr. Harley, now the Right Honourable the Earl of Oxford and Mortymer, erected a Library stored with great Numbers of Papers of this Sort, at his House in York Buildings, while he lived a private Life there. I had his Favour then of free Access thereunto, and Liberty to transcribe. From whence also I made considerable Collections. Such a Treasurer up of choice Papers of State, and such like Originals, was William Petyt, Esq; late Keeper of the Tower Records, deceased. He also favoured me with free Access to them, remaining then in his Chambers in the Inner Temple: but now removed to a Library erected in the same Temple, for therepositing and preserving them. The Office of Heralds hath a Treasury of most valuable Papers: whence also by their continued Favour I have taken not a few Copies for my Turn. I have had also the Use of numerous MSS. of Ecclesiastical Affairs, sometime belonging to the famous Martyrologist, John Fox. And that by the Kindness of a Gentleman that was Executor to the said Fox's last Descendant, deceased. I have had the Perusal of divers notable State-Letters, or of more private Correspondence between Persons of the highest Rank and Quality in Church and Court, preserved in the House of a Gentleman of Quality, descended from a Secretary of the Lord Treasurer Burghley under Queen Elizabeth.

Besides all which, I have had the Benefit of Correspondence with some Learned and accurate Men in the Universities: who furnished me with many useful Transcripts from some of the College Libraries, or from their own private Stores: And of one also from Canterbury; viz. the Reverend N. Battely, Vicar of Bekesborn, deceased, (whom I must never forget to mention with Gratitude and Respect) from whom I received not a few curious Things, taken from the Records and Antiquities of that Cathedral Church, as well

as elsewhere, as from the Council Books in those Reigns. But besides these, other worthy Persons have communicated choice Papers of this Nature, to encourage and enable my Studies in such Historical Notices concerning our Church and Churchmen in that Age of Reformation, in order to the publishing of what I have, or might hereafter do: as namely, the Right Reverend Francis Lord Bishop of Rochester lent me a Volume of Extracts from the Registers of our Convocations. Also, Mr. Thoresby of Leeds, Dr. Sampson, sometime a Physician in London, and Mr. Roger Morice, a Minister, deceased, gave the like Assurances.

And besides this Treasure of Collections from Libraries and Friends, I made Use of many Books antiently set forth: which are now so much out of Knowledge, that they may be held near equivalent to ancient MSS. whence many Remarks may be taken to illustrate and improve the History of those Times, both as to publick and private Transactions: and to recover the Knowledge of many Men of Figure, whether of the Laity or Clergy, of the City or Court; in the Times wherein these Memorials are concerned.

My Diligence also will in Part appear, in that I have made no Use of Transcribers and Amanuenses: or, that I saw not the Originals my self, but left it to the Care of others to take out thence: who oftentimes make Mistakes, Omissions, and false Writing of Letters and Words, to the spoiling and corrupting of the true Sense, sometimes by Negligence or too much Hastie, and sometimes for Want of Skill, and not knowing well the Manner of old Writing in the Shape of the Letters, or the Abbreviations commonly used in Times past. For the Prevention of which Inconveniencies, I writ all from the MSS. with mine own Pen, and with as much Care as I could; that whatsoever I transcribed might be exactly taken, both as to the Letter and Spelling.

I have been very careful not to repeat what I found already published, and appearing in Print; unless for the Causes above-mentioned. And therefore if any such Records, Letters or other Papers shall be found in these Volumes, they are for some good Reason inserted. Yet perhaps some very few may have slipped in without my Knowledge that they were elsewhere shewn: as I find there are One or Two in Bishop Burnet's Third Volume of his History of the Reformation.

I have

I have avoided Partiality, or relating Matters occurring, with a Favour to one Side, or Prejudice to another : And have made it my Course to set down Things as I met with them, on which Side, Party, Religion or Persuasion soever, the Persons concerned were : And generally, in the very Words of the Papers and Writings, where I found them.

I have noted the various Books that came forth from Year to Year, as I had seen, or met with them, of what Sort soever they were ; but chiefly, such as concerned Religion. Of these, for the better Instruction what they were, I have briefly told the Contents, Purposes and Subjects treated of ; gathered from the Epistles Dedicatory, or from the Prefaces, and sometimes the Heads of the Books themselves. Of which Books some were Popish, some Protestant, some Puritan, some Schismatical, or Heretical.

Remarks and Observations also are here made of divers Persons, whether of the Court or Clergy, whose Names occur in the Current of the History : scarce yet taken Notice of by our Historians : And they of Note in those Days ; whose Memory by this Time is in Effect lost and perished. And commonly received Opinions of others are occasionally rectified, and more truly represented : And their Words and Actions set in a truer Light.

Many considerable Notices are given, particularly of the Two English Cardinals in King Henry's Reign, with whom he had so much to do : which are scarcely met with elsewhere, so particularly and largely, as will be found in these Commentaries.

I need not mention the Profit and Use that may be made of them : but in short, the best Use of all is, That we of this Kingdom may gather hence abundant Cause to thank God, that hath cast our Lot in these Days, when after so many Years Pains and Struggles, so much Blood and Opposition, gross Ignorance of Religion, Superstition and Idolatry is removed ; and the saving Knowledge of God and his Word, and the free Profession of the Gospel in the Truth and Purity of it, is brought unto us. And wherein we may observe, how providentially things fell out by little and little, by unseen Causes, and sometimes unmeet Men, to bring to pass our Reformation.

I end this my Preface with the same good Counsel to my Readers, that J. Clement, a Preacher in King Edward's Days, and a Sufferer

Sufferer under Queen Mary, gave his, in the Beginning of a little Book of his, called, A Confession of his Faith, viz.

Put away Contention, and read with Discretion :
Try only by the Touchstone: Judge without Affection.

Excellent Rules for Readers, as well of Books of History as of Religion.

Written from *Low Leyton in Essex, August the first, 1721.*



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UNDER THE

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(c)

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Memorials Ecclesiastical,

Relating chiefly to the

Reformation of Religion, and the Emergencies
of the CHURCH of ENGLAND,

UNDER

King HENRY VIII.

B O O K I.

The INTRODUCTION.



PURPOSE in this Work (God assisting) to Digest in Order certain Historical Remarks of Important Matters, that occurred in the Age of the *Reformation*; such, especially, as relate to the Ecclesiastical State of this Kingdom: Taking them as they lye in Course of Time, through the Reigns of King *Henry VIII.* and of his Son and Daughter, King *Edward* and Queen *Mary*, successively.

To the end that many memorable Matters that I have met with, after long Converse with Ancient and Authentick Writings, either omitted wholly, or but imperfectly touched at by our Historiographers, may not be for ever lost, and irrecoverably perish. There are but very few who have made it their Task to write of the Transactions of this Church, and the Events of Religion in those Busy Times. And since those that have, there is a good After-Harvest to be gathered. And these my Gleanings, whatsoever they are, I was loth should be stifled and lye concealed within rough Papers, (as a Candle under a Bushel,) but serving, as I conjectured, for future Use and Benefit, I was willing they should see the Light. Wishing that others who have been Perusers of such Monuments and Originals, might be excited by my Example, to contribute also their Collections, to the Compiling of

a True and Perfect History of our Church in that Age; for the better Knowledge of the *Reformation* in its first Dawnings, and of the Providential Occasions, Accidents, and Successes of it.

Qui ὁδὸν
πύλαις scribe-
ret, omittens
aliis dicta, nisi
siquid Con-
textus Histo-
riæ desidera-
bat. Grot. An-
notat. ad Matt.
cap. 28. 20.

In the Province I undertake, I mean to follow the Course that St. *John* took in writing his History of JESUS CHRIST, after the other Evangelists; who gathered up the ὁδὸν λειπόμυα, i. e. *Remainders* of that Sacred History, omitting what had been said by the other Writers before him; unless where the Contexture of the Story required it.

The most material Original Papers, out of which I have collected these my *Memorials*, (besides those that fall in, in the Current of the History) shall be added in an *Appendix* by themselves, both for the Readers better Satisfaction, and for the safer Preservation of them to Posterity. So that this Book shall serve for Two Purposes, viz. To be a Supply of the Defects and Omissions of our Church's Story, and also a Treasury of divers Valuable Manuscripts relating thereunto.

The King's Affairs, for a great many Years successively, being chiefly, and almost solely, conducted by the Great Cardinal *Wolfey*, of him therefore necessarily much will be said. Whose Counsels and Intrigues, tending mainly to the King's Satisfaction, and his own Grandeur, and that of the Papacy, the Supreme Providence turned to clean different Ends to what he drove at, and sometimes quite contrary thereunto. So his Projects for the aggrandizing the Pope, ended in the Expulsion of him out of this Kingdom: And his Endeavours for the Establishment of the Superstitions of Religion, concluded in a Reformation of it. And however fine his Politicks were in forwarding the Match between the King and the Lady *Anne*, when he little thought of Religion all the while, they produced the greatest Alterations therein, that had been in many Hundred Years before.

So that in the Current of the History, many remarkable Passages concerning the Cardinal will fall in, which will give us a View of him, both in his highest Prosperity and Elation, and in his lowest Ebb; while he lay under the Pressures of the King his Master's Displeasure. Where we may see as well his Pride and swelling Haughtiness in his Prosperity, as his Pusillanimity and Poorness of Spirit under his Misfortunes.

C H A P. I.

Wolsey's Counsil and Influence in the King's Affairs. Goes over into France with the King. Present at the Conquest of Tournay. Nominated Bishop of that Place by the King. And had the Abbey of St. Martins there. The Care and Affairs of Tournay committed to him. Letters of the Council there to him. His Spies in France. Intelligences from them. Discovery of a Conspiracy in France to invade England. The Chapter of Tournay's Letter to the Cardinal, their Bishop. Another Elect pretends to the Bishoprick. The Pope's Breve in Wolsey's Behalf. The Cause referred by the Pope to Two Cardinals. Richard Sampson, the Cardinal's Chaplain, his Vicar General, and chief Officer there. The French King's Letter to King Henry. Transactions for Peace. The Cardinal's Managery therein. His Letters to the King's Ambassadors at the French Court. Tournay restored upon Terms : And the Bishoprick.

SOON after the young King Henry had received Thomas Wolsey into his Bosom, and made him his Favourite, which was about the Eighth Year of his Reign, in the Year 1513, the said King undertook a Royal Expedition into France, against King Lewis XII. out of Zeal to the Pope, with whom the said French King was at Wars. To which Undertaking Wolsey, to shew himself a true Churchman, may justly be supposed to have moved and perswaded his great Master, out of a Show of the high Religion and Merit of being the Champion of the Papal See: Wolsey also hereby serving the private Ends of his own Ambition; when it should be known to the Pope, how he was the Instrument of stirring up the King to this chargeable Piece of Service to him. And that he might shew himself the more openly in this Expedition, he attended the King's Person, and went over with him to Calais, and had the Office of Victualling the Army. That it was a Spark of Zeal kindled in the King, as well as Bravery, which put him on this Action, may be collected from a Letter of his to Sir David Owen; commanding him to prepare himself to attend him into France, with Threescore Archers, and Forty Bills on Foot: Prefacing his Letter with the Reason of his Resolution, namely, " That it was according to his Duty to " God, and his Church, at the Request and Desire of the Pope's Holiness, and other Christian Princes; and that it was for the Defence " of the Church, being by the French King oppressed; and for extinguishing the detestable Schism raised by certain perverse Cardinals " and maintained by the same King. And that for God's Quarrel, as well as for recovering his own Right, he would pursue, and continue the said War, and personally proceed himself into France, with a

King Henry put on by Wolsey to take the Pope's Part against the French King.

The King's Zeal to the Church, excites him to this Expedition.

A N N O “ Royal Army. And in Conclusion, advised Sir *David* to accomplish
 1513. “ his Command, as he tendred his Honour, and the Advancement of
 “ that *Meritorious* Voyage. All which may make one conclude, that
 the King in this Matter was acted by some Churchman; and that must
 be he, that was most inward with him, viz. *Wolfey*; being also his Al-
 moner. A Transcript of this Letter is repositied in the *Appendix*, from
 an Original.

The King's
 Care of
 Trade.

Wolfey, though he knew how to indulge the King in his Pleasures, yet he reminded him sometimes of Business too; and particularly made him sensible, what an Advantage Trade was to his Realm. Which he therefore, even in these his youthful Days, encouraged, giving out Letters of safe Conduct to his Merchants, and their Ships, taking Care of them; and when they sustained any Damages by Foreign Princes or States, requiring Satisfaction by his Ambassadors. Of this I find an Instance or Two.

His Safe-Con-
 duct to *Barnaby*, a Mer-
 chant, for a
 general Trade.

The King had granted a very large, and somewhat extraordinary Safe-Conduct and Licence to *Thomas Barnaby* of London, an eminent Merchant, for himself, Servants, Factors, or Attorneys, Denizens, or Strangers, to Traffick in all manner of Commodities in all Places, and at all Times, during a certain Term of Years. And this was under the Great Seal. One great Obstruction to which Safe Conduct was, that *Marguerite*, Dutches of *Savoy*, Regent of the *Low Countries*, there being War between *France* and the Emperor *Maximilian*, her Father, had prohibited by Proclamation, that any Bay-Salt or Wine of the Growth of any Part of *France*, should be brought into *Flanders*, or elsewhere, under her Dominions, upon Pain of Forfeiture of the same. Now this Proclamation interfering with the King's Licence to *Barnaby*, who traded chiefly in *French* Commodities, caused him to dispatch a Letter to Dr. *Knight*, his Ambassador there, to solicit the said Regent, that notwithstanding her Proclamation, she would grant to the said Merchant a Safe Conduct, under her Great Seal, in as large and ample Manner, as that of the said King's was. Sir *John Wallop* was also sent upon this Occasion, both to give further Knowledge to the said *Knight* in this Matter, and to carry Letters to the Regent touching the same. This Letter signed by the King, is Dated from his Monastery, (as he calls it) of *Chartesaye*, the Twelfth Day of *August*, as I Conjecture, in the Year 1513, or 1514.

The King re-
 quires Satis-
 faction for an
 English Ship,
 detained by
 the Customers
 of *Zeland*.

Not long after, there was an *English* Ship, called *The Cast*, laden with Wooll, Cloth, and other Commodities, for *Italy*, by *John Allen*, *Hugh Clopton*, *Richard Fermour*, and others. Which, by reason of Storms at Sea, was forced into *Zeland*. Being got into a Port there, the Custom Officers of the Prince of *Castile*, who was now Governor of the *Low Countries*, had demanded a certain Toll, called the Toll of *Gravelyn* and *Zeland*. Which the Ship refusing, as being put in there by Strefs of Weather, against their Wills, they caused the Purser to be arrested in the Town of *Middleburgh*, and committed to Prison, and by Force of Gun-Shot, caused the Ship to be Boarded, and took out of her her Sails; and detained her from her Voyage; till the Owners and Merchants had put in sufficient Sureties to answer according to Law. But hereby the King's Subjects were put to great Damage, Charge and Hindrance. And moreover, by this retarding of her Voyage, she after-

wards

wrds fell into the Hands of the *Moors*, who slew divers of the Mariners and Gunners, and took the Ship, and all her Goods, and the residue of the People on Board, whom they detained in Captivity. This Wrong the King mightily repented, and, as he said in his Letter, he could not, nor would suffer to pass, without sufficient Amends. And considering that it was contrary to all Law, Right and Conscience, that any Toll, or any Imposition, should be exacted of any Ship, so forced and driven in by bad Weather, and where nothing was intended to be put to Sale: And considering also, that the Treaties of Intercourse made betwixt them and their Progenitors, Kings of *England*, and Governors of the *Low-Countries*, were expressly contrary thereunto, he commanded Sir *Edward Poynings*, and Dr. *Knight*, his Ambassador there, to lay open these Things at good Length, to the Prince of *Castile's* Commissioners; and that they should require Restitution of such Money or Bonds as had been made or paid for the said Tolls: And also demand Satisfaction, as well for the said Ship, Goods and Merchandizes, lost and taken, as for all other Losses, Damages and Hindrances thereby sustained. This was given under the King's Signet at *Greenwich*, the 22d Day of *July*; which must be about the Year 1515.

A N N O
1513.

Both these Letters are signed by the King's own Hand: But I take our *Wolfsey* to have had the great Stroke in them, being now the main Agent in the *English* Court and Council: But more certainly in the latter, there being an Insertion of a Clause in the Supercription of this Letter, which is the same Hand with that of one of his own Secretaries. I have placed both those Letters, for the Antiquity and Remarkableness of them, in the *Appendix*.

Numb. II.
III.

But now we shall enter upon divers Matters of History, of the King's proceeding to Hostile Acts against the *French* King, invading his Dominions, and taking some important Places from him by Force of Arms; and of the Amity afterwards concluded between them. Wherein much of our Cardinal's Counsils and Actions will be discovered, and brought to Light.

Tournay being conquered by the King coming thither in Person with a great Army, and the City surrendred to him, *Wolfsey* his Chaplain and Almoner in his Royal Retinue, was thought fit to be nominated by the King to that Bishoprick. And his Preferment thereunto was with good Advice, as best agreeing with the King's Interest there; that some *English* Subject might enjoy that Spiritual Dignity. And so the Lord *Mountjoy*, the King's first Lord Lieutenant of that Place, thought fit to inform the King, in a Letter, together with the Earl of *Worcester*, the King's Chamberlain, and Dr. *Young*, Master of the *Rolls*, from *Tournay*, in these Words:

Wolfsey made
Bishop of
Tournay.

' Sir, If this Bishoprick may be gotten clear into your Hands, it were good, this Town, being under the Bishop of *Tournay* and *Cambray*, and all the Bayliage, should have no Resort in no Case to the Archbishop of *Reims*, but to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*; in like Wise as *Calais* and the *Marches* have. They wrote to the same Effect, concerning the Abbey of *St. Martins* there, the present Abbot being obnoxious, and an Enemy to the King, and was gone to *Denmark*. They advised, ' That some *Englishman* might be preferred also

Advice to the
King for a
Bishop of
Tournay, and
an Abbot of *St.
Martins*.

' to

A N N O

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‘ to that Abbey by the King: Adding, that when that Abbot went
 ‘ away, he made an Interest for another in *Henault*. And that if any
 ‘ such Thing should be sued for at *Rome*, and there were no Let by
 ‘ the King, it might be a great Displeasure. For that they there
 ‘ thought it one of the greatest Stays, to have that City continue in
 ‘ his Obeisance next to the Bishop, was to have a good *Englishman*
 ‘ Abbot. Which should be a discreet Man, and that had the Lan-
 ‘ guage; or some other good Man, *English* of Heart. And they
 ‘ thought that some such able Person might be found in *England*, if
 ‘ he were enquired for. And that he [the Lord Lieutenant] doubted
 ‘ not to find sufficient Information against him, that then was Abbot:
 ‘ By the which he might lawfully be Deposed. And that the Lord
 ‘ *Durrier* had written unto them, that his Brother, a Dean, might
 ‘ be recommended to his Grace, to have that Abbey by Postu-
 ‘ lation.

Their further Advice to the King was, about settling of the Court
 there for Spiritual Affairs; *viz.* ‘ That as to his Court of *Resorte*, [as
 ‘ it was called] if any Doctors of Civil Law, and Languaged, might
 ‘ be found in *England*, they would be most fit to serve his Grace there.
 ‘ For hard it should be to find others there meet therefore. That his
 ‘ own Subjects should serve his Grace faithfully, and be most indiffe-
 ‘ rent to his Subjects, and least to his Charge. And so concluded their
 ‘ Letter to him with these Words, *And thus JESU preserve your Noble*
 ‘ *Grace*. Written at *Tournay*, the 19th of *August*.

Your most humble Subjects and Servants,

C. WORCESTER.

W. MOUNTJOY.

JOHN YOUNG.

The King upon this Letter had *Wolsey* in his Eye; who was ready at
 Hand to be invested with those Preferments: And whom, no Question,
 the King thought such a fit Person for his Purpose, *viz.* an *Englishman*,
 and well endowed with Learning, Language, and other Abilities.
 Though he met with Opposition enough afterwards, both the former
 Abbot, and the Bishop, pretending their Rights to the same Abbey and
 Bishoprick. The Abbot some Years after, upon some Considerations,
 was convented to appear before the Cardinal's Official, (who seems to
 be Dr. *Sampson*, his Chaplain, whom he left behind him at *Tournay*.)
 But he appealed from him to the Pope; pretending to be subject im-
 mediately to him, and none else.

Applications
 from *Tournay*
 to *Wolsey*.

Godwin's Cata-
 logue of Bi-
 shops.

Wolsey's Figure now began to be more resplendent at *Tournay*. For
 the King left the Preservation of that City to his Care, as we may
 conjecture: Since the Application of the Officers there was generally
 thenceforth made to him. To whom also the King had given, upon
 the Conquest of that City, the Bishoprick thereof, with all the Reve-
 nues belonging to it. For the *French* Bishop, as one of our Historians
 writes, was banished, or rather absented himself. And he appointed,
 when he went away thence with the King, *Richard Sampson*, his Chap-
 lain, to be his Chancellor there; and to receive and return the Rents
 and

and Benefits to him, as we shall see by and by. Who was also one of *A N N O* the Commissioners in the Government of that Place.

Which Town of *Tournay* the King held a good while, till the Year 1517, when he sold it to King *Francis* for Six Hundred Thousand Crowns; and for the Castle which he had built, a great Sum more. The General, chief Captain, and Deputy thereof, was Sir *J. Russel*. The Council here were *Edmond Wiseman*, *Robert Seymour*, *Philip Denis*, *John Anlaby*, *Richard Basford*, *Leonard Musgrave*, *Roger Becket*, *John Dimock*, *William Sympson*, *Thomas Harvey*, *Richard Widders*, *Nicolas Sampson*, the Father or Brother, I suppose, of the abovesaid *Richard*, the Cardinal's Chaplain, and chief Officiary here; who signed Letters also from hence with the rest. Now to shew somewhat of *Wolfey's* first Conduct in State; to him, being Bishop here, or rather Administrator and Professor of the Bishoprick, Addresses were made from the Garrison, as Occasion served, when any Business was with the King. One Letter I meet with, of the Deputy and Council here to the Cardinal, was on this Occasion. The King had sent his Letters, dated the 22d of *April*, (the Year not set, but as it seems, Anno 1514,) to the Deputy and Council, and whole Garrison, 'Willing and Commanding the Garrison to receive their Payments by the half Year: (whereas they had received them formerly every Quarter) like as it was ordained in all other his Garrisons in those Parts. And willing the Gentlemen, Constables and Vintners, to make Certificate to be so contented. But this they were not contented with; desiring that they might be paid, as formerly, Quarterly.

1514.
Upon Occa-
sion of their
Payment.
*Cott. Libr. Calis-
gula. E.*

And upon this they directed their Letters to my Lord Cardinal's Grace, and also to all the Lords of the King's most Honourable Privy Council; shewing, 'That the Inhabitants and Housholders of the King's other Garrisons, as *Calais*, &c. were of one Nation, of long Continuance; and many of good Substance; and glad to assist, help and trust each other, as good and true Subjects: Whereas they there, at *Tournay*, were wholly to the contrary, as far as they could perceive. And that among the Garrison, there were few or none that were of Substance; so as of himself to Victual or help his Fellow. In other Places of the King's Garrison, they had great Helps and Furtherances, which they had not there: As, to be trusted for their Meat and Drink, as well as for all other Necessaries, from Payment to Payment. Also, that if one had need of ready Money, he might go to the *Exchequer*, which was always well provided of Money, and fetch and take so much as he had served for. Or if he or they had need aforehand, if he brought Surety for the Treasurer's Discharge, he should have his whole Wages aforehand. Which Provision they had not there, notwithstanding they had more Need than they.

Their Letter
to *Wolfey*,
shewing their
Case.

The *Exche-
quer*.

That the Money here, (as they signified further) was not so good, nor profitable, as it was in other the King's Garrisons. And that caused Victuals, and other Necessaries, to be far the dearer; 'Whereof a great Cause was, the Course that the Money had there. Which also annihilated and minished their Wages. For Six Pence now [added they] goeth not so far, ne not so good, ne profitable, as Five Pence was wont to be, &c.

' And

A N N O

1514.

‘ And that it was to be considered, that the King’s Service there should be regarded before other Garrisons, in as much as it was so far out of his Realm, in a strange Country; and among some that peradventure would desire the King’s Dishonour: Which might well happen, by the Reason of such long Payment, as by the half Year, &c.

The said Gentlemen, therefore, ‘ Humbly beseeched the Lord Cardinal, his Grace, to have them in his gracious Remembrance, and ‘ Furtherance in this Behalf, concerning the foresaid Particulars, and ‘ Premises, before alledged. Wherein, (as they wrote) his Grace ‘ should do a great meritorious Deed: Considering, that it touched a ‘ common Weal; and the King having no Loss, ne further Charge ‘ thereby. And the most Part of the said Gentlemen, had little or nothing of themselves, but their bare Wages, without Fee, Annuity, ‘ Office, or other Profit by the King: Also, having there few Friends, ‘ or none. And where that some of them had Friends in *England*, ‘ they had now lost them, by reason of their long Absence; as ‘ well as other Advancements, which might have happened unto ‘ them.

‘ Wherefore, please it his Grace tenderly of his Charity, to have ‘ Consideration herein. So that by his gracious Favour and Instice ‘ to the King’s Highness, the said Gentlemen may obtain the Grant of ‘ Payments Quarterly, with the good Course of Money. And so shall ‘ they be bound, with all the whole Retinue and Garrison, to pray for ‘ the Maintenance and Prosperity of his good and gracious Estate. Signed by those mentioned above, and others, whose Names are scarcely to be Read, being in Number Fifteen.

From this Original Letter we see the Interest the Cardinal had at Court; and the Honour now done him; and withal, what good Offices we may presume he did sometimes for Subjects under Pressures, and hard Conditions put upon them from the Court.

The Constable and Yeomen of the Garrison to the Cardinal, complaining.

And to shew further, how uneasy this Order was (of postponing these Payments) to the inferior Sort of Officers and Soldiers of the Garrison, when the Deputy and Council there shewed them the King’s Pleasure, or perhaps the Cardinal’s rather, who acted now all under the King, I have the Letter before me, of the Constables of *Tournay*, (who were the Yeomen of the King’s Guard there) to the Cardinal, containing their piercing Complaint, and what Miseries and Necessities they must groan under, if it should take Place; and certifying the present Condition of that Place. The Supercription of their Letter was, *To the Lord Cardinal’s Grace, and to all the Lords of the King’s most Honourable Council.* It began, ‘ How that it had pleased his Grace to ‘ direct his Gracious Letters unto the King’s Deputy, and the Council ‘ there, of that his City of *Tournay*, and the *Marches* of the same, ‘ bearing Date at *Westminster*, the 22d Day of *April*. In which his ‘ Gracious Letter they understood, that it was thought by the King’s ‘ Highness, and by his most Honourable Council, that it was not requisite or necessary to content and pay the King’s Garrison of *Tournay* ‘ their Wages by the Three Months, as heretofore time hath been ‘ used, but that it was convenient and sufficient to content and pay to ‘ the same Garrison, accordingly, as by his Gracious Letters did appear,

‘ pear, that is to understand, from the Third Day of *April*, to the *ANN O*
 ‘ Third Day of *October*; and so from the said Day of *October*, unto 1514.
 ‘ the said Day of *April*: And so to continue to be paid half Yearly.
 ‘ And thus the said Garrison to be contented with the said Days of Pay-
 ‘ ment. And further, that the said Garrison should certify his Grace of
 ‘ the same, with their Letters assigned and subscribed with their Hands,
 ‘ according to the Tenor of his Grace’s Letter.

But so far were these Men from giving under their Hands their Con-
 tentment herewith, that they took this Opportunity of declaring their
 great Discontent, and shewing at large the Distresses they were in,
 even then; and in many Particulars, to what harder Circumstances
 they must be driven, unless their Payments were Quarterly, as before.
 How they proceeded in this their Address to the Cardinal, and what
 they now certified of themselves at this Juncture, the Continuance of
 their Letter show; which being somewhat long, I have put, as a valua-
 ble Original Piece, in the *Appendix*; especially contributing something *Numb. IV.*
 unto the History of those Times, and that great Cardinal. To which
 I will subjoin another Letter to the same, from Sir *Richard Farnegan*,
 and the Council, expressing the Garrison’s Necessities: All shewing how
 little Benefit, besides the Vainglory, the taking of *Tournay* was to the *Numb. V.*
 King, and some Share of it perhaps to the Cardinal, for the keeping
 of it.

There happened, about this Time, a Mutiny in the Garrison, and a *Another Ad-*
 treasonous Conspiracy among the *Tournois*, who were uneasy under *dress to Wol-*
 their new King. Which being pretty well suppress’d, and the better *sey from the*
 to quiet the People’s Minds, the King ordered the Lord *Mountjoy*, who *Garrison.*
 was now his Lieutenant there, to declare a general Pardon to them
 that had been active in those Insurrections and Treasons; and withal,
 to discharge some of the Garrison, that might be spared. But the Lie-
 tenant had some Doubts and Scruples in his Discharge of these Com-
 mands. And this caused another Address to the Cardinal from *Tour-*
nay; importing,

‘ That, whereas in the King’s last Letters sent to the Lord *Chamber-*
 ‘ *lain*, dated at *Oking*, it pleased his Highness to write, that his Plea-
 ‘ sure was concerning the Pardons, as well for the *Englishmen* there for
 ‘ their Riots, and unfaithful Assemblies, as for the Townsmen, for
 ‘ their Treasons and Conspiracies, he (the Lord Lieutenant) should
 ‘ make unto them Pardons, according to the Tenor of such Copies as
 ‘ he had lately sent over; he advised, that if these Pardons should be of
 ‘ any Value to the Parties, it should be necessary, that he should have
 ‘ Commission sent unto him from the King’s Grace. And then when
 ‘ Time convenient was, they might be granted. He also found it ne-
 ‘ cessary to Advertise the Cardinal, that of the *English* and *Welshmen*
 ‘ there, many were Thieves and Murtherers, Hunters, and such others,
 ‘ as he feared, that if they had not their Pardons in like wise, they
 ‘ would either make Business, or they would avoid; and when they
 ‘ were avoided, would make some Captain among themselves; and go
 ‘ as well to the King’s Enemies, as otherwise.

He proceeded in his Communication of this Business with the Cardi-
 nal, in these Words. ‘ Also, my Lord, when the Garrison shall be mi-
 ‘ nished, in my poor Mind it shall not be good to minish them, but by

A N N O 1514. little and little : For and if they be strong enough, there be many of light Minds, which reckon little to make their Hands at their departing. Also, for any Surety the Town could put the King's Grace in, though the honest Men, and the Heads, be reckoned good, yet in the common People there, he had but small Trust; if the *French* King might have it (keeping his Amity) by surprizing : Wherein should lack no Colour. That if the Heads which then were Governors, might have a convenient Garrison for a Season, they might make all Things in more Surety. That the Lord *Chamberlain*, and Mr. *Vicechamberlain*, (who both were then there) did the best they might to bring all Things to pass to the King's Pleasure; and as for himself, he added, that what lay in him should not be slack'd.

He then acquainted the Cardinal with the News brought there, viz. that the Queen's Grace [Queen *Katharine*] was with Child. And that if it were so, no Subject under the King would more rejoice at it : And required his Grace that he might know the Certainty; to the Intent, that on the King's Behalf he might command throughout all the Land, her Grace to be specially prayed for; and a Sermon and Procession to be, to the Laud and praising of God : In like wise as the *French* King had wrote thither for to have done for his Queen. And so after some private Matter concerning the bestowing of a Prebend in that Church, he concluded with these Words, And thus *Jesu* send you good Life, and long. In Haft, at the King's City of *Tour*-*nay*, the 8th Day of *September*.

Tours to his Power,

W. MOUNTJOY.

About this last Enquiry of the Queen's being with Child, none could better inform that Lord, than the Cardinal : Who, not long before, had the Honour to receive a secret Letter from the King's own Hand thereof. Which being a curious Piece, and shewing how highly that King now favoured and loved the Cardinal, I shall insert it here from the Original.

The King to the Cardinal, concerning the Queen's being with Child. *Vespasian*, F. 3.

My Lord *Cardinal*; I recommend me unto you, as hartily as I can. And I am right glad to hear of your good Health, which I pray God may long continue. So it is that I have received your Letters. To the which, because they ask long Writing, I have made an Answer by my Secretary. Two Things there be, which be so secret, that they cause me at this Time to write to you my self. The one is, that I trust the Queen, my Wife, be with Child. The other is, the chief Cause why I am so loth to repair to *London*, were, because about this Time is partly of her dangerous Times. And because of that, I would remeive here as little as I may now. My Lord, I write this unto you, not as an insured Thing, but as a Thing wherein I have great Hope and Lyklyode : And because I do well know, that this Thing will be comfortable to you to understand. Therefore I do write it unto you at this Time : No more unto you at this Time : *Nisi quod Deus velit inceptum opus bene finire*. Written with the Hand of your Loving Prince,

I set down these Things the more at large, that it may be observed, *A N N O*
 how all the great Affairs of State were managed mainly by *Wolsey*; *1514.*
 the King's Servants abroad taking their Instructions from him, with
 his diligent and constant Letters to them, upon their Accounts given
 him of the Management of their Offices: Naming him first in their
 Addresses to the Court, and then naming the Privy Council after him,
 thus; *To my Lord Cardinal's Grace, and the Privy Council.* Where
 likewise may be seen the intimate Esteem he had with his King.

The Lord Lieutenant and Council at *Tournay* apply to him again, upon a Letter of the Cardinal's to them, dated at *Durham Place* the
 21st of *August*; the Tenor of which was, 'That the King's High-
 ness was advertised, as well from Master Deputy of *Calais*, and Sir
 ' *Thomas Spinel*, as by two sundry Spies out of *France*, that the *French*
 ' Men were about an Enterprize against *Tournay*: And for that Intent
 ' they were in a Readiness; intending in brief Time to proceed to
 ' the Accomplishment of their Purpose. Wherefore that the King's
 ' Pleasure was, that they [of that Place] should have a special Re-
 ' gard to see that Town well and substantially furnished; and such
 ' Things to be foreseen and put in a Readiness, as should be requisite
 ' for the Surety and Defence thereof, &c. But also to have vigilant
 ' and diligent Espials, for the attaining the very Truth and Surety of
 ' their Intent and Purpose in this behalf. And of the same to ad-
 ' vertise his Grace with all Celerity in Post. He added, That he
 ' thought, that this Assembly that was bruited to be, or if any such
 ' Attempts should be made there against the Garrison, it was not with-
 ' out the Comfort and Stirring of the Inhabitants: And that therefore
 ' they should by all means disarm them.' This was the Sum of *Wol-*
sey's Letter, being now one of the chief Managers of State Affairs, and
 particularly of this conquered Place. To whom it is worth impart-
 ing, what Answer, and with what Deference, the Council there re-
 turned. Wherein may also be seen, in what State and Condition the
 Place then was: But it being somewhat large, I recommend it to be
 read in the *Appendix*.

The Cardinal
 writes to *Tour-*
nay, of an In-
 tent of seizing
 that Place.

Numb. VI.

There was some Discontent here among the *English*, for Backward-
 ness in their Pay; which might create the more Jealousy of hatching
 some Tumults. For in a Letter of the said Lord *Mountjoy* to the
 said Cardinal of *York*, dated *November* the 8th, he signified what
 Payments would soon be due: *Viz.* The 10th Day of that Month
 was the Payment of the Labourers; which amounted unto the Sum
 of 1000 *l.* The 15th Day was the Payment of the Footmen and
 Horsemen, amounting to the Sum of 1760 *l.* And within Seven Days
 after, another Payment to the Labourers, that amounted to the Sum
 of 1000 *l.* more.

Payments due
 at *Tournay*, no-
 ted to the Car-
 dinal.

This Place the King had but little Comfort of, being always in fear
 of a Surprise. The Cardinal had again another Time, in the Month
 of *May*, (whether in the Year 1514 or 1515, I know not) Intelli-
 gence brought him by a Fryer *Augustin*, whom he had employed as a
 Spy, of a sudden Attempt intended to be made upon the Place: Of
 which the Cardinal and the Council, from the Palace at *Hampton*
 Court, wrote to Sir *Richard Fernegan*, now the King's Lieutenant
 there, as certain News. This was writ *May* the 9th. And such Speed
 was

Intelligence
 brought to the
 Cardinal by a
 Fryer.

A N N O was made with it, that on the 11th Day at Night, the said Lieutenant received it. And it was but a few Days before, the Deputy of *Calais* wrote to the said Sir *Richard*, that a Fryer was passed thence into *England* with News : And that the said Fryer warned him to will the Lord Lieutenant of *Tournay*, to have a good Guard upon the King's Place. The Morning after the Cardinal's Letter came to them, and they were sitting in Council upon it, another Fryer from a *French* Man, one Lord *Ligne*, (who was that Lord's Confessor) comes also with Letters to the said Lieutenant ; requiring estsoones to have Credence to his said Confessor : The which Confessor had shewn him of the Enterprize in such manner as were the Cardinal's Letters. But the Council there conjectured strongly, that all this came only from the Lord *Ligne*, to shew himself officious ; and that the King might value him, and trust him. And Sir *Richard* did think, that if the *Religious*, that came to the Cardinal with this News, were well examined, peradventure it might be so found. Nevertheless they resolved to provide for the worst.

Information
by Spies, sent
into some Parts
of *France*.

Now a Word more concerning *Spies*. The King in *April*, the Month before, sent to the Lord Lieutenant and Council, that they should send forth *Espies*, to be advertised of the Intent of the *French*. For the City was in Danger without, as well as within. Accordingly, Sir *Richard Fernegan* answered, that he had two Spies at *Paris*, in the *French* King's Court : And that one of them he looked for hourly. That he had sent his Spies into *Normandy*, and those Parts, (because the Noise and Bruit was, that the chief Assembly was there) surely to be advertised, of all Appearances and Occurrences there. That one of these Spies informed him, that there were 2000 Men, enrolled, in *France*, to be in a Readiness in all Times in the Dominions of the *French* King, with Captains appointed for the same. And that the Bruit was, that they were enrolled to come to *Tournay* : But that (as he told the King) it was the Manner of the *French* Men, to make Bruit one way, and intend another way. Wherefore it would be necessary, all the King's other Garrisons should be looked to. And further, the Council there assured the King's Grace, that all the Garrisons there, and other *English* Men, were of as good Courage, as any Men might be : desirous and wishing the *French* Men would come, to the end his Grace might know what Service they intended, and would do his Highness. And lastly, that they had victualled and fortified the Town : So that in a short Time there should be no Lack. This was dated *April* the 13th, and signed by *Fernegan*, the Lieutenant, and next to him by *Sampson*, the Cardinal's Chancellor, and then by Sir *Richard Whettebill*, Sir *Philip Tremayle*, and others of the Council there.

Some Magi-
strates of *Tour-*
nay come into
England.

Thus tho' this Place was now in the King's Possession, yet he had little Assurance of quiet Possession, and had Reason to suspect the Faithfulness of the Inhabitants, whatever Oath of Fealty they had given. This Notice was given the Cardinal, who was now in *England* ; and from *Westminster* directed the Governor there, to persuade the chief Officers in the Town to come into this Kingdom, there to wait upon the King himself, and the Privy Council, to satisfy them of their faithful and true Obedience. And they, so coming, were to have all the fairest Usages and Promises given them that could be. *Fernegan*, ac-

According to the Cardinal's Instruction, required the chief Magistrates of the Town to pass over into *England*: Of which more particularly thus he wrote to the Cardinal. 'Pleaseth your Grace to understand, that according to your last Letters dated at *Westminster*, the 29th Day of *January*, I have exhorted with comfortable Words the Provost and Council of the Town, to send certain Commissioners to the King's Highness, your Grace, and his most Honourable Council. Whereupon they have at this Time sent Mr. *Nicholas Depreys*, this Year last past High Provost, Mr. *John De Puys*, Great Counsellor, and *Eloy de la Rice*, High Procurer of this City, with certain Articles; whereof I send your Grace the Copy: Desiring to write unto your Grace in their Favour; as I trust, before their departing from your Grace they will so demean themselves, accomplishing the King's Pleasure, that they shall deserve his Gracious Thanks. Nevertheless, Sir, because that it is the King's Pleasure, and your Grace's, that we should devise with them; and endeavour our selves to induce them to the King's Pleasure in certain Things, as, Entertaining certain Numbers of Men and others, if they be not so handled at this Time, that they shall accomplish the King's Pleasure in some Part touching the same Things, wherein we have devised with them; hereafter, if any such Charge shall be committed unto us, they shall little regard our Communication, or Devising with them in any manner of Behalf. And that your Grace may have more clear Knowledge of their Charge and said Articles by this Bearer, *Robert Kirk*, the King's Servant, we send certain Instructions to your Grace of our poor Opinions touching the same: To whom it may please your Grace to give Confidence and Credence.

A N N O
1515.
Account thereof written to the Cardinal.

A secret and dangerous Conspiracy against the Kingdom was now in Hand by some foreign Powers; and discovered by one *Crossene*, a Spy of the Cardinals: In which were engaged the *French*, the *Dane*, the *Scot*, with some *English*. Intending to invade *England* on the Side of *Scotland*, and in some other Place of this Realm. And another Party were to attack *Tournay*. And this to be done all at once. One Party to be headed by the Duke of *Albany*, a *Scot*, and another by one of the *Poles*. But this coming to the Lord Lieutenant of *Tournay*, *Fernegan*, the King's faithful Officer, by the said *Crossene*'s secret Information, he hastened a particular Account of it to the Cardinal, the last Day of *May*, by Letter. The full Tenor whereof ensueth.

A Conspiracy by the *French*, &c. for invading *England* and *Tournay*:

'That it might please his Grace to understand, that that same Day came one *Henry Crossene*, unto one of the Gates there at *Tournay*; and desired one of the Warders to cause him [the said *Fernegan*] to come, and speak with him secretly without the Town. The which he did according to the other's Desire. That at his coming, *Crossene* shewed him, that his Grace [the Cardinal] knew him well; and then shewed him a Writing that he had from his Grace, for to pass and repass into *England* at his Pleasure. That therefore he [the Lieutenant] gave the more Credence unto his Sayings. And that the Governor of the *English* Fellowship, Mr. *Herwester*, brought him unto the Cardinal's Presence. [Offering then, as it seems, his Service to him.] Where at that Time, as *Crossene* went on, his Grace

Discovered by a Spy.

gave

A N N O ' gave, as he thought, but little Credence to him. That his Grace
 1515. ' should moreover understand, that the same *Henry Crossene* was come
 ' strait from the *French King's Court* ; and had shewed him this News
 ' following, to advertise his Grace with Diligence.

First, he saith, That the *French King*, the *King of Denmark*, the *Duke of Albany*, for the Realm of *Scotland*, and *Richard de la Pcle*, be all in one Confederation and Appointment ; and concluded upon these Enterprizes following. And that for the sure Conclusion of the same, there was already departed into *Scotland*, and from thence to *Denmark*, *Monfieur de Pursel*, chief Counsellor of *Roan*, and *David Cokron*, King of *Heralds*. The which *David*, Herald of *Denmark*, *Fernegan* said, was the same that he took going to *France* now lately. Of whom (as he added) he wrote to his Grace with Speed : And therein he thought he had done acceptable Service.

And then follows the whole Relation of the intended Enterprize, as it was discovered to him by the said *Crossene* : Which being somewhat
Num. VII. long, I rather refer the reading thereof to the *Appendix*.

Something now concerning the Cardinal's more private Affairs, with respect to his Bishoprick there.

The respect-
 ful Letter of
 the Chapter
 of *Tournay* to
 the Cardinal.

He had obliged the Chapter and Members of that Church, by obtaining of the King to continue their Church Liberties and Privileges, and their Governors, as before. And his requesting some Favour from them for a Son of the King's Chirurgeon, occasioned a Letter full of profound Duty and Observance : Importing, how exceeding glad they were of a Letter from his Grace. And so much the more, that hereby they had an Opportunity, which they had long sought for, and desired, of professing their high Respects to his Dignity : Not that they could repay any Thing answerable to his Benefits towards them : Only (as it was fit) to declare their great good Will towards his Fatherhood ; but chiefly to acknowledge the extraordinary Honour, and singular Observance they had to the same. That they all unanimously consented to his Request, and yielded to him most joyfully whatsoever he desired : professing, that there was nothing, little or great, that they would not chearfully and readily do for his Sake.

And then upon Occasion of some Money that the Canons had received, which *Dr. Sampson* had required, or some Share thereof, for the Archbishop's Use, being his Receiver, and was denied ; they gave the Cardinal this Account thereof : That they had shewn that Learned Doctor, his Vicar, that that Money tho' paid into their Receipts, belonged not to them ; but was peculiarly set apart for the Fabrick of the Church, and for the procuring of their Treasurer's Cope ; and which had been granted to that Church by the Apostolical Authority and Decree. They promised whatsoever could be expected from them, his most faithful Beadsmen, and whose Name and Dignity was most dear to them ; and to whom they were, for so many and great Reasons, bound. And mentioned, how from his Care their Churches Liberty was by the King's Gift preserved and defended ; and that they had such Governors and Rectors hitherto, as guarded them and their Privileges. And in Conclusion, begged and beseeched him, to take upon him the Patronage and Defence of their Church. And

so prayed Almighty God for their most Victorious King, and all prosperous Success to his Fatherhood. Dating their Letter from their Chapter at *Tournay*. But the whole Letter (whereof these be some short Contents) writ in *Latin*, I have thought worthy transcribing, and placing in the *Appendix*.

ANNO
1515.

Numb.
VIII.

Another Bishop Elect pretends to the Bishoprick in Opposition to *Wolsey*.

But it cost our Great Prelate no small Trouble and Opposition, before he could obtain the Possession of this Bishoprick : Which indeed he seemed to come into more violently than justly, as may appear by the Sequel. For there was another Bishop Elect, a *French* Man, whom the *French* King had presented. And when Dr. *Sampson* came, in *Wolsey's* Name and Authority, unto certain Towns in *Gaunt* and *Bruges*, in *Flanders*, which were within the Compass of the Bishoprick of *Tournay*, to administer his Jurisdiction there, as *Wolsey's* Vicar General, he found no Reception among that People ; the other pretended Bishop having all the Favour. Of this he writ an Account at large to his Lord : *Viz.* ' That after he came to *Bruges*, as he had before in *Gaunt*, by his Letters Patents he desired the Favour and Aid of the Lords of the Town : But he found them nothing favourable. ' That a few Days after he called the Bishop's Officers together, and shewed them the Pope's *Breve*, and Letters Patents of the Lady *Margaret*, [then Governess of the *Low Countries*] written in *Wolsey's* Favour. Which notwithstanding when they had heard, because the Matter was of great Weight, they desired a Day's Respite to consult, what they should think best to do ; being the 18th Day of *September*.

And therefore he shewed, how he suspected the Integrity of the *French* King in this Matter : Thus continuing his Letter. ' My Lord, the *French* King, as I think, hath not kept all Promises with your Grace : For the Bishop Elect had made for all *Flanders*, both another Vicar General, and also a Receiver, and all the Profits without fail of the Year past be received, and all paid, and delivered to the Elect in *France*. Moreover, he had ordained his Officers strongly to resist, when I should come. They had readily their *Appellations* made, with other Remedies, as strong as by the Law possibly might be made : Which this Day, when they assembled, they shewed expressly. And if with Rigor I should have made Process against them, without fail I should have made a Commotion among the People, whom they had before provoked.

Advised thereof by *Sampson*.

And here inserting his Advice, what was convenient to be done in this Difficulty, he added ; ' That if his Lordship should quietly have this Administration, there were no more Remedies, but the *French* King must by his Letters charge the Bishop Elect to be content, and suffer this Administration, nor to resist : or else if these Officers saw the *French* King's Letters favourable to his [*Wolsey's*] Administration, all they would immediately obey.

And this he thought the best Course to prevent further Inconvenience in Law to his Lordship ; thus continuing his Advice : ' That if his Grace should follow the Process of the Law, and the Bishop Elect defend his Possession with marvellous great Trouble, his Grace should never have Profit. Wherefore they had instantly desired to have a Day of Respite, to counsel with the Bishop Elect. And accordingly that

His Advice, not to proceed by Law against the Elect.

A N N O

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that he had granted them till S. Martins Day ; except that in the mean Time it might appear the Bishop Elect should not return personally to defend his Possession : Always provided, that such Profits, as in the mean Time should fortune, should be reserved. That he granted them this Time so boldly : for that if it so were, that the French King favoured his Grace at this Time , as he thought he did, shortly it might be known, that the Bishop should not return ; and his Grace hastily, or they came to him, might cause by his Letters, that the French King might charge him to have Patience.

And then telling his Lordship, That without this Means by the French King, it should not be possible quietly to have this Administration : For that he was dispensed with *De non residendo Studij Causâ*.

But the Officers of the Party of the Elect objected against Passages in the Pope's Breve, shewing the Reasons, why he admitted *Wolsey* to the Administration of that Bishoprick ; namely, his Absence, and Desertion of the Bishoprick : Which indeed seemed to be done by him at that Time of Necessity, for his own Safety. This Matter Dr. Sampson shewed to the Cardinal, in this manner : That as they heard the

The Pope's Breve in *Wolsey's* Behalf, against the Elect.

Tenor of the Breve, one of them with a quick Mind suspected the Breve in Three Places. First, Because it saith, *Et Ecclesiam Tornacensem deseruisset. Et postea, Dubitandum sit, quod idem Episcopus ad Ecclesiam ipsam redire contemnit, quando per Procuratorem accepit Possessionem. Neque hætenus fuit unquam hic præsens. Verba denique Præscripti sunt hæc prope finem : De residuis illis fructibus, & Proventibus, tam quos hætenus percepisti, & qui post dicti Electi decessum proveniunt. Decessit, inquit ille, nunquam, ut qui nunquam adhuc affuit.* Dr. Sampson added, *Sed his pro tempore, ut potui respondebam, &c.* That is, that these Exceptions he answered presently, as well as he could : Concluding, That this was in the End the only Method, whereby this Administration might be had most quietly, if it might appear by any means that the King of France stood well affected towards this Matter. And till he had further Intelligence from his Grace, he would abide at *Bruges*. And so beseeched Almighty *Jesu* to preserve his Grace. Dated at *Bruges*, the 18th Day of September, 1514.

Subscribing,

Your Chaplain, and daily Beadman,

RICHARD SAMPSON, Priest.

This Letter was superscribed,

To the Most Reverend Father in God, and his Special good Lord, my Lord of York.

Whence it appears, he was not yet Cardinal.

The Elect enters the Towns of the Diocese, to take Possession.

But to pursue this Controversy a little further. The French Bishop would not desist, nor let go so wealthy a Preferment : And for the better qualifying himself for the same, he was advised to come in Person into those Parts very shortly : And so Sampson had informed the Cardinal's good Grace ; [for *Wolsey* was now advanced to that Title ;]

Title ;] in order to his Entrance into the Towns of the Diocese, as *A N N O* the Manner was, for to take Possession. And by another Letter of *1515.* his, written *August* the 4th, he tells the Cardinal, that now he was come ; intending to enter into the Towns, for his Possession-taking. And then adding, in this Exigence, his Judgment in these Words :
 ‘ Wherefore, Sir, if that it shall be your Gracious Pleasure, further
 ‘ to pursue the Title of this Bishoprick, and not intending the con-
 ‘ trary, it shall be very necessary with Speed and Diligence to have
 ‘ one *Inhibition* from *Rome*, that he shall proceed no further. More-
 ‘ over containing, *Quod in Pœnam & Sententiam Inhibitionis ob Con-*
 ‘ *tumaciam inciderit, cum pendente adhuc Lite (ut existimatur) Inbi-*
 ‘ *bitioni & Pontificis Decreto, non sit nihil inobediens; imò verè Con-*
 ‘ *temptor.* And if it shall be your Gracious Pleasure, in the mean
 ‘ Time, by the Eyde [Aid] of your Gracious Letters, directed in the
 ‘ said Behalf unto my Lady *Margaret*, and other Cheffys [Chiefs] of
 ‘ the Council in these Parties, that I obtain a Defence and Prohibition
 ‘ by the said Council, and their Letters, that the said *Elect*, during
 ‘ the Process, shall take no further Possession ; most humbly I beseech
 ‘ your Grace to know your Pleasure : The which I shall with Dili-
 ‘ gence accomplish, by the Help of Almighty God : Who preserve
 ‘ your Grace in most prosperous Health and Honour. Dated at *Tour-*
nay, the 4th Day of *August*.

Inhibition to
him from
Rome.

This Suit between the Cardinal and the Bishop *Elect*, was commit-
 ted not long after to Two Cardinals by the Pope, as it seems. But
 the said *Elect*, in Pursuit of his Title, had caused certain Writings to
 be set up openly in divers Places. Which *Sampson* acquainted the
 Cardinal also with, called by him *Certain Affixions* : Which, as he
 said, the *French Elect* had caused to be made out ; notwithstanding the
 Process committed to Two Cardinals by the Pope’s Holiness to his
 Grace, and a Copy of the same. And that the said Copies were af-
 fixed in all the Places of *Flanders*, and in Villages also within the
 Bailiages, whereas were the Bishop’s Farmers, and the Temporal Lord-
 ships belonging to the Bishop. The which Copies *Sampson* shewed
 the Cardinal, he caused to be taken down ; and Copies of the Inhibi-
 tion, decreed by the said Reverend Cardinals, affixed in the same
 Place, with this Subscription ; That it appeared evidently, both the
French Elect pretenced, and other his Officers, by Virtue of the same
 Inhibition, against the which in Contempt of the Cardinals, they pre-
 sumed to continue their old Process, suspended *Causâ Litis pendentis*
coram præfatis Reverendissimis Dominis, to have fallen into the Sen-
 tence of Excommunication. He had further, (as he proceeded in
 his Relation of this Contest,) appealed *Ad cautelam, inherendo prio-*
ribus ab hujusmodi novo gravamine. And then bespeaking the Car-
 dinal, in respect of something more to be done in this his Cause ;
 ‘ Nevertheless, Sir, saving your Gracious Pleasure, it were very ne-
 ‘ cessary both for Danger of the Sentence, *Quæ semper timenda est*,
 ‘ and Slander of the World, that by the said most Reverend Cardi-
 ‘ nals, your Grace should have a Commission to some Men in these
 ‘ Parties to *decern* [i. e. Decree] the same one Exception, and Process now
 ‘ made by the *French*, were of no Strength ; and your Grace’s Officers to
 ‘ be in no Danger of the said Process, or Sentence, *Et si opus fuerit,*

The Process
committed to
two Cardinals
by the Pope.

ANNO
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etiam eos omnes ad cautelam absolvere. This Thing, Sir, is so necessary, that no Man shall dare to serve your Grace here in any Office, if they be not declared by this Means, *Liberi ab omni Excommunicationis metu.* And then Sampson named a Person to the Cardinal, fit for this Purpose; Continuing thus: 'The Abbot of S. *Amands, in Pabulo Tornac. Dioecesis, Præpositus Divæ Pharaeldis Gaudentis, & Abbas Sancti Nicolai in pratis juxta Tornacium ejusdem Dioc.* shall be a very convenient Person, to be in the said Commission. The more speedily that it be done, the more shall it be to your Grace's Honour.

Sampson addresses to the Cardinal for Preferment; And why?

And after all this Pains taken, Counsel given, and Service done to the Cardinal, he thought it seasonable now to put in a Word for himself: Intreating him to make some Provision by Preferment, for his better and more creditable Subsistence, whose Circumstances at present were but mean. Therefore in the Conclusion of the same Letter, thus he addressed himself to his great Patron. 'Most humbly, Sir, I beseech your Grace, to be a good and gracious Lord unto me; that I may have your most gracious Succours and further Aid. For else, I am, or shall be, nothing able to do your Grace Service here, to your Honour. Almighty God be my Judge, I desire it for none other Cause, but the doing your Grace Service in these Parties; it may be to your Honour. Whereunto with the Help of Almighty God, enduring my Life, most faithfully I endeavour my self: And rather than I should otherwise do your Grace Service, refusing clearly the World, I would suffer as poor a Living, as any Creature might do. Extreme Necessity, Sir, causeth me to use this Boldness of Words to your Grace; unless that for Poverty, I should be little able to do your Grace, other any good Service in these Parties, profitable or honourable. For in doing your Grace Service here, I must meddle with some great Personages, and daily with such, as if I were not in your Grace's Service, passeth my poor Degree. Wherefore if that I be not like in other Things as your Grace's Servant in that Room, it should not be to your Grace's Honour. And little shall they accept or regard my Doings with them, *Cum in hac nostra ætate, inopia, egestate, humilitate, nihil contemptius.* So long as I may think to do such Service to your Grace, that may be to your Grace's Honour, there be no Labours of Body or Mind that I shall esteem, or avoid reasonable Danger or Peril. But by Poverty, when I shall be otherwise enforced, rather I shall suffer to my self a wilful Poverty, enduring my Life, than by a necessary Poverty do any such Thing as should not be to your Grace's Honour. Wherefore, Sir, in my most humble wise, I submit my Wealth or Misery only to your most gracious Goodness. The which I beseech Almighty God preserve to his Pleasure, and your Increase of Honour and Virtue. At Tournay, the 21st Day of August.

Subscribing,

Your most Humble Servant,
and Chaplain,

RICHARD SAMPSON.

Nor

Nor was this moving Argument of *Sampson* unsuccessful ; namely, *A N N O* of advancing the Cardinal's greater Honour by his Chaplain's Preferment, and Titles. For he soon procured him to be the King's Chaplain, and Dean of *S. Stephen's* : And which was a Foundation laid for many other Dignities and Places, as well as a Bishoprick ; which he obtained afterwards, as our Church Histories shew : And among the rest, he was one of King *Henry's* Privy Council. More perhaps will be said of him in the Current of these *Memorials*.

1515.

Sampson made Dean of St. Stephen's.

Further ; I find this Chaplain of the Cardinal, endeavouring, besides his Services, to ingratiate himself with him by curious Presents sent him from those Parts : One was a choice Piece of Tapestry, made in those Countries, famous for that Manufacture : In which was woven an exquisite Figure and Resemblance of *S. George*, the *English* Saint. And it proved very acceptable to the Cardinal ; as one *Toneis* (who seemed to be the Bringer of the Present) had signified to him : At which the Chaplain shewed himself highly pleased. And on this Occasion, he thus expressed his Gladness and Satisfaction in one of his Letters to his great Patron ; whom he stiled, *The Father of his Country*.

Sampson sends the Cardinal a Piece of Tapestry.

Retulit item mihi suis Literis idem Toneisius Peristroma, & quod nuper ad tuam Amplissimam Dignitatem, non inelegans meo judicio Tapetum illud Divi Georgij, velut Statua, perornatum, tradidi, non injocundum esse tuæ Magnificentia. Quo certè nuntio potuit mihi nuntiare, vel lætius vel felicius, nihil. Quippè qui præter omnia, nihil prorsus tam cupiam, quàm id aliquando aut reperire, aut efficere possem, quo valeam aliquâ re grata eximiam tuam Benignitatem afficere. Cum igitur intelligam tuæ Reverendissimæ Paternitati hujuscemodi Tapetum non vulgare, neque plebeium nunc videris, quàm humillimè tuam excellentissimam Bonitatem rogo atq; obtestor, à me tui & deditissimo & obsequiosissimo hanc rem dono acceptare, ut velis. Id certè quod prius ante omnia sollicitassem, si fidens meomet judicio tuam adeousq; Sublimitatem delectatum iri existimassem. Hoc si à tuâ quidem optimâ Bonitate impetraverim, me inter felicissimos, non quidem trepidè, sed audaciâ quadam lætissimâ, connumerare arbitrabor. Cum nihil mihi tam ex animo accidere possit, quàm si hanc rem tuæ Magnificentia non injocundam ab animo erga tuam præstantissimam Dignitatem benevolentissimo accipere haud spreveris. Vale, Pater Patriæ colendissime. Tornaci, 19. Die Aprilis.

The last Account I find given in by *Sampson* to the Cardinal, of the Receipts of the Incomes of that Bishoprick, was as follows, in his Letter writ Anno 1517. Whence may be guessed at the Value of it : *Viz.* That he had received the Rents of *De Sellier*, Father and Son, (who were Farmers of the Revenues thereof under his Grace) in the Years, 1514, 1515, 1516. whereof he paid by the Cardinal's Commandment to Mr. *Toneis*, (a Servant of the Cardinal's) 50 l. and the rest, to the Sum of One Hundred Mark, received by the said *Toneis*, and of such little Money more as should have come into his Hands.

Incomes of the Bishoprick of Tournay.

Moreover, *Sire*, there was paid by the said *De Sellier*, to him of whom your Grace had Tapestry here in *Tournay*, 50 Mark, and more Money. And now by these Accounts ; within these three or four Days, they have provided the Payment of the rest, to accomplish the said Three Years : Which shall amount to the Sum of

ANNO 'Three Hundred Mark Sterling, and more; as I think, Fifty or Three-score Mark.

1517.

And now beginning the Payment of the Year XVII. Wherein like as I have done in the other, with God's Grace, I shall endeavour my self, to your Grace's Honour and Profit, to the best of my little Power and Discretion, as Almighty God be my Judge: Who preserve your Grace in most prosperous Estate. At Tournay, the 17th of December.

Your most humble Chaplain, and Servant,

RICHARD SAMPSON.

The King and Cardinal seemed by this Time to be quite weary of Tournay, by reason of the continual Trouble and Expence of keeping it: So that in the Year 1518, Motions were made on both sides, by King Henry, and Francis, the French King, for an Accommodation, and for the restoring of that Place, upon certain Terms and Satisfaction to be made on the English Side. Which the French King shewed the greatest Forwardness to perform: Which the Lord Chamberlain, and others of the King's Ambassadors at that Court, shewed the Cardinal. And King Francis sent a Gentleman of his Chamber, when these Matters were to be transacted, with a Letter of his own Hand to the King, full of obliging Expressions. Which being short, I will here transcribe it word for word from the Original.

The French King's Letter to K. Henry.

Le long tans, mon myeulx éme [âymé] Frere, & plus perfet Amy, que jay demeure a vous fere [faire] savoir de mes nouvelles, sera sy l vous plest escuse sur les Raysons que Jay commande a Langes l'ung de Gentilhommes de ma Chambre, vous aller declarer, & fere entendre de par moy: de quelles ensemble de tout ce quyl vous dira de ma part, Je vous pry le vouloyr tout aynsy croire, que vous feries moy-mesmes: Et au demeurant, estre seur, que sy ce quyl vous presentera, & que Je vous envoie pour Sovenance, vous est aussy agreable, comme de bon cueur yl vous est envoie, ce sera playsyr, & Contantement grant [grand] a

Vre bon Frere, Cousyn, Compere, & perpetuel Allye,

FRANCORS.

And what good Success the English Ambassadors had by their prudent and discrete Management of their Commission at the French Court, their Letters to the Cardinal expressed: With which he was well pleased, commending and approving them in his own Letter in Answer, with further Directions to them: Which will deserve to be here inserted, in order to the shewing the Cardinal's Conduct, and the Terms proceeded upon, with a Design of an Interview of both Kings.

The Cardinal to the Ambassadors in France.

My Lords, I commend me unto you in right harty manner. And by the Contents of your Letters to me addressed, bearing Date the 28th of December, I not only understand the good Diligence and effectual Devoir that ye have done, and put you in, for the substantial

‘ Soliciting, and fruitful Expedition of the King’s Cause and Matter to *ANN O*
 ‘ you committed ; but also the great Conformity and Towardness of *1518.*
 ‘ the *French* King, in the Furtherance of the same. Who, as it ap-
 ‘ peareth by the Writing, is right appliable to the Accomplishment,
 ‘ as well of the Conventions whereunto he is bound by the Treaties;
 ‘ as also to amoving of all Impediments that mowght impede or let
 ‘ the Perfecting thereof : Manifestly declaring thereof, not only by
 ‘ the Answer given to the Lord *Ligny*, but also by making his Sub-
 ‘ mission, and Oaths benevolently, as a Vertuous Prince ; and ac-
 ‘ counting and accepting upon him the Restitution to be made to the
 ‘ King’s Subjects for Despoiles done upon the Sea, and taking the
 ‘ Charge upon him for recovering of *Mortaign*. Wherein he hath part-
 ‘ ly declared his Mind in his loving Letters to the King’s Highness ad-
 ‘ dressed ; but not so amply as your Letters purport.

‘ Whereupon the King’s Highness, as well for the great Honours
 ‘ and comfortable Cheer, to you shewed and made, since your Arrival
 ‘ to that Reame, as for the Towardness the said King sheweth himself
 ‘ to be of, not only in the Entertainment of firm Love and Amity be-
 ‘ tween the King and him, but also to do unto his Grace such Honour
 ‘ and Pleasure as he can ; his Highness hath now at this Time, by his
 ‘ right kind and loving Letters, given unto him right special and cor-
 ‘ dial Thanks ; like as by a Copy of his said Letters here enclosed, you
 ‘ shall perceive more at length. And well assured you may be, the
 ‘ King’s Highness upon Sight of these your said Letters, not only much
 ‘ commended your great Diligence and provident Dexterity, in the
 ‘ wise conducting of these his weighty Matters, whereby ye have de-
 ‘ served his singular Favour and Thanks, but also took great Rejoicing,
 ‘ Consolation and Comfort, in this honourable, princely and loving
 ‘ Demeanour of the said *French* King : Having good Hope and Con-
 ‘ fidence, that by this his constant Dealing at the Beginning, the A-
 ‘ mity and Alliance, to the great Comfort of their Friends, and Dis-
 ‘ comfort of their Enemies, honourably and kindly commenced and
 ‘ begun betwixt them, shall not only proceed from good to better, but
 ‘ also finally attain the desired End, to the Restfulness, and universal
 ‘ Weal of all *Christendome*.

‘ And as touching the King’s Mind and Pleasure in the Difficul-
 ‘ ties touched in your former Letters, concerning the Qualities of the
 ‘ Hostages, I doubt not, but ye have perfect Knowledge thereof by
 ‘ the King’s Letters, to you lately sent ; containing ample Instructi-
 ‘ ons, how to order your selves in so great a Matter, as that is :
 ‘ Not doubting, but that after your accustomed wise and provident man-
 ‘ ner, you will so circumspectly order your selves therein, that the
 ‘ best Hostages as may be possibly gotten, shall be had : Or at the
 ‘ least, the final Resolution of the King’s said Letters shall be attained.
 ‘ Wherein as hartly as I can, I require, and instantly desire you to
 ‘ apply your selves with all Effect. For to this Point all other Princes
 ‘ take special Regard : Whereupon, and only, dependeth the Surety
 ‘ of the Conventions, but also the stopping of dishonourable Bruits,
 ‘ which by Acceptation of insufficient Hostages, might be spread :
 ‘ Over all, which is more to be pondered, than the Importance of
 ‘ *Tournay*, or any other Thing thereupon depending.

‘ And

A N N O

1518.



‘ And as unto the *Personal* Meeting of both Princes, the Viewing of the Place, and Appointment of the Number to come with the said Princes ; in mine Opinion, ye have taken a right substantial and discrete way ; praying you effectually to follow the same, always foreseeing, that the Number be not too great, in avoinding sundry Incommodities and Inconveniences, that might follow thereof ; as I doubt not, ye can right well consider.

Finally, As touching the Monthly Wages appointed to the Soldiers of *Tournay*, after their Discharge, to be paid at their Arrival in *Dover* ; forasmuch as ye, my Lord Chamberlain, for sundry Causes and Considerations, and especially for Payment of such Debts as be owing by many of the said Soldiers in *Tournay* - - - - - Here the Letter breaks off abruptly.

Summary of
Chron.

For the Delivery up of *Tournay*, the *French* King was to pay (as one of our Historians writes) 600000 Crowns, and for the Citadel that the King had built there, another great Sum. And the Cardinal also, for his Resignation of that Bishoprick, was to have a good Consideration.

The Cardinal's
Instructions to
the King's Of-
ficers at *Tour-
nay*, upon the
Surrender.

Tournay then being to be surrendered, the Cardinal now (as he had done always in every Step before) gave his Instructions to the King's Officers there : That they should play the good Husbands for the King ; by turning, as much as they could, all the Provisions and Materials there for his Buildings, into Money, and to make Sale of them. For which Purpose, he with the Council gave Letters to the King's Deputy, *Jernegan*, brought from *England* to him by Sir *Richard Whet-
till*, Knight, the King's Marshal there : Importing, ‘ That it was the King's Pleasure, that he not only should, by politick manner, use the Means, that all such Provision of Victuals that had been provided for the Storing and Victualling of that his Citadel ; but also, that all such Timber, Lime, Stone and other Lumber, ordained for the Building of the Citadel, should be uttered and sold to the best Profit and Advantage. And also to put all such Things in so good and substantial a Readiness and Order there ; that at the Return of the Ambassadors from the *French* King, the City and Citadel might be delivered peaceably, without any difficult Rumour ; according to the League, Consideration and Amity, taken and concluded between him and *France* : And also, to avoid all Vagabonds and others, forth of the Town, that might be spared : And to see that every Man paid his Debts. To the End, that at the Lord Chamberlain's coming, there might be no Rumour or Let, as little as might be.

The Cardinal
leaves the Bi-
shoprick.

And as the City, so also the Bishoprick consequently was to be parted withal. Therefore the Cardinal's great Official, *Sampson*, was to use all his Diligence to gather up the Revenues and Arrearages thereof for his Grace ; and particularly what Sum was to be paid by the succeeding Bishop, for quiet Possession. For I find the said *Sampson* now informing the Cardinal, his Lord, about these Money Matters. As, how he had paid, or was ready to pay, the Money by him received, unto the King's Treasurer at *Tournay*, for the King's Use there ; the Cardinal to receive the like Value in *England*. And for the doing of which he gave his Reason : *Viz.* ‘ That it might please his Grace, ‘ saving

‘ saving his Grace’s Pleasure otherwise, that in his poor Opinion, it should not be only more Profit, that the said Money be spent in the King’s Use by his Deputy and Treasurer, but also that such other Money, that hereafter he should receive for his Grace, might be in like manner delivered to them, to be employed in the same Use. And at the Return of the same Deputy into *England*, it should appear such Money belonging to his Grace, to have been received, and employed to the King’s Use. Wherefore his Grace might receive again good Money in *England*. For by the Money there [in *Tournay*] received, to be brought into *England*, without fail should be very great Loss : Shewing him, that there was there none other Payment but in Pence ; whereof the one Half was not current in *England* : And that if he should change it into Gold, it was of such Price, that in every Piece there should be also great Diminution of the Sum.

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And then he proceeded to give the Cardinal Intelligence of Monies payable from the Farmers of the Bishop’s Lands and Revenues, and likewise from the new Bishop, by an Arbitration : *Viz.* ‘ That he should not fail to endeavour himself, with all Diligence, to the Receiving of so much Money as he might have. Notwithstanding, Sir, (added he) by Convention exprels, the Farmers there were bound to no Payment, before the *Purification* : And that yet after the *Term*, they were as slack and dull in their Payment as might be. Yet he promised the Cardinal, that he would use all the Means that he might, to his Grace’s most Honour and Profit.

‘ That as for the *French* Bishop, he had lately written unto him, that he intended to come to *Tournay* with the King’s Ambassadors ; and then he promised his Faith to accomplish the Arbement of the King’s Ambassadors, in all Things concerning his Grace. But that in the mean Time, (as he adds) he should gather and receive as much as he might ; which he feared should be right little.

Agreement on Terms with the *French* Bishop.

Then he concludes his Letter in some *Latin* Lines ; importing, How inclinable they would be to make themselves acceptable to the present Bishop ; since they had before so little Kindness towards them of the *English* Nation : Nor that he could compel them to pay before the Day of Payment. That there was a Coadjutor to the Abbot of *S. Martin’s* ; which Abbot was a Man void of all good Manners and Honesty ; and was worthy to be expell’d the Monastery, rather than to be continued in with a Coadjutor, &c. But take the Words themselves.

The ill Character of the *French* Abbot of *S. Martin’s*.

Modò percipiunt omnes, ut in rerum mutatione fieri solet, eidem futuro gratos affore Episcopo. Haud igitur dubium est, sese difficiles nunc reddituros, in quibus antea inerat minimum Benevolentia. Neque ante solutionis diem, præscriptæ justitiæ nervos, ut cogantur, in eos intendere possumus. Qui futurus est Coadjutor Divi Martini Tornac. Abbati, (Viro planè à bonis moribus & ab honestate alienissimo, ut qui radicibus à Monasterio extirpetur, quàm dignissimus est, magis quam cui detur Coadjutor) huc suum Procuratorem brevi missurus est : Qui ejus nomine Possessionem nasciscatur : Nunc tam Regiæ Majestati quàm Reverendissimæ tuæ Paternitati, ut fertur, gratissimus. Id quod utriusq;

Literis

A N N O Literis ampliter significabit. Vale, (quod de eximia tua Prudentia verissimè dici potest) Optime Pater, tum Pacis optatissimæ, tum ipsius Patriæ, quæ talem sibi Alumnū educavit, felicissimæ. Tornaci, viij. Idus Decembris.

Tua Reverendiss. Paternitatis quā
Deditissimus,

RICHARDUS SAMPSON.

In which last Clause of the Letter, we may observe the high Veneration and Esteem was then had of the Cardinal ; and what a great Instrument he was of the Peace now made between the Two Kings : Where the Writer takes his Leave of him in the Stile of, *The best Father, (as he might most truly be called for his excellent Prudence) as well of the most wisd-for Peace, as also of the Country it self, most happy which had brought up such a Child for it self.*

This Letter was superscribed,

*To my Lord Cardinal's Grace, Legate
of England.*

What I have writ in the Pages before, concerning *Tournay*, is somewhat long. But since there is so little appearing in our Historians concerning the King's Possession and Rule of that great City, and divers Memorable Matters in those Five or Six Years while it remained in the *English* Hands, it may not be amiss to have recorded the Memory of some of them ; especially wherein that great Counsellor and Churchman was concerned : in order to the adding some further Knowledge of this King's Reign ; and reviving the Memory of some Persons of Quality and Eminence then, not unacceptable doubtless to some of their surviving Posterity.

C H A P. II.

An Interview proposed between the Two Kings. The Obstructing thereof endeavoured by some Foreign Ambassadors. The Cardinal's Answer to their Jealousies. The King suspicious of France's Amity. The Cardinal the King's Lieutenant at Calais, sends his Advice to the King about it : And for the English Merchants Ships trading thither. His Letters to the King. The King's Book against Luther : Printed in London by Pynson. The Pope gives the King the Title of Defender of the Faith, for writing this Book. The King becomes zealous for the Pope. The Cardinal instrumental therein. The English Court noted abroad for Learning. A Commission from the Cardinal to all Bishops, to have Luther's Books delivered up. Luther's Errors, condemned by the Pope ; Ordered by the Cardinal to be fixed upon the Doors of all Cathedrals, and other Churches.

WE have the Cardinal again, in the Year 1520, overruling a great Cause concerning an Interview, purposed between King Henry and the French King, Francis. For as Peace had been made lately between them ; so now an Interview somewhere near *Calais* was concluded to be made, for the more Confirmation of mutual Friendship. But this gave Umbrage to the King of *Castile* : And certain Ambassadors of *Flanders*, lately at *Calais*, now in *England*, endeavoured mightily to obstruct it ; suggesting divers Reasons of State against it : And like as it might create a Jealousy in the French King, should the King of *England* give an Interview to the King of *Castile*. This, Sir *Richard Wyngfield*, Deputy of *Calais*, signified to the Cardinal. Who was much for the Interview ; as tending to beget and confirm a good Friendship and Understanding, lately begun between them. And those Ambassadors did labour to impeach and disappoint this Purpose with many Dalliances, and sundry Opinions about the same. Which made such an Impression upon the King's Admiral then at *Calais*, that he thought fit to send the Contents thereof to Court. Which caused the Cardinal to answer him roundly, in order to the amoving of such Suspicions and Jealousies. And in his Letter to him, declared the entire and whole Truth, as well of this Business and Practice, as had been made and set forth in *England* also by the said Ambassadors of *Flanders*, as also the King's Resolution and Demeanour in all and singular the same : So that in Reason and Honour, the Cardinal said, they ought to have been contented therewith. This the Cardinal also signified in another Letter to the said Deputy of *Calais*, to whom he enclosed the Copy of his Letter to the Admiral : Adding in this to the Deputy, (I transcribe from the Minutes, drawn up by the Cardinal's

An Interview of the Two Kings purposed, gives Umbrage to a Third.

ANN O own Hand :) ' That thereunto he supposed, the Admiral and some
 1520. ' others were not only sufficiently answered ; but also should have
 The Cardinal's ' Cause to forbear in giving sudden Credence hereafter to semblable
 Letter about ' untrue Bruits, studied and conceived to set Divisions, Diffidences
 it to the De- ' and Discourse between the King, our Master, and his Brother of
 puty of Calais. ' France.

' For (as he went on) it stood not with Honour nor Reason, that
 ' a Prince should be restrained to treat with the Ambassadors of his
 ' antient Friends and Confederats, or that for any such Treaties, any
 ' Jealousies or Suspicions should be taken : Considering by Ingratitude
 ' and strange Dealing, a Prince might soon lose and abandon his best
 ' Friends. And to be plain unto you, if the King of *Castile* should
 ' offer to descend at *Sandwich*, or about those Parts, as he hath done,
 ' to see and visit the King and the Queen, his Uncle and Aunt ; the
 ' King being in Journeying toward the Sea, and next thereunto ; it
 ' were too mervailous Ingratitude, to refuse the same. For by such
 ' dealing, the King mowght well judge and think, that the King, our
 ' Master, neither esteemed, loved, ne favoured him. Which mowght
 ' be the Mean clearly to loose him for ever. And I suppose, if the
 ' *French* King be so good a Friend to the King's Grace, as I think he
 ' is, he would not advise his Highness so to do. Insomuch therefore
 ' as by Refusal of this Offer, the King mowght have lost the King of
 ' *Castile* for ever : And that by yeving loving Answer thereunto, no
 ' Prejudice, ne Dishonour can ensue to the *French* King thereby, (tho
 ' it succede, as it is not likely to do) there is no Cause why the
 ' *French* King should take a Suspicion, or Jealousy therein. Specially,
 ' when the King mindeth intyrelly to accomplish all Conventious be-
 ' tween them. And if the *French* King should refuse the second
 ' Meeting, for that the King, our Master, hath entertained his
 ' antient Friend, by giving to him comfortable Answer, it may be
 ' counted that he more mindeth to dissolve the said antient Amity,
 ' than to continue or consolidate the same. Howbeit neither the King,
 ' ne I, ne yet any of his Council can believe, that the said *French*
 ' King mindeth any such Thing, the firm Peace, Alliance, and Amity,
 ' with other Demonstrations of fraternal Love and Kindness betwixt
 ' them groundly considered.

And accordingly the Meeting of both Kings was celebrated at a Camp
 near *Ardes*, with great Splendor and Triumph.

ANN O But the Peace between the Two Kings, whatever mutual Dear-
 1521. nesses there had appeared, was but short. The Cardinal was now,
 The Cardinal Anno 1521, at *Calais* ; to be nearer to take his Observations in *France*,
 at Calais, to and to do the King's Business, and serve his Interests there ; there be-
 observe the ing now a Diet held there also, between Commissioners sent from the
 French King. *French* King and the Emperor. From hence he wrote frequently to
 the King, of what passed in those Parts, and likewise the King to him.
 Sir *William Fitzwilliams* was now Ambassador at the *French* Court :
 Who writ word, how the *French* King had declared to him, *Upon his*
Honour, that he would give Battel to the Emperor ; between whom
 and King *Henry* was a good Correspondence. This was signified to the
 Cardinal : Also how Counsils were now taken, for Security against the
 Jealousy

Jealousies the King had of *France*. The Merchants of *England* were ready to send their Ships and Vessels to *Bourdeaux* this Vintage; for Wines, as they were wont to do: And Care was taken at this Suspicious Juncture, for the preserving them from Violence and Damage, if the *French* should attempt it by Sea; and that the King's Navy might suffer no Loss. Of all this the King, by his Secretary, sent Intelligence to the Cardinal; requiring his Advice and Counsil in these and the like Points. He knew how to please the King: And in his Answer directed to the King's Highness, he applauds him for his good Government, and his great Care of his Subjects Welfare, and for his careful Consultation for the Peace and Safety of his Kingdom. He extols his provident Foresight, and Princely Zele, and substantial Regard to his own Honour and Surety: In foreseeing Politickly before hand, Dangers Abroad; believing, that none could more providently consider the Politick Government of his Realm. And that therefore, though he [the King] of his Goodness, had desired his poor Advice, yet he was sure, that his Majesty could much better provide Remedies for the same, than he on his Part could Devise. All this more at Large, with his Advice at Length, remains in his Letters (which were Two) to the King. Which highly deserve to be preserved and read; as both shewing the notable Wisdom and Sharpness of the Cardinal, as also the great Deference that was given to his Judgment. They follow, as I transcribed them from his own Minutes.

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The King requires his Advice.

' Sir, I perceived by such Writings as lately came to my Hand from your Secretary, that your Grace hath received three or four Letters from me, of fundrie Datys. And inasmuch as in some of them, nothing was contained but only News, it is not thought requisite any special Answer to be made thereunto, but only your Gracious Thanks to me to be given. Which I would be right glad to deserve, by all the Industry, Labour and Policy, that I can use.

The Cardinal to the King, with respect to the *French* King.

' And, Sir, as touching those News, which at that Time were written by your Ambassador, Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, touching the Promise made by the *French* King, on his Honour, that he would give Battail to the Emperor's Army within brief Time; I think verily, that as your said Ambassador, as a faithful Gentleman, reported no less than the *French* King spake; howbeit, by the Contents, as well of such other Letters as I have received this Day from your said Ambassador, as by the News comen from the Emperor to his Heir, enclosed, your Grace shall well perceive, that nother the *French* King is in such a Readiness within so brief Time to give Battel, though he promised on his Honour so to do; ne yet, that the News written on either Party, be so true, that firm Credence oweth at all Times to be given unto them. Nevertheless, by provident Foresight, more Credence is to be given to Writings of such as most commonly make true Reports, than of others, which accustomedly use to contrive News upon untrue Grounds, for the Advancement of their own Affairs. Whereunto your Grace having good Experience, as well in Times past, as by the Experience now occurrent, can best judge: Especially when the Loss and Damages of the *French* King be by him Causeless to your Grace arrested. So that I suppose, neither this cruel Battle is so neer Hand, ne yet such Re-

ports,

A N N O 1521. ports, though they be spoken upon his Honour, be always to be believed.

Over this, Sir, whereas your Grace, foreseeing the Daungers, Damages, Losses and Prejudice, that might ensue to your Navy, and the Subjects of your Realm, if, in this suspect and casual Time, they should resort to *Burdeaux* for this Vintage, like as they have been accustomed to do heretofore; desired and commanded me to declare unto you my poor Advice and Opinion, what was most expedient to be done therein; I calling unto me the whole Number of such your Counsellors as be here with me, after long Reasoning, and debating of the said Matter, finally concluded by one Assent, that such Remedies as were expressed in my Letter then to your Grace sent, were most covenable Provisions, to remedy the said Daunger, Loss and Damage. And surely, Sir, if by our Wits and Intendments, better Remedies could have been foreseen, the same should have been notified, and intimated unto you. But inasmuch as your Grace so much pondereth the Daunger and Casualties that may ensue, by repairing of your Navy and Subjects to *Burdeaux*, that you count none Assurance by Treaties, Plakards, Proclamations or Articles, to be confirmed by the Princes on all Parties, to suffice for that Indemnity, and presuppose such Writings and Promises to be fraudulent and evasive Allectives, to bring your said Navy and Subjects in Daunger. Thinking also, that the sending of a convenient Number of your small Ships to *Burdeaux*, or *Livorna*, to be given for bringing *Gascoin* Wines into your Realms, should raise a Murmur among your Subjects, &c. The Minutes of this Letter break off here.

The Cardinal's other Letter to the King, concerning the Ships of the Merchants, and his own, going into *France*, was more full, having conferred with the *French* King's Chancellor, then at *Calais*, about these Matters: Prefacing his Letter with great Observance towards his Majesty: And thus he addresseth:

Another Letter of the Cardinal to the King, about the Daunger of his Ships.

Sir, Whereas your Grace, most prudently and providently considering the imminent Dangers that may issue, as well by taking of your Navy and Subjects, with such Goods and Substance as they have, and shall bring with them to *Burdeaux*, if they should thither repair this Year for Vintage, as they have been heretofore accustomed to do; as also pondering the Suspicion that might be impressed in the *French* King's Mind, by the abstaining of your said Navy and Subjects from thence: Which Jealousy might percase cause him to restrain and stop your Pension, payable unto you within brief Time; Yee not only desire me maturely to debate and consider what is best to be done therein, but also to advertise your Grace with Diligence, of my poor Advice and Opinion upon the same, like as in your Secretary's Letters by your Commandments unto me address'd, it is contained more at Length.

Sir, When I groundly considered your provident Forecast, as well for the Conservation of your Navy from Damage, as the Princely Zele that yee bear, to preserve your Subjects, and their Goods, with the substantial Regard that yee take to your Honour and Surety, in foreseeing Politickly before Hand, the Daunger and Damages that in this

‘ this Suspect Time, may ensue to your Highness, your Realm and
‘ Subjects; it is unto me one of the singular Consolations and Com-
‘ forts that ever I had: Whereby I evidently perceive, that no Man
‘ can more groundly consider the Politick Governance of your said
‘ Realm, ne more assuredly look to the Preservation thereof, than Yee
‘ your self. And therefore, though your Grace of your Goodness re-
‘ quire my poor Advice, yet well assured I am, Ye can better provide
‘ Remedy for the same, than I can imagine, or devise.

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‘ Nevertheless, to accomplish your Noble Pleasure and Command-
‘ ment, I shall declare my poor Opinion, though remitting always
‘ the same to your Reformation and Correction.

‘ And first, Sir, albeit I suppose and think, that the *French King*
‘ troubled and infested with so many [Enemies] and Armies on every
‘ Side, as well within his own Realm, as in the Dutchy of *Milain*,
‘ and upon the [Borders] of *Navarr*, will be well ware, how he at-
‘ tempt any Thing, either by Land or Sea, whereby he should give
‘ Occasion to provoke you to break with him, and join with any of
‘ his Enemies: By Means whereof he might fall to many Daungers:
‘ Yet upon that Ground will I not take my Foundation: Though
‘ this Day the Chancellor of *France*, after he had Dined with me
‘ alone, without any of his Collegues, declared expressly, that not on-
‘ ly the King, his Master, hath in you his most Alliance, before all
‘ other Princes, but also plainly shewed, that though such Advice and
‘ Counsel, as I in your Name, and as your Lieutenant, should shew
‘ unto him, for the firm Entertainment of the good Amity between
‘ your Grace and him, he had Commandment to be conformable;
‘ and that both his said Master, and he, was as good *English*, as any
‘ of your Subjects; like as it should be well known, by his favoura-
‘ ble entertaining of your Subjects, repairing to any of the Domini-
‘ ons under the Obeisance of his said Master: Whereby it appeareth;
‘ that as yet, for any Bruits, they have no maner Suspicion.

‘ Nevertheless, for the assured remedying of the doubtful Daungers
‘ by your Grace foreseen, and remembred, I thought not most Sure-
‘ ty, to lean only to Words, unless the same were corroborate by
‘ available Bands and Writings. Wherefore, besides other Reme-
‘ dies, which I shall hereafter particularly declare in this my Letter;
‘ I have taken this Order with the said Chancellor of *France*.

‘ First, Forasmuch as Complaints be here daily made by your Sub-
‘ jects, of such Depredations as be committed upon them by the
‘ *French Men*, which is manifestly proved before the said Chancellor,
‘ and not only no Redress made to some of your Subjects upon the
‘ same, but also divers Ships have been rescued from them;
‘ whereof one, with certain *French Men* apprized thereof, arrived
‘ here in your Haven this Day; I have therefore upon those Grounds,
‘ without speaking of the Matter of *Burdeaux*, caused the said Chan-
‘ cellor to determine, that Proclamations be made throughout the
‘ Realm of *France* and *Britain*, upon the Sea Coasts, that no Man,
‘ under Pain of Death, shall Enterprize to take any *English* Ships, or
‘ *English* Mens Goods; but that all *English*, both by Land, Sea, and
‘ fresh Water, shall have as free Course in Surety to pass, remain, and

‘ return

ANN O ' return at their Liberty, as ever they had heretofore in the Domini-
 1521. ' ons of the said *French* King.

' I have also moved the said Chancellor to write to the King, his
 ' Master, that over and beside the said Proclamations, an open Placard, Signed and Sealed by the said *French* King, shall be made, and
 ' delivered to your Grace; making Assurance to all and singular your
 ' Subjects, repairing to *Burdeaux*, or any other his Dominions under his Obeisance by Sea or Land, that they, and every of them,
 ' shall not only be favourably entertained, but also suffered safely to
 ' return with their Ships, Goods and Merchandizes, according to the
 ' Treaties, without any Trouble or Vexation to any your said Subjects.
 ' To the granting and Expedition of which open Placard, I find the
 ' said Chancellor right agreeable. And albeit the *French* King be
 ' bound hereunto by Treaty, yet, if contrary to the same Treaty,
 ' Proclamations, and Placards, they shall attempt any Thing against
 ' your Subjects, it may be more grievously arrected unto the said *French*
 ' King's Charge, when ye shall make your Declaration against him.

' And, Sir, during our Abode at this Diet, having the Chancellor of
 ' *France* here, they shall not dare to Enterprize any Thing at *Burdeaux*
 ' against the Goods or Ships of any Subject of your Realm. And a
 ' Treux or Abstinence of War being taken by [the Commissioners]
 ' of this Diet, as I trust it shall be, then Hostility shall cease on
 ' all Parts, during the Treux. Whereby your Navy and Ships shall
 ' be in Surety.

Ways devised
 by the Cardinal, for Safety of Merchants Ships
 in *France*.

' And yet, Sir, for an habundaunt Cautele for the Safeguard of
 ' your Ships and Navy, repairing this Year to *Burdeaux*, I have devised Three Ways. Whereof the first is, That Provision by your
 ' Grace should be made in your Ports, that no Ship above the Portage
 ' of an Hundred, or Six Score, should pass to *Burdeaux* this Year,
 ' and that no Multitude of Ships should Confort there together, and
 ' at once; but such a convenient Number as ye shall think good;
 ' suffering them first to return, for Knowledge, how they have sped,
 ' before any mo Ships be sent forth. By which Means, not only the
 ' great Ships of your Realm shall be in Safety, but also the most Part
 ' of your Navy conserved from Danger.

' The Second Remedy is this, that in Case it may like your Grace,
 ' not only to Licence your Subjects to bring their Wines upon Strangers Bottoms, but also give Liberty to the *French* Men, and *Britons*,
 ' to bring *Gascoin* Wines to your Realms upon their proper Ships; ye
 ' should not only have right great Plenty of Wines at better Prizes
 ' than it hath been accustomed to be sold heretofore, with the Augmentation of your Customs, but also relieve *Flanders*, and the Emperor's Countries with Wines; whereby during the Wars, they shall
 ' be destitute, if they be not relieved by your Means. And besides
 ' that, Sir, there shall so many *French* and *Britons* Ships resort to your
 ' Realm, under Colour of your said Licence and Liberty, that ye shall
 ' always have a good Country Security and Paine, to take their Ships,
 ' if they wol any Thing Enterprize against you.

' Finally, Sir, among other Devices and Capitulations, that we be
 ' now in making for the [Safety] and Surety of the Fishers, as well
 ' of *Flanders*, as of *France*, during this Herring Time, I [do intend]
 ' besides

beside the foresaid Provisions for the Safeguard of the Navy, to devise the Articles to be concluded by the mutual Consent of both Parties ; that not only your Subjects, with their Ships, Goods and Merchandizes, shall surely and safely pass and repass through all Harbours under the Dominion of the Emperor and *French* King ; but also, that no maner Ships, Strangers or others, shall be taken within their Streamys. By which Articles, the Liberty of your Streamys and Territories of the Sea shall be more largely extended, and amplified, as well by the Emperor's, as the *French* King's expresse Consents, by special Articles, than ever it was before. Which Articles also shall be a high Remedy for the Preservation of your Navy, and free Liberty to be given thereby unto them, freely to pass and repass to all Coasts and Countries under the Dominions and Obeisances of the said Princes, without Damage.

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But soon after this Letter of the Cardinal's to the King, wherein he laid down such a Politick Scheme to be had with the Commissioners of the other King, to preserve the King's and Merchants Ships, and the Trade to *Bordeaux* ; there were Letters sent from Court to him, of great Spoil notwithstanding done by the *French* to some *English* Ships. Which occasioned another Letter from the Cardinal to the King, who now much required, and depended upon his Judgment. Therein also he gave his Majesty his Thoughts about the Seizing these Ships ; and also about Entering into another Truce with the *French* King, when as yet no open Rupture of the Amity was made ; tho' there appeared too much tending thereto ; and the King's Ambassadors at the *French* Court were not well used. And whereas Advice was taken, about deferring the sending of Ships to *Bordeaux* for some Time longer, till the latter Vintage ; when there might be a Likelihood of safer Sailing ; the Cardinal shewed his Reason, why he was against it. Because, in all Probability, there would more Jealousies arise upon the Emperor's coming into *England*, which was intended to be about that Time. Of all these Matters, thus the Cardinal shewed his Mind in his next Letter ; after some Lines, thus proceeding :

Some *English*
Ships taken by
the *French*.

And wheras your Grace doubteth not, but that I, with your Council here, [at *Calais*] had had so large Knowledge of the Damage of your Subjects, being daily despoiled on Sea, as ye have advertised me, since both I and they would have agreed with your Grace in one Opinion ; Sir, Truth it is, that I had certain Knowledge of sundry Despoils done upon the Sea by *French* Men, before I advertised your Grace of my said poor Answer and Opinion for this *Bordeaux* Voiage. Which, upon their Complaints, had good Redress and Restitution : Whereby I was moved to have the better Trust. And since that Time, I received another Letter from your Secretary ; wherein he writeth, that two Hulks, wherein certain Goods appertaining to *English* Men, were lately taken by *French* Men ; the one being conveyed to *Boleyn*, and the other to *Frib* in *Scotland*.

The Cardinal
to the King, on
this Occasion.

And as touching the Hulk conveyed to *Boleyn*, surmised to appertain to *Birch*, wherein one *Rock* of *London* pretendeth to have Goods ; I have caused some of your Council here, to hear the Complaints of the said *Rock*. And albeit the said *Rock* neither can, ne will justify the said Hulk to appertain to *Birch*, yet he chalengeth certain Goods

in

A N N O 1521. { in her, whereof I doubt not, he shall have Restitution, if he can duly prove them to be his. And as unto the other Hulk carried into *Scotland*, I see no Remedy, but Letters to be devised and sped by your Grace, to be sent to the Council of *Scotland*, by the Parties dampnified there, to pursue for Restitution. And if they be *French* Men that have taken the Goods, then a Certificate to me made, of their Names and Dwelling Places, with a Specialty of the Goods taken, I shall endeavour my self with the Chancellor of *France*, for Restitution to be made according to Justice. And this, in effect, be all the Despoils that I know newly done. Howbeit some other Pursuits have been made here, for Redress of Depredations done upon the Sea about *Midsummer*, and before : Which shall be also remedied in the Countries, where the Offenders dwell. For which Purpose, Letters be delivered by the Chancellor to the Parties Complainants.

‘ This, Sir, like as we heretofore conformed our Opinions and Mind touching the Voiage of *Burdeaux*, to your high Plesure, so we eftsones remit the same to your great Wisdom.

‘ And, Sir, to enquire of the *French* Men, why they take the *Easterlings* Hulks, it appertaineth not to me, as your Lieutenant. For if they will pretend Inimity to be betwixt the Merchants of *Danske* and them, your Grace may not conveniently let the same : Howbeit to restore your Subjects Goods being in them, I have and woll speak accordingly.

‘ And whereas your Secretary further writeth, that this first Vintage may be further respited and deferred, upon good Grounds, without Distrust or Jealousy, by Declaration of this manifold Despoyls, and cruel Intreaty of your Subjects upon the Sea, as well by *French* Men, as *Spaniards* ; by reason whereof it may be said, they abstain from the said Venture ; like as to good Policy it appertaineth, for the Servation of themselves, and Surety of their Goods ; I think the same full good and reasonable Considerations, if they take it well : Howbeit to defer that Voyage till the latter Vintage at *Candlemas*, so that by Vertue of a Treux to be taken here, they may then resort thidder in Surety ; Sir, under your Favour and Correction, your said Subjects shall be in more Danger, going, than now : For if some Suspicion and Distrust be taken now by the *French* King, as your Grace judgeth by the strange Entreaty of your Ambassador, it is to be supposed, that by that Time it shall be further spread and encreased. And so I say, that if the Treaty, not yet declared broken, the Placard, Safe Conduct, and all the other Remedies before touched, cannot now stand in stead ; then the Abstention of War, which may be as soon broken, if there be no Truse, as all the other Assurance, cannot then prevail ; especially considering this Amity standing yet unbroken betwixt you and the *French* King, no Treux can be taken betwixt you and him. For taking of a Treux, presupposeth Rupture of Amity. And therefore this Treux must be only taken betwixt the Emperor and the *French* King, for the Indemnity of their Subjects : Which cannot help your Subjects. In Consideration whereof, these Remedies now provided, may better serve

‘ at this Time, than the Abstinence of War then, and especially the
 ‘ Safe Conduct, comprized in the Placard for all your Subjects resort-
 ‘ ing to *France*. Which is an abundant Cautele; tho’ the same, stand-
 ‘ ing the Amity, needed not.

‘ Sir, If Princes accustomedly observed their Safe Conducts to their
 ‘ Enemies in Time of open War, it is to be supposed they will not
 ‘ break it, standing the Colour of Peace and Amity.

‘ And on the other side, the Second Vintage is commonly in *Febru-*
 ‘ *ary*, about the *Purification of our Lady*: In which Month it is inclu-
 ‘ ded by Treaty, that the Emperor shall be with you in *England*: And
 ‘ then the Distrust and Jealousy shall be more largely imprest in the
 ‘ *French* Mens Minds, than it is now. And albeit your Subjects might
 ‘ then go surely without Impeachment, yet it were not possible to bring
 ‘ Wine of the Second Vintage, to serve the Emperor at his coming in-
 ‘ to your Realms.

‘ And whereas it is further written, that by this Treaty taken with
 ‘ the Emperor, it is sufficiently provided for the Indempnity in the
 ‘ Pension of *France* to be paid by the Emperor, if the *French* King re-
 ‘ fuse to pay the same: Sir, the Matter dependeth upon your Decla-
 ‘ ration. And therefore, good it were to save the next Payment to be
 ‘ made by the *French* King, if it might conveniently be.

‘ And whereas it is alledged, that my Doubt is solved by mine own
 ‘ Writing; whereas I suppose the *French* King shall not provoke your
 ‘ Enemity, but conserve your Amity: Sir, if my Letter be well re-
 ‘ garded, I writ that only conditionally; unless he be driven thereun-
 ‘ to by Distrust and Diffidence; and so that Doubt remaineth not un-
 ‘ absolved.

About the Year 1521, did King *Henry* shew himself a Man of Let-
 ters, as well as Arms, by a Book, which he owned himself the Au-
 thor of: Wherein both his Learning, and his Zeal for the Pope’s
 Cause, and Religion, appeared: Being written in Confutation of *Mar-*
tin Luther’s late Books against *Indulgences*, granted by Popes, and other
 Errors of the Church of *Rome*. This Book the King, by the Cardin-
 al’s Advice, thought fit to have presented to Pope *Leo*: Which was
 done by Dr. *Clark*, then the King’s Ambassador at *Rome*; and was de-
 livered by him into his own Hands, in a solemn Assembly of Cardin-
 als; and at the same Time, he made a Speech to the Pope. To
 whom the Pope presently made an Answer, shewing his most grateful
 Acceptance of it. And in Testimony thereof, he gave him the Title
 of *Defender of the Faith*; and so always to be stiled, whensoever he
 was named. And the Book thus presented, richly bound, was laid
 up in the *Vatican*, as a Rarity: Where the Lord *Herbert* of *Cherbury*
 faith, he afterwards saw it.

The King’s
 Book against
Luther, pre-
 sented to the
 Pope:

This was brought about by the Means of Cardinal *Wolsey*: Who
 procured some Copies of the Book to be written, in a very fair and
 beautiful Character; and one of them to be bound up splendidly;
 namely, that that was to be sent to the Pope: And the said Cardinal
 sent that especially to the King, for his Liking of it, before it went.

Chiefly by the
 Means of *Wol-*
sey.

This Book was soon printed here in *England*, by *Pynson*, for the
 Honour of the King. For it stood in the Title Page; Printed 1521.
Londini, in Aedibus Pynsonianis. Which I once saw in that exquisite

Matters con-
 tained in this
 Book, when
 printed.

A N N O Library of ancient Books, belonging sometime to Dr. Moore, when
1521. Bishop of *Norwich*. In this Book, were these several Things contain-
 ed. I. The Oration of *John Clark*, Dean of *Windsor*, to the Pope,
 upon his exhibiting the King's Work to him. II. The Answer of the
 Pope to the same, *Extempore*. III. The Pope's Bull to the King's Ma-
 jesty, for the Confirmation of his Work. IV. Then the Book it self,
*Contra Martinum Lutherum, Hæresiarcho*n. V. The King's Epistle, *Ad*
Illustrissimos, &c. Viz. the Duke of *Saxony*, and other *German Princes*; piè
Admonitoria, piously admonishing them to beware of *Luther*, and his
Heresies. VI. The Pope's Bull of *Indulgences*, to encourage the Read-
 ing of the King's Book. Which was thus prefaced; *Librum hunc*
HENRICI VIII. Angliæ & Franciæ Regis Potentiss. contra Mar-
tinum Lutherum, legentibus, 10 Annorum, & totidem Quadragenarum
Indulgentia Apostolicâ Autoritate concessa est.

The Clause of the Bull, (which bore Date in *October*) conferring
 that Glorious Title upon him, was, *Habitâ super his, cum eisdem*
Fratribus nostris [viz. *Cardinalibus & Prælatibus*] *maturâ Deliberatione,*
de eorum unanimi Consilio & Assensu, Majestati tuæ Titulum hunc,
Viz. FIDEI DEFENSOREM, donare dscrevimus, - - - - -
Mandantes omnibus Christi Fidelibus, ut Majestatem Tuam hoc Titulo
nominent: Et cum ad eum scribing, post Dictionem Regi, adjungant Fi-
dei Defensori.

England noted
 abroad for
 Learning, and
 Learned Men.

This Royal Piece of Learning gives Occasion to relate, for the Ho-
 nour of this Nation, how it was noted Abroad for the Learning and
 Learned Men it was replenished with; nay, and the Court also, and
 the King too, renowned not only for that Accomplishment, but for
 his sharp Wit and Parts likewise: Which must be attributed chiefly to
 the Cardinal's Influence and Encouragement, and Furtherance of good
 Studies. This the great Learned Man, *Erasmus*, that lived in those Times,
 and held a Correspondence here in *England*, well knew, and often ap-
 plauded this Land for. Thus, in an Epistle of his to one *Banisius*, da-
 ted *Anno 1519*, from *Brussels*. * ' Learning would triumph, had we
 ' such a Prince at home as *England* hath. That King not unlearned,
 ' as well as of a very sharp Wit. He openly shews himself a Patron
 ' of good Letters. He silenceth all brawling Contenders. All Stu-
 ' dies are restored for the better by the Cardinal of *York*; and by
 ' his Kindness to many, inviteth every body to the Love of Studies,
 ' &c. And even the King's Court abounds with greater Numbers of
 ' the Learned, than any University.

And in another Epistle of his to a Learned *English* Man, Sir *Henry*
Guldeford, Master of the King's Horse, writ the same Year, he hath
 these Words: † ' What School, what Monastery any where is there, that
 ' hath so many Persons endowed with Probity and Learning, as your
 ' Court hath?

* *Triumpharent bonæ Literæ, si Principem haberemus domi qualem habet Anglia. Rex ipse non in-*
doctus, tum Ingenio acerrimo. Palam tuetur bonas Literas: Rabulis omnibus silentium indixit. Cardi-
nalis Eboracensis omnia Studia in melius restituit, suâq; Benignitate passim omnes invitât ad Amorem
Studiorum, &c. Aula Regis plus habet Hominum Eruditione præstantium, quàm ulla Academia. Eras-
mi Epist. ad Banisium.

† *Quæ Schola, quod Monasterium uquam tam multos habet insigni Probitate Doctrinâq; præditos, quàm*
vestra habet Aula? Erasmi Ep. p. 368.

And again in another Epistle, he particularly noted the excellent Abilities of one particularly, of the *English* Nation; namely, || *Pace*, then the King's Ambassador in *Germany*; and bad *Banifius* (to whom he wrote) to get acquainted with him, giving this Character of him: ANNO 1521.
 ' That nothing was finer than his Wit, and one most accomplished
 ' in both Parts of Literature; and for his Vertues, to the King, the
 ' Cardinals, and even to the *Roman* Pontiff himself, most accep-
 ' table.

To all which let me subjoin the Lamentation the same great Scholar made, how Learning and Sobriety was then gone from Religious Houses, where formerly they most flourished, and was removed to the Courts of Princes, now there rather to be found. O! *miras rerum humanarum vicissitudines*, &c. ' O! the strange Vicissitudes of Human Affairs! heretofore the Heat of Learning was among such as
 ' professed Religion; now while they, for the most Part, give up
 ' themselves *Ventri, Luxui, pecunieque*; i. e. to the Belly, Luxury,
 ' and Money, the Love of Learning is gone from them to secular
 ' Princes, the Court, and the Nobility. May we not justly be ashamed of our selves? * The Feasts of Priests and Divines are drowned in
 ' too much Wine, are filled with scurrilous Jest, sound with intemperate Noise and Tumult, flow with spiteful Slanders, and Defamations of others: While, in the mean Time, at Princes Tables, modest Disputations are had concerning such Things as make for Learning and Piety.

And then he goes on to prophecy of the Rise of good Learning, and Religion, after the fatal Decay of it for divers Ages past, in his Address to the abovesaid Sir *Henry Guylford*. † ' Indeed I see a certain Golden Age ready to arise: Which perhaps will not be my Lot
 ' to partake of [being now drawing near to the end of his Life] yet
 ' I congratulate the World, and the younger Sort I Congratulate, in
 ' whose Minds, howsoever *Erasmus* shall Live, and Remain, by Reason of the Remembrance of the good Offices he hath done.

I go not out of my way in relating these Passages, being Historical of these Times we are now in: Wherein Learning began in this Part of the World to shew it self; and the Monks and Friars here noted for their Degeneracy into Ignorance and Vice; while the King, and his Court, at least many of them, and his Servants and Ministers of State, were brightned with Learning and Knowledge; and the Cardinal none of the least.

The King seemed to boast much of this Titulary Honour bestowed upon him so solemnly by the Pope and Cardinals, and the high Praises accompanying the same, in such Words as these: ' That he [the Pope] had diligently and accurately look'd into the Doctrine of that
 ' Book, naming it, *A certain admirable Doctrine, sprinkled with the Dew of Ecclesiastical Grace*: And he gave Thanks to the Omnipotent

The Pope highly extols the King's Learning and Piety.

|| *Erasmus's* Character of *Pace*.

∴ *Nihil ejus ingenio candidius; utriusque Literature peritissimus; pro suis Virtutibus Regi, Cardinalibusque, atque adeo Romano Pontifici, gratissimus est.*

* *Madent vinolentia, scurrilibus opplentur jecis, tumultu parum sobrio perstrepunt, virulentis obtrusionibus scatent.*

† *Equidem aureum quoddam seculum exoriri video: quo mihi fortassis, non contingeret frui, &c.*

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‘tent God, from whom every the best and perfect Gifts do come;
‘who had vouchsafed to inspire the King’s excellent Mind, inclined to
‘every good Thing, to write such Things for the Defence of the Holy
‘Faith, against the new Stirrers up of Damnable Heresies; and where-
‘by he might invite other Kings, and Christian Princes, by his Ex-
‘ample, to give all their Aid and Favour to the Orthodox Faith, and
‘Evangelical Truth, then brought into great Danger and Hazard.
‘And therefore he thought it meet and just, that they, who under-
‘took such pious Labour, in Defence of the Faith of Christ, deserved
‘all Praise and Honour. And accordingly, he [the Pope] not only
‘extolled and magnified with deserved Praise, what his Majesty had
‘wrote against the said *Martin Luther*, with most absolute Learning,
‘nor less Eloquence, but did approve and confirm it by his Authority,
‘and would Adorn and Grace his Majesty with such Honour and Ti-
‘tle, that all the faithful People of Christ in that, and in perpetual
‘Time to come, might understand, how grateful this Gift, presented
‘to him, was, especially at this Time. And therefore he, the true
‘Successor of *St. Peter*, in that Holy See, whence all Dignities and
‘Titles flowed, and consulting with the rest of his Brethren, after
‘mature Deliberation, had decreed to give to your Majesty this
‘Title, &c.

A Commis-
sion from the
Cardinal to
bring in all
Luther’s
Books.

This Matter was contrived by the Cardinal, to engage the King the more against *Lutheranism*, which now began to spread in the Kingdom, and such Books and Writings to be brought over. And being backed with the Title granted to the King, the Cardinal used his Diligence effectually to suppress the same, by a strict Commission from himself, invested with the Legantine Power, to all the Bishops in *England*, by a general Visitation, to take Order, that any Books, Written or Printed, of *Martin Luther’s* Errors and Heresies, should be brought in to the Bishop of each respective Diocese. And that every such Bishop receiving such Books and Writings, should send them up to him. And in order to this, Notice was to be given in every Church at *Mass-Time*, before the People present, that whosoever had such Books in their Houses, or Possessions, should forthwith deliver them up to the Bishop, or his Commissary, or other Officer, within Fifteen Days. And this upon Pain of incurring the greater Excommunication; and being esteemed Concealers and Favourers of Heretical Pravity; and so reputed and judged as Hereticks, and liable to be punished as such. And that all Abbots, Priors, and Governors of Religious Houses, all Deans, Presidents, &c. of Cathedral Churches; all Rectors, Vicars, Curates, &c. of Parochial Churches, be by the Bishop admonished and enjoined, to bring in, and deliver up to him any such Books, composed, or set forth by the said *Martin*, under his Name. And to do the same, under the Penalties abovesaid. It was Dated from his House near *Westminster*, the 14th of *May*, 1521.

It began with a pompous Enumeration of all his Titles; and was directed first to the King, and then to the universal Kingdom of *England*, and all and singular Provinces, Cities, Places, &c. of the said Kingdom. And therein he required, that the Bishops should do their Parts, ‘Before those Damnable and Pestiferous Errors and Heresies,
‘broached

‘ broached by *Luther*, took Place in this Kingdom, lest they should
 ‘ take Root, as a noxious Briar here ; and that by the exprefs Will and
 ‘ Command of the most Potent and Illustrious Prince, (whom the
 ‘ most Holy Father, namely, *The Defender of the Faith*, called, *The*
 ‘ *Catholick Faith*) required him [the Cardinal] with all possible En-
 ‘ deavour to root out, and abolish this Herefy, from this his Noble
 ‘ Kingdom : Which Resolution was accompanied with a diligent Trea-
 ‘ ty, and exact Deliberation with *William*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*,
 ‘ and other his Reverend Brethren, Prelates of the Kingdom : And by
 ‘ his, [the said Cardinal’s] Apostolical Authority, commanded all Bi-
 ‘ shops, &c. But this remarkable Commission I recommend to be
 ‘ read at Large in the *Appendix*.

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Numb. IX.

In the foresaid Commission, the Cardinal enjoined every Bishop to
 set up upon the Folding Doors of their Cathedral Churches, (as like-
 wise they were to order it to be done upon the Doors of the Churches
 of the Regulars, and Parish Churches) a List of some of *Luther’s*
 pestiferous Errors, for all Persons to read and avoid, according as they
 were expressed in a Bull of the Pope’s (set out in the Year 1520,
 damning *Luther*, and his Writings,) being Forty Two in Number.
 And they are these that follow, taken exactly as they stand in the
 End of the Cardinal’s said Commission; only I put them into our
English Language out of the *Latin*. But whether the Pope, and the
 Cardinal from him, have represented all *Luther’s* Doctrines aright, or
 strained or perverted the Sense of any of them, I leave to those that
 have read his Books.

1. It is an Heretical Opinion, but common, that the Sacraments
 of the new Law give justifying Grace to them, who do not *ponere*
obicem.

Luther’s pre-
tended Er-
rors, damned
by the Pope.
Regist. Ep.
Heref.

2. To deny Sin remaining in a Child after Baptism, is to trample
 upon *Paul*, and *Christ*.

3. *Fomes peccati*, i. e. the Fewel of Sin, although no actual Sin be
 present, *moratur exeuntem è corpore animam ab ingressu cœli*; i. e. stay-
 eth the Soul going out of the Body, from Entrance into Heaven.

4. The imperfect Love of him that is Dying, carrieth necessarily
 with it great Fear, (*Qui, se solo, satis est facere pœnam Purgatorij* :
 i. e. Which alone is sufficient to make the Pain of Purgatory,) and
 hindereth Entrance into the Kingdom.

5. That there be Three Parts of Repentance, Contrition, Confession
 and Satisfaction, is not founded in the Sacred Scripture, nor in the An-
 cient, Holy Christian Doctors.

6. Contrition; which is begotten by Discussion, Collection, and
 Detestation of Sins : Whereby one looks back upon the Year [past]
 in the Bitterness of his Soul, by weighing the Weight of his Sins, the
 Foulness of them, the Loss of eternal Happiness, and the procuring of
 eternal Damnation : This Contrition makes a Hypocrite, yea rather
 a Sinner.

7. It is a most true Proverb, and better than all the Doctrines of
 Contrition hitherto given, *De cætero non facere* ; i. e. To do so no
 more.

8. *Summa*

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8. *Summa Pœnitentia, Optima Pœnitentia, Nova vita: i. e.* The chiefest Penance, the best Penance, is a new Life.

9. By no means presume to confess *Venial* Sins, neither all your *Mortal* ones. Because it is impossible you should know all your *Mortal* Sins. Whence in the Primitive Church, they only confessed their manifest *Mortal* Sins.

10. While we confess all purely, we do nought else but leave nothing to the Mercy of God to Pardon.

11. Sins are not pardoned to any, unless, the Priest remitting them, he believe they are remitted to him. Yea, Sin would remain, unless he believed it remitted. For the Remission of Sins, and the giving of Grace, is not sufficient; but it is needful also to believe they are remitted.

12. Do not by any means believe thereby to be absolved, because of your Contrition, but because of the Words of Christ, *Whatsoever ye bind*, &c. Here, I say, trust; if you obtain the Priest's Absolution, and believe strongly, you are absolved, and thou shalt be truly absolved, whatsoever become of Contrition.

13. If by reason of some Impossibility, the *Contrite* be not confessed, or the Priest absolve him, not in Earnest, but in Jest; yet if he believe that he is absolved, he is most truly absolved.

14. In the Sacrament of *Penance*, and the Remission of a Fault, the Pope, or Bishop, doth not more than the lowest Priest; yea, where there is not a Priest, then any Christian as well; yea, if it were a Woman, or a Child.

15. None ought to answer the Priest, that he is *Contrite*; nor the Priest to ask it.

16. It is a great Error of them, who come to the Sacrament of the *Eucharist*; trusting on it, because they have confessed, that they are not conscious to themselves of any *Mortal* Sin; because they have premised their Prayers and Preparations. They all eat and drink, *ad iudicium sibi, i. e.* Judgment to themselves. But if they believe and trust, that they shall obtain Grace there, this Faith alone makes them Pure and Worthy.

17. *Consultum videtur; i. e.* It seemeth Adviseable, that the Church in a Common Council, should decree the Laics to be communicated under both Kinds. Nor are the *Bohemians*, that communicate under both Kinds, Hereticks, but Schismaticks.

18. The Treasures of the Church, whence the Pope giveth *Indulgences*, are not the Merits of Christ, and the Saints.

19. *Indulgences* are the pious Frauds of the Faithful, and the Remissions of good Works. And are of the Number of those Things which are lawful, but not of the Number of those Things which are expedient.

20. *Indulgences* to them, who do indeed obtain them, are of no Avail for the Remission of Punishment due for actual Sins, from Divine Justice.

21. They are seduced, that believe *Indulgences* are *Salutares; i. e.* saving and profitable to the Fruit of the Spirit.

22. *Indulgences* are necessary only for publick Crimes, and are properly granted only *duris & impenitentibus, i. e.* To the Hard and Impenitent.

23. To

23. To Six Kinds of Men, Indulgences are neither necessary nor profitable: *Viz.* To the Dead, or those that are dying; the Sick; *legitimè impeditis*, i. e. those that are lawfully hindred: Those that have not committed Crimes: Those that have committed Crimes, but not publick; and them that do better Things. A N N O 1521.

24. *Excommunications* are of external Punishment; nor do they deprive a Man of the common Spiritual Prayers of the Church.

25. Christians are to be taught rather to love *Excommunication*, than to fear it.

26. The Pope, the Successor of *Peter*, is not Christ's Vicar above all the Churches of the whole World; so appointed by Christ himself in Blessed *Peter*.

27. The Order to *Peter*, *Whatsoever thou shalt loose upon Earth*, &c. is extended only to those Things that are bound by *Peter* himself.

28. It is certain, it is not at all in the Hand of the Church, or the Pope, to decree Articles of Faith; no, nor to decree the Laws of Manners, or of good Works.

29. If the Pope, with a great Part of the Church, should think so or so, and should not err; yet it is not Sin, or Heresy, to think the contrary; especially, in a Thing not necessary to Salvation; until it be by a General Council, the one rejected, the other approved.

30. A Way is made us *Enarrandi*, i. e. of Explaining the Authority of Councils, and freely contradicting their Actions, and Judging their Decrees; and confidently confessing whatsoever seems true, whether it be approved, or not approved by any Council.

31. Some Articles of *John Hufs*, that were condemned in the Council of *Constance*, are most Christian, most true and Evangelical: Which neither the Universal Church can condemn.

32. In every good Work, the just Man sinneth.

33. A good Work, done best, is a Venial Sin.

34. To burn Hereticks, is contrary to the Will of the Spirit.

35. To war against the *Turks*, is to impugn God's Visiting our Sins by them.

36. None is certain, that he doth not always sin mortally, by reason of the hidden Vice of Pride.

37. Free Will, after Sin, is a Thing *de solo Titulo*: And while it doth what in it is, it sinneth mortally.

38. *Purgatory* cannot be proved from the Sacred Scripture, which is in the Canon: [That is, excluding the *Apocrypha*.]

39. Souls in *Purgatory* are not secure of their Salvation, at least, all. Nor is it proved by any, either Reasons or Scriptures, that they are without the State of Meriting, or of increasing Charity.

40. Souls in *Purgatory* sin without Intermission, as long as they seek Rest, and abhor Punishments.

41. Some Souls delivered out of *Purgatory*, are less blessed by the Suffrages of the Living, than if they had of themselves satisfied.

42. The Prelates of the Church, and Secular Princes would not do ill, if they would destroy *omnes Saccos Mendicitatis*; [That is, all the Habits of the Begging Friars.]

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1521.

And then follows, in the Cardinal's said Commission ;

Qui quidem Errores, &c. ' Which Errors respectively, how infectious they are, how scandalous, how seducing of pious and simple Minds ; how, lastly, they are against all Charity, and the Reverence due to the Holy Roman Mother Church, and all the Faithful and the Faith, and against the Nerve of Ecclesiastical Discipline, viz. Obedience : Which is the Fountain and Source of all Virtues ; without which every Man is convinced to be an Infidel ; there is none of a sound Mind is ignorant.

C H A P. III.

Bishop Fisher's Book against Luther. The King grants his Privilege for Printing it ; with his Commendation of it. A Note of the Change of the King's Mind from the Pope afterwards ; Lookt on as a Wonder. He shews his Zeal for the Pope, in an Embassy to Ferdinand, Arch-Duke of Austria. Sends him the Garter. The Ceremonies thereof. The Cardinal's Instructions to the King's Ambassadors there. He appointeth a Reformation of the Clergy throughout both Dioceses. Fox Bishop of Winton, his excellent Letter to the Cardinal thereupon. Stafford reads Lectures out of the Holy Scriptures, and S. Paul's Epistles, in Cambridge. Paynel and Thixtel, Learned Divines there. The Cardinal removeth the Convocation from S. Paul's to Westminster. The Dispute thereupon arising. He summons a new Convocation throughout England.

ANNO
1523.

*Bishop Fisher's
Book against
Luther, privileged by the
King.*

KING Henry's Zeal continued against Luther, and his Doctrine ; and so much the more from his Title, which the Pope had lately, by the formal Solemnity of his Bull, conferred on him : Which on Occasion he loved to remember and publish. In the Year 1523, Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, set forth a Book against that German Friar. As the Cardinal, a Year or two before, had called in all his Books throughout the Realm, (as was shewn above) so now it was thought fit to confute him by a Learned English Bishop's Pen. To this Book, and the Printer, the King gave his Countenance, by his Letters Patents. It was printed at Antwerp, and entitled, *Affertionis Lutheranae Confutatio*. And round about this Title, within a Border of Pictures, was written in Latin, *Vae ! Prophetis insipientibus*, &c. And also the same in Greek and Hebrew. That is, *Woe ! to the foolish Prophets, which follow their own Spirit, and have seen nothing*. Then on the next Page, is King Henry VIII. his Privilege to John Addison, B. D. that

none

none should print this Book within Three Years, but himself : ‘ That
 ‘ so you may not suffer any Loss, in your pious Endeavour in further-
 ‘ ing this Work ; as it ran. And in this Charter, the King valueth
 himself for his said Title, in these Words : *Nos igitur hujusmodi frau-*
dibus occurrere - - - in iis præsertim promovendis Operibus, quæ pro Ec-
clesiâ Catholicâ & Fide Christianâ militant. Cujus Nos DEFENSIO-
NE M suscepimus, quemadmodum ex Cognomento nobis à Summo Ponti-
fice piæ Memoria LEONE Decimo nuper indito, tenemur. Ideoque
Religionis & Ecclesiæ susceptum esse gaudemus Patrocinium ab Antislite
Roffensi. That is, ‘ That he gave him his Privilege to hinder the
 ‘ Frauds of Printing upon him, especially in Works that fought for the
 ‘ Catholick Church, and Christian Faith : Whereof he had taken up-
 ‘ on him the DEFENCE, as he was bound to do by the Name
 ‘ put upon him by Pope *Leo*, of pious Memory. And that therefore
 ‘ he was glad, that the Patronage of Religion and the Church was un-
 ‘ dertaken by that Bishop.

Infomuch that King *Henry*’s altering his Mind some Years after from
 the *Roman See*, was looked upon as a Wonder. Which was thus ex-
 pressed by a Learned Writer, and Ambassador, near that Time ; in
 these Words. ‘ Of the Miracles and Wonders of our Times, I take
 ‘ the Change of our Sovereign Lord’s Opinion, in Matters concerning
 ‘ Religion, to be even the greatest. There was no Prince in *Christen-*
 ‘ *dom*, but he was far liker to have changed, than our Sovereign Lord.
 ‘ He was their Pillar, and bare them up a great while. They gave
 ‘ him fair Titles for his so doing, and honoured his Name in all their
 ‘ Writings. Was it not a wonderful Work of God, to get his Grace
 ‘ from them to him ? To make him their Overthrow, whom they had
 ‘ chosen for their *Defender* ? I have oft bidden my Countrymen to
 ‘ mark the Proceedings of God, sithence this Change with *Henry VIII.*
 ‘ his chosen Lieutenant in *England*, and our only Lord and Head un-
 ‘ der Christ, and his Father. I still say, as I have said, whose mark-
 ‘ eth how tenderly God preserveth his Highness ; he is either ex-
 ‘ ceedingly blind, or else he well perceiveth God to be Enemy to all
 ‘ them that love not his Grace. Where before he was called King,
 ‘ and yet had, against all Right and Equity, a Ruler above him :
 ‘ Which always enforced himself to keep his, and all the rest of his
 ‘ Subjects, in Servitude, Error and Idolatry, God hath made him, as
 ‘ all his Noble Progenitors of Right ought to have been, a full King ;
 ‘ that is, a *Ruler*, and not *ruled*, in his own Kingdom, as others were.
 ‘ God hath delivered his Highness from the Bondage of the Bishop of
 ‘ *Rome*, his Subjects from Error, and his Realm from the foul Sin of
 ‘ Idolatry, &c.

The King’s
 Change from
 the *Roman See*.
Moryson. Inveſt.

These are the Words of Sir *Richard Morison* ; a Man of Note in
 this King’s Reign, and sometime his Ambassador to the Emperor ; in
 a Book of his, called, *An Inveſtive against Treason*.

But we return back to the King, in the Time when he was this zealous
 Servant of the Pope. Another Mark thereof, and of his Abhor-
 rence of *Luther*, he shewed in an Embassy he sent this same Year, *viz.*
 1523, to *Ferdinand*, Archduke of *Austria* ; in the Oration made to
 him by *Lee*, the King’s Almoner, and one of the Four Ambassadors
 now sent. A Part of which Oration was, ‘ Highly to commend his

The King ex-
 cites Arch-
 duke *Ferdinand*
 against the *Lu-*
theran Heresy.

A N N O 1523. Zeal against those detestable and damnable Heresies of Friar *Martin Luther*; saying, That nothing could be more acceptable to the King, (who, as well with his Sword as with his Pen, had always endeavoured himself to the Tuition and Defence of Christen Faith) than to hear and understand, that his good Cousin and Nephew shall persist in this his godly and meritorious Purpose; considering how largely, by little and little, the said Heresies have pullute, grown and infected a great Part of *Almayne*: Which, remaining the present Discourse, Divisions and Werris among Christen Princes, is right dangerous to the hoole Catholick Faith; in case the good Princes, with their Temporal Assistance, as the Heads of the Church, with their Spiritual Power do not briefly see for the Correction, Suppression and Reformation thereof. Wherein, like as the King's Grace had, doth and woll for his Partie, apply his intyre Mind and Study; so he doth instantly desire the Archduke to do his semblable: Not doubting, but besides the eternal Peace that he shall thereby deserve of Almighty God, many notable good Effects, as well general as particular, shall thereof ensue, to the Quiet, Tranquillity and Unity of all *Christendome*.

This Embassy of the King to the Archduke was very splendid, as he affected Pomp and Magnificence in all his Business and Transactions abroad, and with foreign Princes: And withal sending now the Order of the *Garter* to that Prince; that it might be done with a high Veneration towards that *English* Saint, *St. George*. Lighting upon this Original Commission of the King to his Ambassadors sent to the said *Ferdinand*, and his Instructions to them, I think it worthy entering: containing Things of curious Remark, especially as to the Ceremonies of admitting that Archduke to the Order; and our Historians taking little Notice of this Embassy. It therefore follows.

INSTRUCTIONS given by the Kings Highness, to his Right Trusty Counsellors, the Lord *Morley*, Sir *William Hussy*, Knight, and Master *Edward Lee*, Archdeacon of *Colchester*, and Almoner to his Highness: Touching such Order, Form and Manner, as they with the Principal King of Armes, named *Garter*; shall observe, in presenting and delivering of the Garter, and Habit of that Noble Order, with the other Ornaments thereunto belonging; unto his dearest Cousin and Nephew, Don *Fernando*, Archduke of *Austrice*, Earl of *Tirol*, &c.

H E N R Y R.

The King's Instructions to his Ambassadors to Archduke *Ferdinand*.
MSS. Joh. D. Episc. Ely.

FIRST, After most cordial and effectual Recommendations, with Presentation of the King's Letters unto the said Archduke, the said Master *Edward Lee*, for and in the Name of his Collegys and himself, shall make a convenient Oration, in as compendious Maner as he can devise. Wherein, after Lawds given unto the said Noble Order of the *Garter*, and Mention of the manifold excellent Vertues, and Merits of the King's Highness, being Head and Sovereign of the same; he shall say, That the King's Grace having in continual and fresh Remembrance the auncient Amities, Intelligences and Con-

federations

‘ federations of long Time, formerly rooted and established betwene *A N N O*
 ‘ the House of *England*, and the House of *Spaine*, *Austria*, and *Bur-* *1523.*
 ‘ *goyn*: Whereof the *Archduke* is lineally descended; and remembring
 ‘ also, that by sondrie Ways the fast Conjunction betwene the same
 ‘ Houses, is of late Days more and more increased, and augmented
 ‘ with indissoluble Knots of Love, as well by Proximity of Bloud,
 ‘ Affiance and Alliance, contracted on either Side; as also by most ne-
 ‘ cessary Bonds, Treaties and Conventions past, in that Behalf:

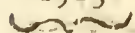
‘ Considering furthermore, the vertuous, Princely and Honourable
 ‘ Qualities, wherewith Almighty God hath endued the said *Archduke*,
 ‘ largely reported to the King’s Highness by many ways to his
 ‘ great Renowne, and the King’s singular Joy and Gladness;

‘ HATH of long Time studied and devised, how or by what Means, his
 ‘ Grace might, not only shew some manifest Demonstration of Gratitude
 ‘ and Kindness, in Comprobatation of the great Love, singular and tender
 ‘ Affection, which his Highness beareth to his seid dearest Cousin, and
 ‘ Nephew, but also attribute and give unto him some Increase and
 ‘ Furtherance of Honour and Reputation: And forasmuch as the An-
 ‘ cient and Noble Order of the Garter, which of old Time hath been
 ‘ founded and established within this Realm, with many lawdable,
 ‘ vertuous and honourable Constitutions, in the Honour of Almighty
 ‘ God, our Lady *St. Mary*, and the Blessed Martyr *St. George*; hath
 ‘ been, and is conferred by the Sovereign and Companions of the
 ‘ same, to many great Emperors, Kings and Princes, and also to
 ‘ other Noble, Active, and Valiant Persons; whereby hath ensued un-
 ‘ to them, great Increase and Exaltation of Honour and Glory: The
 ‘ King’s Highness could not, ne can imagine or devise a Thing of
 ‘ higher or greater Estimation, wherewith at this present Time, his
 ‘ Grace might honour his seid good Cousin, and Nephew, than with
 ‘ the said Order.

‘ And for that Cause, by the common Consent, Concord and Agree-
 ‘ ment of the said Companions, his Grace, in a Chapitre of the said
 ‘ Noble Order, lately celebrate and holden, hath elected, chosen, ad-
 ‘ mitted, and taken the said *Archduke*, to be one of the Companions
 ‘ of the same: And hath at this Time depeched towards him his said
 ‘ Counsellors, not only to Visit and Salute him on his Graces Behalf,
 ‘ but also to present and deliver unto him all such Habit and Orna-
 ‘ ments as belong unto the said Order; and further to ripe, inform
 ‘ and instruct him in the Specialities and Particularities of all such
 ‘ goodly and notable Ordinances, Provisions and Statutes, as be to be
 ‘ observed by the Companions of the same: According to a Book,
 ‘ containing the verrey true Copie and Tenor of the said Ordinances.
 ‘ And albeit this Usage and Custom is, after such Election past, first,
 ‘ to intimate and notify the same unto the Prince, or other Person
 ‘ Elect, for Knowledge of his Mind and Pleasure, whether he can be
 ‘ content to receive and accept it, or not: Yet, nevertheless, foras-
 ‘ much as both from the Emperor, as from the Lady *Margaret*, and
 ‘ otherwise, the King’s Grace hath been many Times advertised,
 ‘ that the said *Archduke* hath been, and is desirous to be accompanied,
 ‘ associate and taken into the said Noble Order: His Highness there-
 ‘ fore, without other Intimation preceding, hath frankly, liberally,
 ‘ and

A N N O

1523.



and lovingly sent unto him at oon Time, as well Knowledge of the said Election, as also the Habits and Ornaments afore said. Trusting undoubtedly, that like as this Election hath proceeded of intyre, perfect and singular Love, Favour, and special Affection, which the King's Highness, and all the said Companions, have and do bear to the said *Archduke*; so he will thankfully receive, admit and accept the same. Wherein, or any other Thing, the King's Grace may do to his Honour, Surety or Exaltation, his Highness wol be always ready and joyous, as may be devised: Offering unto him, that if in this Realm; or other the King's Dominions, there be any Thing which may be to the Contentation and Pleasure of the said Duke, the King's Highness being advertised thereof, shall and wol see the same his Pleasure, to be furnished with glad and good Hert.

And in the latter End of his Oration, the said Master *Lee* shall largely and amply extend the great Lawd, Praise and Estimation, which the said Duke doth attain, in that he, like a good Catholick, and vertuous Prince, doth with all Effect impugn the detestable, dampnable Heresies of Freer *Martin Luther*: Saying, that nothing can be more Joyous, or acceptable to the King's Highness, who as well with his Sword, as with his Pen, &c. as before.

Then the King's Instructions proceeded after this Manner. That upon a Time convenient, being assigned, either at the same open Audience, or Apart, the King's said Ambassadors shall perceive to stond with the Pleasure of the said Duke, for due Solempnities to be observed, and he first made privy to the Tenor, as well of the Oath, as of the Statutes of the said Order, as to Reason it doth appertain; there shall follow in his Investiture, the Ceremonies hereafter following.

The Manner
of the Investiture.

First, they shall present their Commission, causing the same to be openly redd: And that don, the said Master *Edward Lee*, shall exhibit unto him the Copy of the Othe, appertaining to the Companions of the said Order; requiring him, after the same seen and perused, to make his Corporal Othe, for the inviolable Observance of all such Ordinances and Statutes as appertain to the same; like as by the Tenor of the Statutes, every Companion of that Order is used to do; in Form following.

The Oath
taken.

Ego FERNANDUS Dei Gra. Archidux Austrie, Comes Tirolis, & Honorificentissimi, atque approbatissimi Ordinis Garterij Miles, & Confrater Electus, Juro ad hec Sancta Dei Evangelia, per me corporaliter tacta, Quod omnia & singula Statuta, Leges & Ordinationes ipsius dignissima, benè, sincerè & inviolabiliter observabo. Ita me Deus adjuvet, & hæc sancta Dei Evangelia.

The Garter.

Th' Othe taken, the Lord *Morley* shall deliver the Garter unto him, and cause the same in good and honourable Manner, to be put about his Legg: The said Master *Lee* saying these Words, *Ad Laudem & Honorem summi ac Omnipotentis Dei, intemperate Virginis, & Matris sue Marie, ac gloriosissimi Martyris GEORGIJ hujus Ordinis Patroni, circum cingo tibiam tuam hoc Garterio; ut posses in*

justo

justo bello firmiter stare, ac fortiter vincere, in signum Ordinis, & augmentum tui Honoris.

That done, the said Lord Morley shall deliver unto the said Archduke, the Gown of Purple Colour; causing him to Apparell himself with the same; the said Master Lee saying these Words following, at the doing on of the same, *Accipe Vestem hanc purpuream: Qua semper munitus non verearis pro Fide Christi, Libertate Ecclesie, & oppressorum tuitione, fortiter dimicare, & sanguinem effundere, in signum Ordinis, & augmentum tui Honoris.*

1523.

The Gown.

Followingly, the said Lord Morley shall cause the said Archduke to do unto him the Mantle of Blew Velvet, with the Scute of the Cross of St. George, environed with a Garter: The said Master Lee saying these Words, *Accipe chlamydem celestis coloris, clypeo Crucis insignitam: Cujus virtute atque Vigore, semper protectus hostes superare, & preclarissimis tuis meritis gaudia tandem celestia promereri valeas, in signum Ordinis, & augmentum tui Honoris.*

The Mantle;
with the
Shield of the
Cross.

And when the said Duke shall be so apparelled, the said Lord Morley shall put the Image of St. George about his Neck: The said Master Lee saying these Words: *Imaginem gloriosissimi Martyris GEORGIJ hujus Ordinis Patroni, in collo tuo deferas. Cujus fultus presidio hujus mundi prospera & adversa sic pertranseas, ut hostibus corporis & anime devictis, non modo temporalis militie gloriam, sed perhennis victorie palmam recipere valeas, in signum Ordinis, & augmentum tui Honoris.*

The Image of
St. George.

And after Solempnities done and performed, the King's said Ambassadors, among other Devices with the said Duke, shall, on the King's Behalf, give unto him Lawds and Thanks for his good Conformity, in sending his Consent and Commission for the Treaty with the Venetians: Which after long Tracts of Time, thanked be God, is now comen to Good, perfect, and final Effect. Whereby undoubtedly, shall ensue grete Advantage and Ferdele to the common Affairs of the Emperor, the King's Grace, and other their Friends, Confederates and Allies, Praying him from Time to Time to incline, herken and lean to such Things as may be to the Benefit of the said common Causes, and to the Mitigation of the insatiable Pride and Obstinacy of the French King. By whose Means the contentious Discords and Werres be raised and continued in Christendom. So as by his good Assistance, and joyning effectually, as is aforesaid, the said French King may be the rather enforced, and compelled to know himself; and to come to such reasonable and honourable Conditions of Peace, as may be to the Pleasure of God, the reasonable Satisfaction of other Princes grieved, and the Quiet of all the States of Christ's Church and Religion.

tribus
et
non

The Pride
and Obstinacy
of the French
King.

Finally, the King's said Ambassadors shall omit no good and kind Demonstration, which they can make in Confirmation of the sincere Love which the King's Grace berith to the said Archduke. And in all their Communications and Devices, so to use themselves, that he may perceive, what good Favour, Mind and Affection, the King's Grace bereth unto him. So as by their good Dexterity and Wisdom, good Love, Integrity and Amity, now much more necessary to be advanced among Princes, may the more perfectly and assuredly be

Increa-

A N N O 1523. ' encreased between them both. And their seid Affairs, and Business
' spedily don, and honorably executed, they shall, at a Time conve-
' nient, take their Leave, and so return.

To which the Cardinal subjoined his own Letter to the said Am-
bassadors, being still the great Director of all State Affairs.

' To my Loving Friends, the Lord *Morley*, Master *Edward Lee*,
' the King's *Almoner*, Sir *William Huse*, Knight, and Master Garter;
' King at Arms.

The Cardinal
to the above-
said Ambassa-
dors, in Case
of an Excep-
tion of the
Archduke.

' Right well Beloved, This shall be oonly to Advertise, That albeit
the King's Commission made unto you for Presentment of the Or-
der of the Garter, unto Don *Fernando*, and his Investiture with the
same, there is no special Mention made, in what Articles yee shall
now dispense with the said *Archduke*: Yet nevertheless, by a general
Clause in the latter End in the seid Commission, yee be amply au-
thorized to do as much in all Things that may concern that Matier,
as though the King's Grace were present himself: By Authority of
which general Words, the King's Pleasure is, that if there shall be
reasonable Exception made by the seid *Don Fernando*, at any of the
Articles and Statutes of the said Order, bicause he percase may think
the same to be somewhat strait; yee shall, by your Discretion, mo-
der, and qualify, and dispense with the same, as by your Wisdomes
shall be thought convenient. Foreseeing always, that the principal
and material Points of the Order be not omitted, or forborn. And
the semblable may ye, Master *Almoner*, and Sir *William Huse*, do
with the Duke of *Ferrare*, in case ye, being advertised that he wol
receive the same Order, shall procede and pass unto him for that
Purpose. And fare yee hertily well. At *Hampton Court*, the 26th
Day of *August*.

Your Loving Friend,

T. Car^{lis}. Ebor.

The Cardinal
institutes a Vi-
sitation for
Reformation
of Clergy and
Laity.

Regist. York.

Complaints now abounded against the Manners of the Clergy, their
Oppressions, Extortions and Vexations of the Laity, as well as against
their corrupt and loose Lives; the Cardinal, to shew his Resentment of
these Crimes, as well as the Exercise and Shew of his *Legantine* Au-
thority, did, about the Year 1523, or 1524, resolve upon a Remedy,
by a general Visitation. And for that Purpose summoned the Clergy
of both Provinces in the Kingdom, *Ad tractand. de reformatione tum*
Laicorum, tum Ecclesiasticorum; 22. Apr. to appear before him in the
Church of *Westminster*.

Fox, Bishop of *Winchester*, to whom *Wolfsey* had been Chaplain,
and who had preferred him at first to Court, took this Opportunity to
excite the Cardinal to this good Work of Reformation, so much
needed; the Cardinal having before signified the same to him. In
Answer to which, he wrote the Cardinal a large Letter, which coming

Excited there-
to by *Fox*, Bi-
shop of *Win-*
chester. *Cott.*
Libr. Faustina.
C. 7.

from such a Person, could not but bear a Sway with him. It began
very endearingly, *Reverendissime Pater, & Domine mihi unice semper*
observande, Saltem. plurimam & optatum votorum omnium Successum.
The Sum of his Letter to him consisted, ' In shewing him the great
' Pleasure and Comfort he took in his [the Cardinal's] Letter that he
' had

‘ had sent him ; understanding thereby his Purpose of entring upon a Re-
 ‘ formation of the whole Body of the Clergy, and had resolved upon
 ‘ a particular Day to proceed upon it ; and given Notice to him, and
 ‘ others concerned, accordingly. And that such a happy Day, he [the
 ‘ Bishop] had now a long Time as earnestly desired to see, as *Simeon*
 ‘ in the Gospel looked for the *Messias*’s Coming. And that since he
 ‘ had received the Cardinal’s Letters, he seemed to taste and feel a Re-
 ‘ formation of the whole Ecclesiastical Hierarchy of *England*, more
 ‘ full and exact, than he could before in that Age have divined, much
 ‘ less hoped for. That he [the Bishop] for his Part, according to his
 ‘ Power, had endeavoured to do it, in that peculiar and small Jurisdic-
 ‘ tion of his, which his Excellent Lordship had resolved to do in both
 ‘ Provinces of the Kingdom : And that for almost Three whole Years,
 ‘ he had diligently set himself to do, and placed all his Study, Labour,
 ‘ Vigilancy and Pains about. Wherein he came to understand, (which
 ‘ he could not so much as have thought before) that all that belonged
 ‘ to the antient Integrity of the Clergy, and especially of the *Monks*,
 ‘ were so depraved by Licences, and Corruptions, or by the Malignan-
 ‘ cy and Length of Time quite abolished, that it encreased both La-
 ‘ bour and Pains to him, now spent with Age, and took away all Hope
 ‘ ever of seeing a perfect and absolute Reformation, in that his private
 ‘ Diocese.

‘ But now, by his Lordship’s Letters, he was arrived to an assured
 ‘ Hope and Expectation, shortly to see an Universal and Publick Re-
 ‘ formation ; since it was well known, and evidently perceived, by
 ‘ many Experiments, that whatsoever his Lordship attempted, and
 ‘ took in hand, he did most prudently and constantly, without Inter-
 ‘ ruption or Delay, dispatch and most happily finish. That there was
 ‘ in him an incomparable Knowledge, both of Divine and Human
 ‘ Things ; and was in special Favour and Authority, both with the
 ‘ King, and his Holiness the Pope : Which he had hitherto made use
 ‘ of with such Circumspection, that he had obtained throughout the
 ‘ World the greatest Praise, and the most ample Fame. And that now
 ‘ from his most renowned Legation, wherein by his sole Pains were
 ‘ now made and confirmed the Leagues between the most Christian
 ‘ Princes, he determined to turn to the Reforming and Composing of
 ‘ the State and Order Ecclesiastical : Whence he would cary away so-
 ‘ lid and immortal Glory, both with God, and all Posterity ; and was
 ‘ so much more preferable to all others, who, in People’s Memory,
 ‘ had been sent any whither, from the Pope *A. Latere*, as Peace was
 ‘ more desirable than War, and the Clergy more holy and venerable
 ‘ than the Laity, &c.

‘ He doubted not, (as he proceeded) but that he would make and
 ‘ establish many good Laws, for the Regulation and Government of
 ‘ both Clergy and Regulars, so much the more easily and happily,
 ‘ since the King, he believed, had exhorted and given him Encourage-
 ‘ ment to undertake it ; and would impart to him all that his Autho-
 ‘ rity and Assistance that he should desire ; as also all the Prelates, the
 ‘ Bishops especially, (unless he were much deceived) would cheerful-
 ‘ ly give their Assents and Endeavours thereto. And that for his Part,
 ‘ his Mind was most gladly forward to do the same. And by this

A N N O
 1523.
 His Letter to
 the Cardinal
 hereupon.

He praiseth
 the Cardinal
 for his Con-
 duct.

‘ means

A N N O ' means of a Reformation of the Clergy, he thought the Common
 1523. ' People would be pacified, that were always crying out against them ;
 ' and would give a Lustre afterwards to them, and reconcile the King
 ' himself and all the Nobility to them : And so being more pleasing to
 ' Almighty God than all Sacrifices, whatsoever remained of his Course
 ' of Life, he would willingly lay it out to compass the same. He dated this Letter from *Marwells* : Which is now a fine Manor belonging to *Corpus Christi* College, *Oxon* ; of which that good Bishop was
Numb. X. Founder. This excellent Letter in *Latin* must be preserved.

This good Resolution of the Cardinal, and this Letter of Bishop *Fox*, gives a better Representation of his Virtues, than is commonly received and taken up of him. And that no more Good came of this commendable Purpose of his, to Reform the Ignorance and Vices of the Priests and Monks, may probably be attributed to their Craft in diverting this Reformation from themselves, towards those that favoured *Luther* and his Doctrines.

Stafford reads
 Lectures out
 of the Holy
 Scriptures in
Cambridge.

*De Custod. &
 Sociis Pembro-
 chian.
 T. Baker, B. D.*

Something at this Time looked towards Reformation of corrupt Religion. For the Holy Scriptures came into some Request, by Occasion of the Readings of *Stavord*, or *Stafford*, a Learned Man of *Pembroke* Hall, in *Cambridge* : Who read Publick Lectures in Divinity out of the Sacred Books of Scripture. A Thing so much taken notice of, that in a *MS.* kept in that College, concerning the Masters and Fellows of that House, *George Stavert*, alias *Stafford*, of *Durham*, *B. A. Anno 1515*, and chosen Fellow of *Pembroke* Hall ; and made Deacon at *Ely*, *Ann. 1517*, is noted to be the first, who publickly read Lectures out of the Scriptures, when before they read only the *Sentences*. He was Reader of Divinity, 1524, for four Years ; and about the same Time, *B. D.* And *Anno 1530*, his Books were brought into their Library, as it seems, being his Gift ; and had this *Epigraph* written on them, in Memory of him and his Lectures.

*Augustini Opera oia, Testamentum & utrūq;
 Hebraicè & Græcè, huc contulit ille Stavert.
 Contulit ille Stavert, nostris Studiis promovendis ;
 Qui Paulum explicuit ritè, & Evangelium.*

The false Quantities in the Verses must be excused to that Age, or to some young Versifier ; but the Sense of them is, that this *Stafford*, or *Stavert*, bestowed on them all *S. Augustin's* Works, and the whole Old and New Testament in *Hebrew* and *Greek* : And as he gave them these Books, so, for the furthering their Studies, he explained and gave the right Sense of *S. Paul*, and the Gospel.

He was Proctor of that University, 1523 ; and University Preacher. *Rev. T. Baker.* A Reverend and worthy Member of *S. John's* College, added in the Margin a Passage of great Remark, shewing one of his Auditors to have been afterwards a Bishop and Martyr ; *Viz. Latymer*. Who, in his Seventh Sermon upon the *Lord's Prayer*, thus speaks : *When I was at Cambridge, Mr. George Stafford read a Lecture there. I heard him. And in Expounding the Epistle to the Romans, where he came to that Place where S. Paul saith, that we shall overcome our Enemy*

my

my with Well-doing, &c. It was even at that Time, when Dean Colet A N N O
was in Trouble, and should have been burnt, if God had not turned the 1524.
King's Heart to the contrary.

Contemporary with *Stafford*, were also Two of the same College, *Paynel and*
Thixtel, his
Contemporaries.
great Scripture-Men ; viz. *Nic. Paynel*, of *Yorshire*, elected Fellow
1515 ; Publick Mathematick Lecturer. One of this Surname set
forth a little Book in the Year 1550 ; containing only remarkable
Sentences taken out of the Holy Scriptures, suitable to the Christian
on all Occasions ; and dedicated it to the Lady *Mary's* Grace. The
other was *John Thixtel*, of the Diocese of *Norwich*, University Preach-
er, 1522. This Man was reported to be of Authority in Divinity ;
and that the Disputants used publickly (and he present) to say, *Thix-*
tel dixit. And *Caius* said, *Thixtel homo singularis Eruditionis nostræ*
Memoriæ.

A Parliament now Sat, Anno 1524 ; and a Convocation also was The Convo-
cation sits at
Paul's : Called
by the Cardi-
nal to *West-*
minster.
summoned at the same Time by the Archbishop of *Canterbury* : And
the Clergy of the Province, as customary, sat at *S. Paul's*. The chief
Business the King had with his Parliament now, was Money : Which
he was in such need of, that a very extraordinary Subsidy was requi-
red ; greater than had been ever known to be laid upon the Subject at
once. This occasioned mighty Opposition in the House ; such only
as depended upon the Court favouring this Bill. But at last, by means
of the Court Party, it passed. And the King's Necessities requiring
ready Money, the Cardinal took it upon him, and swore to get a Loan
soon ; and that with the Good-will and Thanks too, from certain, by
such Methods as he should take.

The Convocation also, that he might probably shew his superior
Power to the Archbishop, but chiefly to have the Clergy nearer to
him, to compass his Ends upon them, he cited the very next Day
after their first Session, from *Paul's* to *Westminster*, to sit and transact
Business there. In Obedience to him, they did so. But a few Days
after, better considering what they had done, or were to do, some of
the Priests shewed at that Convocation, that that Removal was irre-
gular ; and that all that they should do there, would be of no force.
So that the Cardinal was fain to institute, and call anew, another Con-
vocation of all the Clergy universally.

But to take a larger and a more particular View of this remarkable
Occurrence, both in Parliament and Convocation, take it in a secret
Letter, written by some Member of Parliament, without Name, to
the Earl of *Surrey*, then the King's Chief Lieutenant of his Army in
the *North* Parts.

‘ Pleaseth your good Lordship to understand, that sithence the Be- Opposition to
a Money Bill
in Parliament.
Titus, B. 1.
ginning of the Parliament, there hath been the greatest and forest
‘ Hold in the Lower House for the Payment of Two Shillings of the
‘ Pound, that ever was seen, I think, in any Parliament. This Mat-
‘ ter hath been debated, and beaten fifteen or sixteen Days together.
‘ The highest Necessity alledged on the King's Behalf to us, that ever
‘ was heard of : And, on the contrary, the highest Poverty confessed,
‘ as well by Knights, Esquires and Gentlemen of every Quarter : As
‘ by the Commoners, Citizens and Burgeses, there hath been such
VOL. I. H Hold,

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1524.

Hold, that the House was like to have been dissevered. That is to say, the Knights being of the King's Council, the King's Servants and Gentlemen of the one Party; which in so long Time were spoken with, and made to see, yea, it may fortune, contrary to their Heart, Will and Conscience. Thus hanging this Matter yesterday, the more Part being the King's Servants; Gentlemen, were there assembled: And so they, being the more Part, willed and gave to the King, Two Shillings of the Pound of Goods or Lands, the best, to be taken for the King. All Lands to pay Two Shillings of the Pound fro the Laity, to the highest. The Goods to pay Two Shillings of the Pound, fro Twenty Pound upward: And from Forty Shillings of Goods, to Twenty Pound; to sixteen Pence of the Pound. And under Forty Shillings, any Person to pay eight Pence. This to be paid in two Years. I have heard no Man in my Life, that can remember, that ever there was given to any one of the King's Ancestors Half so much at one Graunt. Nor, I think, there was never such a President seen before this Time. I beseeke Almighty God, it may be well and peaceably levied; and surely passed unto the King's Grace, without Grudge; and especially, without loosing the Goodwill and true Hearts of his Subjects: Which I reckon as far greater Treasure for the King, than Gold and Silver. And the Gentlemen that must take Pains to levy this Money among the King's Subjects, I think, shall have no little Business about the same.

Summary of
Chron. fol. 318.
b.

This Gentleman's Conjecture proved true in the Parts of *Suffolk*; where there was an Insurrection of Four Thousand People against the Duke, and other Commissioners, upon their Collection of this Tax; but appeased by the Duke of *Norfolk*: As there was a Murmuring about it in other Places of the Realm. But to go on with the Letter.

My Lord Cardinal hath promised on his Faith, that the Two Shillings of the Pound of Loan Money shall be paid with a good Will, and with Thanks. But no Day is appointed thereof, &c.

The Cardinal's
Convocation
at Westminster.

Also, the Convocation among the Priests, the Day of their Appearance, as soon as Mass of the Holy Ghost at *Paul's* was done, my Lord Cardinal acited also them to appear before his Convocation at *Westminster*: Which so did; and there was another Mass of the Holy Ghost. And within six or seven Days, the Priests proved, that all that my Lord Cardinal's Convocation should do, it should be void; because that their Summons was to appear before my Lord of *Canterbury*. Which Thing so espied, my Lord Cardinal hath addressed a new Citation into every Country, commaunding the Priests to appear before him eight Days after the *Ascension*. And then I think they shall have the Third Mass of the Holy Ghost. I pray God, the Holy Ghost be among them, and us both.

I do tremble to remember the End of all these high and new Enterprizes. For oftentimes it hath been seen, that to a new Enterprize, there followeth a new Maner, and strange Sequel. God of his Mercy send his Grace unto such Fashion, that it may be for the best. Written on *Ascension* Day, by him that, during his Life, shall be glad to be at your Commaundment with his Service.

No Name subscribed.

CHAP. IV.

The King assisteth the Emperor against France. He consulteth with the Cardinal about Forces to be sent to him to Italy. Six Thousand Archers. The Cardinal's Book drawn up for that Purpose: And his Letters thereupon to the King. The King's Ambassadors at Rome. The Cardinal's Letters of Instruction to them, concerning the Affairs then in Hand. To Clark, Bishop of Bath: To Pace; Ambassador to the Venetians. And to Dr. Knight, Ambassador with the Lady Margaret, Governess of the Low-Countries. His Instructions to him concerning the King of Denmark; beaten out of his Kingdom.

IN this Year 1524, King Henry the VIIIth, and the Emperor, were in League against Francis, the French King. Who was now with a very potent Army in Italy, laying Siege to Pavia; and had before attempted the taking Milan, and Naples. This awakened all Italy, and put both Pope and Emperor under great Apprehensions. Now it was certain, the vigorous interposing of the King of England in these Affairs, would tend much to the stopping of Francis his Successes. From the Emperor, Wolfey was in Expectation of his Interest for the Papacy, when it should become void. By several Popes he had been greatly obliged before: Having been made a Cardinal by Leo, in the Year 1515; invested by the next Pope, Adrian, in the Legantine Power, from Five Years to Five Years. Pope Clement, Anno 1524, upon the Application of Secretary Pace unto him in that Behalf, confirmed the said Power to him during his Life (a Thing never done before) and besides, gave him a Bull to suppress the Monastery of St. Frideswide, Oxon, in order to the building of a College of Learning there. He therefore for these Causes, partly out of Gratitude, and partly out of further Expectation, was very industrious in aiding the Emperor, and Pope, against the French King, and in keeping King Henry warm in the Quarrel.

The Cardinal obliged on the Pope and Emperor's Side. And why.

The King was now hastening his Preparation of Forces for the Assistance of the Emperor, being in League with him; and the French King having lost his Friendship by divers Fractions of the Peace with England. And here the Cardinal (being now, as it seems, in Calais) was again by the King, required to give his Advice, in divers Respects; as what Supplies were fit to be sent; and under what Commanders; and for the raising them. For all which Purposes he sent the King a Book, by him devised. And therein he had concluded upon providing Six Thousand Archers: (In which Warlike Skill, the English Nation were renowned) sending the Names of such Captains as should have the Command over them: And that he had appointed Sir William Sandes their Chief. The King liked all the Cardinal had done; only making some Enquiries and Scruples in some Particulars.

The King prepares to assist the Emperor: Consults the Cardinal.

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The Cardinal
to the King,
concerning
Forces to be
sent to the
Emperor.

In all which he gave the King his Reasons and Considerations, in Matter of Policy, and Foresight; but with great DefERENCE ever to the King's Wisdom and Pleasure. All which will appear at Large, by the Cardinal's own Letter to the King, which I set down from his own Minutes.

‘ That by Letters from his Secretary, bearing Date at *Windsor*, the 4th Day of that Instant Month, he perceived, that his Grace had thoroughly viewed, perused and seen the Book by him [the Cardinal] devised, for putting the Number of Six Thousand Archers in a Readiness. And that albeit his Highness allowed the most Part of the said Book; yet as touching the deputing of Sir *William Sandes* to be Chieftain, he [the King] thought it not expedient, as well for such Cause and Considerations, as in other Letters heretofore sent to him by his Commandment, were expressed; as also for the sure keeping of his Town of *Calais*. Shewing furthermore, that in the Lieu and Place of the said Sir *William Sandes*, he had named the Earl of *Essex*, for his Hardiness to be right meet for that Purpose, having sad Counsellors adjoining to him.

Concerning which he thus bespake the King: ‘ Sir, when I devised the said Book, though I had little Leisure, in journeying by the Way, to permit a Matter of so mighty Importance; yet after my best Intendment, I applied my self in such wise to direct and order the same, as should be to the Contentation of your Pleasure. And albeit, some Business was in foreseeing and devising, where the said Archers mowght be found, yet I fear me, it shall be more Difficulty to compleat the Number, when Certificates shall be made. And inasmuch as in my last Letters I have declared unto your Grace, the Cause and Reasons moving me to Name said Sir *William Sandes* to be Chieftain, rather then any of the other Lords, by your Grace before named, therefore I can no more say, but conform my Mind to your Gracious Pleasure; and, like as your Grace thinketh the Earl of *Essex* to be covenable and proper for that Room, so am I of semblable Opinion. Though the Degree of the Person considered, he should be more costly to your Grace, than the other. And as to any Danger that should ensue to this, your Town of *Calais*, [over which *Sandes* was the King's Deputy] by the Absence of the said Sir *William Sandes*, I see no such imminent Peril by Siege, or otherwise. For when your Archers shall be joined with the Emperor's Puissance, the Army of *France* shall be in such wise occupied, that they shall have little Leisure, either to mind, or accept the Siege of *Calais*, but rather enforced to look to the Defence of themselves, their own Towns, and Holds. And for that Cause, the Knights of *Kent* being neer Hand, and soonest in a Readiness, were thought right meet, when they, with the Emperor's Puissance, proceeding in War against *France*, should not need to be sent to *Calais*, as above.

‘ Yet nevertheless, (as the Cardinal proceeded submissively to the King) as it should stand with his Pleasure, so he must and would be contented: Thinking Sir *Randolph Brereton*, with the other Knights by his Grace appointed, to be convenient in the Lieu and Places of the Knights of *Kent*.

‘ And that whereas his Grace supposed, that after the Aid of Six Thousand Archers were sent to the Emperor, he [the King] should
2
soon

‘ soon after be driven to pay another Army to be sent after ; Sir, *A N N O*
‘ (said he) I consider the Time of the Year so far gone, that after the *1524.*
‘ expiring of Two or Three Months, the War for this Year must of
‘ Necessity cease. And therefore, if more speedy Provision be not
‘ made for putting the Archers in a Readiness, I suppose that Two
‘ Months shall expire, before yee may send them to the Seaside ; and
‘ so their coming thither to give Assistance, wol be too late. And
‘ thus, finally, the Time of the Year would be then passed, to prepare
‘ any other Army to be sent after.

‘ And whereas his Grace thought, that so few Halbardiers, with so
‘ many Archers, did not well agree ; he replied, Sir, if the Halbar-
‘ diers had been by me appointed to back your Archers, verily, it
‘ had been a Proportion full unmeet, and not equal. But in as much
‘ as your Archers shall be backed and defended with the Horsemen of
‘ the Emperor’s Army, this small Number of Halbardiers were ap-
‘ pointed, not only to establish every Captain of your Archers, but
‘ also to conduct and keep the Carriage and Baggages. And therefore
‘ the Cause, why the same Halbardiers were appointed, was well con-
‘ sidered to the Proportion of the Number [of Archers] and is convenient.

‘ And whereas his Grace [the King,] knowing, by Experience, of
‘ his last Wareys, that so many Archers could not shoot together, un-
‘ less one should flee another, thought therefore the Number to be ve-
‘ ry large, though hee was minded fully to furnish the same, (which
‘ was another Scruple of the King’s to the Cardinal.) Hereupon he
‘ again gave this Reply : ‘ Sir, as to that, I confess your Opinion to be
‘ true. Howbeit, taking Respect to the sundry and many Wards, and
‘ Armies, that the Emperor intendeth to set forth, your Archers shall
‘ be lotted and appointed in good Number to every Part. So that
‘ they shall have Room inow to bestow their Shot, without such Da-
‘ mage to, kill each another. And, Sir, fory I am, that your Grace
‘ doth defer sending forth of your Letters, for putting your Archers
‘ in a Readiness, till the Receipt of this my Answer. For albeit yee
‘ mowght have respited the directing of your Letters to such as yee
‘ mind shall not pass this Voyage, yet to all others it had been expe-
‘ dient to address the said Letters with all Diligence. For the Time
‘ so passeth away, that your said Archers can scant be ready to pass
‘ the Sea, within the Space of these Two Months. And then per-
‘ case it wol be too late to send them. For remembring the Time of
‘ sending forth your Letters, with the Season that the Parties must
‘ have to elect and put the Archers in Order, considering the
‘ Respit that they must have to make their Certificate, and the
‘ Tract of Time that is requisite to conceive and send forth your
‘ other Letters unto them, and every of them, for Declaration of your
‘ Pleasure ; sending up such Number of Archers as they have pre-
‘ pared ; the Time of Two Months wol be soon spent, and pass.
‘ Wherefore, Sir, Diligence would be used therein.

‘ And though more Number than Six Thousand were put in a Rea-
‘ diness, it were none inconvenient. For percase every Man to whom
‘ your Letters be addressed, shall not completely furnish their Num-
‘ bers ; and though they do so, yet, when Musters shall be taken of
‘ them, they may be found insufficient, and not able to be sent forth.

‘ Be-

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1524.

‘ Besides other Casualties by Death, or otherwise; whereby they should lack of the Six Thousand. And therefore it were right expedient to provide above your Number, to serve for any Purpose by Sea or Land, when the Case shall require.

‘ Finally, whereas his Grace had reserved Sir *Richard Sacheverill* for such a Consideration as was touched in his Secretaries Letters: To this he answered in these Words: I signify unto your Grace, that one Cause moving me to set him in the Book, was, for his discrete Wisdom to be Treasurer of your Warrys; and the other, for that betwixt the Lord *Hastings* and him, a good Number of Archers might be provided. The Order whereof, I now commit to your high Wisdom and Pleasure.

His Letters to the King's Ambassador's in Rome, viz.

Numb. XI.

There were now at *Rome*, in Quality of Ambassadors from the King of *England*, *Clark*, Bishop of *Bath*, *Richard Pace*, the King's Secretary, and *Thomas Annibal*, Master of the Rolls. I have inserted in the *Appendix*, a Letter of *Pace* to the King, from the Emperor's Camp, concerning the State of his Army in *Italy*. In this Juncture, to the Two former the Cardinal wrote his Letters. Wherein may appear his great Dexterity in the Managery of publick Affairs, the Fineness of his Politicks, and what a great Over-ruling Hand hee had in the *English* State. And by all these we may collect, what a great Figure he made in the Christian World at that Time.

To the Bishop of *Bath*. The Contents of his Letter to him.

To the Bishop of *Bath* he wrote, how considering the great Intricacy of the Matters of *Italy*, and the Fear of the *Frenches* overpowering the Emperor, and of his gaining those Two important Places of *Naples* and *Milan*, the best Means, that the King and hee could invent for the Remedy of the same, consisted in these Three Devises. One, the giving the *French* King Battel; and to suffer the Duke of *Albany* to pas into *Naples*, whether he was sent by the *French* King, but had been under Difficulty of arriving there, by the adverse Army lying in the way thither. Secondly, That an Enterprize should be made upon the Duke of *Albany*, and his Company, in his Passage toward *Naples*. Thirdly, A Compromission to be made on such Parties, as either the Emperor, or the *French* King, have in the Dutchy of *Milan*, into the Pope's Hand *per viam depositi*. These *English* Counsels were by the said Bishop of *Bath*, to be communicated to the Pope. And withal hee was to bee told, that *Pace* should be dispatched to the *Venecian*, to solicit the speedy setting forth their Army, to join the Emperor.

And to *Pace*. The Contents of his Letter to him. Anno 1524.

By the same Post he writ also to *Pace*, signifying how the King was enformed by sundry wayes, and particularly afterward by Letters, sent from the Duke of *Milan* unto his Ambassador, resident in *England*, Dated *December* the 22d, how Affairs stood between the *French* and Emperor; and what Methods and Stratagems were in Hand by each. The *French* for the gaining of *Milan* and *Naples*, and the other for the preventing of him. Then he writ of what great Importance this Matter was: Upon the Success whereof, as he said, depended many Things in *Christendom*, and particularly in the King of *England's* Affairs. That if the *French* should conquer *Naples* and *Milan*, it would excessively elate him, and remove him further from Inclination to Peace, than ever he was before. That on the other Hand, if the

Empe-

Emperor and the Allies in *Italy* were successful, and that the Allies were not neglectful in doing their Endeavours, according to the Pact and League between them made, it might bring the *French* to great Extremity. But that if the *Imperialists* (as he seemed to fear) should not be strong enough to withstand the *French*; and that those in Alliance with him should, by their Remissness and Negligence in putting their Hand to the Remedy, be instrumental to further the *French* Designs; then it were convenient, some politick Means should be taken, and entred into in Time, rather than to put those Two Places to extreme Hazard. And for these Measures, he referred himself to the King's Letters, and his to the Bishop of *Bath*.

And then, as to that Point of his being appointed by the King to resort to *Venice*, to oblige that State not to aid and assist the *French* King, as it seems they had done before, against the *Imperial* Army in *Italy*; but, on the contrary, to declare themselves Enemies to him, according to certain Articles of Treaty between the King and that State at *London*; the Cardinal advised him to take Pains in the bringing this to a good Effect. And the rather, because he knew the *Venetian* now had no great Stomach to assist the Emperor, as having Suspicion of him; as the Lord *Herbert* mentioneth in his History.

And particularly, the Cardinal gives Directions to Pace, concerning his Management of his Embassy to *Venice*.

Then he went on to furnish him with Arguments, to use to the *Venetian*: As, the great and imminent Danger that would ensue unto all *Christendom*, and particularly unto their own State, if it should so happen, the *French* should become Masters of *Naples* and *Milan*; that they might be sure, he would be no good Neighbour unto them. And as an Evidence thereof, that the Ambassador should mind them, how the late *French* King brought about a very formidable League against them, of the Pope, the Emperor, Himself, and the King of *Spain*, and other great Princes. And then to take off that, which the Cardinal knew was the great Matter, which would make them cold in this Affair; namely, their Jealousy that the Emperor would take *Milan* to himself, and deprive the Duke thereof; and that they, knowing how inhumanly the *Spaniards* had carried themselves in *Italy*, they might therefore be more willing to suffer the *French* Men there, they not being so cruel: Therefore the Ambassador was to say secretly, to the Duke and the Council, That if the present Matter well proceeded, that King trusted to deal so with the Emperor, that he should give the Investiture of the Duchy of *Milan* unto the Duke thereof. Whereby *Italy* should be delivered both from *French* and *Spaniard*. Lastly, That if by their breaking their Pacts and Conventions with the Emperor, they should hereby give the *French* King Advantage to obtain *Naples*; the King of *England* must be forced to esteem them the Emperor's Enemies, and not his Friends. Whereby might ensue Cause of Enmity between the King and them. That he should be tender how he mentioned this; treating them in dulce and gentle manner: Mentioning the good Intelligence, that had long continued between the Realm and that Seignory: But not to mention at all a Breach with them, unless the Ambassador should see a Despair of prevailing on them by any other Means. And, Lastly, That at some convenient Time, he should, as from himself, persuade the Duke of *Venice*, how expedient it would be; that the State should have an Ambassador in the *English* Court,

A N N O as well for the Continuance of a good Understanding between the King
 1524. and them, as for the forwarding of important Matters concerning the
 ~~~~~ Signory.

This Letter was dated *January* the 16th, from his Place besides  
*Westminster*: Which, together with the King's Instructions to the said  
*Num. XII.* Ambassador, may be met with in the *Appendix*.  
*XIII.*

His Letter to  
 Dr. Knight, the  
 Ambassador  
 with the Lady  
 Margaret.  
 The Contents  
 thereof.  
 Concerning  
 the King's Gun-  
 powder in *An-*  
*twerp*.

Near the same Time, *viz.* in *March* following, the Cardinal wrote  
 a Letter to Dr. Knight, who was afterward Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*,  
 the King's Ambassador with the Lady *Margaret*, Governess of the  
*Low Countries*. The Contents of which Letter were, first, to give  
 Resolution to the Burghmasters of *Antwerp*, who had complained to  
 that Ambassador of Gunpowder, which the *English* Merchants had pro-  
 cured for the King, and laid up in the *English* House. The Dangers,  
 that were apprehended thence unto the whole Town, made them un-  
 willing it should any longer continue there. They offered also to bear  
 the Charges of removing thereof; and to assign a sufficient strong  
 Tower for the Safety of the same. To which the Ambassador had ad-  
 vised the said Merchants to condescend and agree. The Cardinal writ,  
 ' That his Advice the King was well pleased with, and was willing  
 ' that the said Powder should be removed unto the said Tower; so  
 ' that good Regard were had to the Surety thereof, and a Watch as-  
 ' signed at the King's Charges. That he, the Ambassador, should  
 ' write unto the Burghmasters, and acquaint the Lady *Margaret*, that  
 ' were it not to have the Powder in more Readiness, whensoever the  
 ' common Enterprizes should require it, it should have been brought  
 ' unto *Calais* before that Time. And that it was done, as well for the  
 ' Advancement of the Emperor's Affairs, as the King's. And that the  
 ' said Burghmasters would take care, that the Powder be not in Dan-  
 ' ger by any suspect Person.

Concerning  
 English Men, to  
 be sent over  
 to lye in Gar-  
 rison there.

' That whereas some of the Officers in those Parts had propounded  
 to the Ambassador, that certain *English* Men should be sent over, to  
 lye in Garrison on those Frontiers; he advised, that that should be  
 passed over in Silence by him. Because it were only to draw a Charge  
 and Expence on the King, for the Conservation of those Countries;  
 thinking, by such Ways and Inventions, to burthen the King, and  
 spare themselves.

To dismiss the  
 Provost of *U-*  
*trecht* out of  
 her Council,  
 being of the  
 French Faction.

' That the Provost of *Utrecht* was a Man always inclined to the  
 French Faction; and therefore not safe that he should be participant  
 of the secret Affairs and Counsels of the King's Grace, and the Em-  
 peror's. That therefore it was dangerous to delay the Time of out-  
 ing him out of the Council, until such Season as the Lady *Margaret*  
 might send Information to the Emperor against him, and receive his  
 Answer thereunto. That therefore it was the King's Plesure, the  
 Ambassador should rehearse unto the Lady *Margaret* the great Dan-  
 ger, wherein the common Affairs may be, in case a Person so vehe-  
 mently suspected, should either be present in the Counsils there, or  
 have Commodity, by such Familiarity as he had with any of the  
 Council, to hear and understand the Secrets of the said common  
 Causes. That therefore she should be urged, speedily to expel and  
 remove him out of the said Council. And that she should admonish,



‘ nish, or compel him to retreat to some Place, where he might have  
 ‘ no Opportunity of coming to the Knowledge of any of those Af-  
 ‘ fairs. That if he [the Ambassador] perceived, this Man might be  
 ‘ so favoured by any, as that they would not be minded to do this,  
 ‘ that then he should assure them, that thenceforth the King would  
 ‘ forbear to make them privy to any Part of his Mind, touching the  
 ‘ said common Causes : Nor would communicate his Affairs with the  
 ‘ said Lady-Margaret, and her Council, till such Time as the said Pro-  
 ‘ vost were removed. And that the Emperor’s Ambassador, resident  
 ‘ in England, had wrote to the Lady Margaret effectually to the same  
 ‘ Intent.

‘ That whereas he had informed him, that the King was about send-  
 ‘ ing *William Gonson*, to treat with the King of Denmark’s Chancellor,  
 ‘ for the buying of a great Ship, belonging to the said King ; the  
 ‘ King being since informed, that the Ship was very old and naught,  
 ‘ he had changed his Mind, and would not intermeddle with it. That  
 ‘ therefore he should, by some good Policy and Device, put off that  
 ‘ Matter ; giving the Chancellor Notice thereof, that he might dispose  
 ‘ of the Ship where he pleased.

Concerning  
 buying a great  
 Ship of the  
 K. of Denmark.

The Lord *Hogbstrate*, one of the Lady Margaret’s Court, or Coun-  
 cil, and her self, had spoken some reflecting Words upon the Cardinal,  
 and upon the King, on his Account. Which coming to the Cardi-  
 nal’s Ears, he had stomached. The Lady understanding this, proba-  
 bly from Dr. *Knight*, intreated to have the Cardinal himself rehearse  
 what Words, it was reported, She, and the said Lord, should have  
 spoken against him. This Dr. *Knight* having, according to her De-  
 sire, mentioned to the Cardinal, he (according to his smooth and  
 courtly Temper, namely, to be outwardly very complaisant, whatso-  
 ever Grudge lay secretly within) instructed the Ambassador to make  
 this Reply to the Lady Margaret : ‘ That he was not minded to re-  
 ‘ new, or report Things of Displeasure, nor to have any more Re-  
 ‘ herfal of those Words, spoken lately at Plesure by the said Lady and  
 ‘ Lord : But that he, the Ambassador, should say, that howsoever they  
 ‘ were spoken in one way or the other, She and the said *Hogbstrate*  
 ‘ made other Interpretation then needed, or that they had Cause to do.  
 ‘ And that the King and He, for the singular Affection which they  
 ‘ bore to her, knew her of such Vertue and Wisdom, that whatsoever  
 ‘ they might speak in Passion, or otherwise, there was no Lack of her  
 ‘ cordial Mind towards his Grace, nor of her good Will toward him ;  
 ‘ and so could well pass over. And that whatsoever had been spoken,  
 ‘ that she would assuredly persuade her self, that she should find of the  
 ‘ King’s Highness a fast, constant and perfect Friend ; and him to be  
 ‘ her kind, faithful and loving Son, glad to do her Honour and Ser-  
 ‘ vice. And so leaving such Reherfals of Words, it should be expedi-  
 ‘ ent to think, and attend, and speak of Things that concerned the  
 ‘ Benefit of the common Causes. Wherein he should employ his La-  
 ‘ bour, Travail and Study, to the best of his Power, as he had always  
 ‘ done hitherto.

The Cardi-  
 nal’s Courtly  
 Message to the  
 L. Margaret,  
 upon some re-  
 flecting words  
 she had spoke  
 concerning  
 him.

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That the Ambassador should solicit concerning two English Ships taken by Flemings, before Calais Haven.

Another Instruction he gave the Ambassador, was concerning Two Ships coming out of *France* toward *England*, which were taken by certain Men of War of *Flanders*. There being now Wars between the Emperor (to whom *Flanders* belonged) and the *French* King. But these Ships had the Safe Conduet of the King, the Emperor, and the *French* King. They were taken before *Calais* Haven, and carried into *Zealand*, or some Parts thereof. In one of these Ships were Wines, for the Cardinal's Provision, and for divers other Noblemen. He instructed him, 'to make Enquiry into this Matter; and if he found they were Ships coming hither, and had such Safe Conduit, it was then far disagreeable, he said, to right Order and Reason, that they should be thus taken for Prizes; or that *Flemings* should lay wait for Prizes before *Calais* Haven. That he should diligently sollicite, that such Ships should be redelivered incontinently, and the Goods intyrelly preserved; and to suffer them to repair hither, according to the Safe Conduit; as the King's Highness daily did permit Ships quietly to pass to and from *Flanders*, by like Safe Conduit: And that Recompence be made for the Damage sustained. And to this Purpose, the said Cardinal had wrote his Letters, as he said, to the Lady *Margaret*.

His Instructions in reference to the K. of *Denmark*, beaten out of his Kingdom.

The last Matter of this Letter concerned the King of *Denmark*, who had been beaten out of his Kingdom by his People. The King had married the Emperor *Charles* his Sister, and had a Son by her. A Diet was appointed at *Hamburgh*, to treat about the Reduction of the said King; to be kept the Tenth Day of *April*, Anno 1525. The Matter between this King and the Realm of *Denmark*, was to be laid before the Emperor, and the King of *England*, and some other Princes, as Honourable Umpires. The Lady *Margaret* judged it expedient, that the Ambassadors of those Princes, Arbitrators, should resort to her Court first, for Knowledge of the Certainty of all Things, that might be requisite for them to be instructed in concerning this Affair. Accordingly, the Cardinal gave the Ambassador Intelligence, 'That the King had appointed his Ambassadors for this Matter, the Bishop of *S. Asse*, whose Name was *Henry Standish*, and Sir *John Baker*, to be present at the said Diet on his Behalf: And that they were ready, only desiring to be enformed who were the Emperor's Ambassadors, and those of the other Princes; and in what Place they should meet with them; in what Manner and Form they should order themselves in their Journey: Whether the Emperor's Ambassadors should treat with any Estates or Commissioners, to be deputed from the Realm of *Denmark*: Whether the Emperor's Ambassadors, if need be, should pass into *Denmark*, or not. Because, as he said, the Determination of the King of *England* was, and is, that his Ambassadors should be sent into the said Realm, to procure, labour and solicit such Things, as might concern the said King's Reduction. Wherein the Specialties would be known, with the Articles and Points necessary for them to treat upon. And so praying him to advertise him of all these Things, he concluded from his Place besides *Westminster*; dated *March* 2.



But this Embassy had no Success ; the *Danes* utterly refusing either to readmit the King, or his Son to succeed his Father. Such a Prejudice had they conceived against the Father, for his former Cruelties ; and such a Jealousy of the Son, lest he might either imitate his Father, or revenge him.

*ANN O*  
1525.

## C H A P. V.

*The King's Letter to Luther, upon his Book ; And Luther's former Letter to the King. The French King taken Prisoner by the Emperor. By the Cardinal's Policy, K. Henry enters into a League with that King. Dr. Knight, and Sir Thomas Cheney, and Dr. Taylor, Ambassadors to France. Their Instructions from the Cardinal. Form of the Peace drawn up by the Cardinal, between the Two Kings. The King's Letter to the Emperor, drawn up by the Cardinal.*

IN the Year 1525, came forth a Royal Book, being a Second Letter of King Henry against Luther. Luther had taken notice of the King's Work with too much Freedom, and not with that Respect that was due to his Crown : So that the King held himself bound in Point of Honour, as well as in Vindication of the Catholick Religion, to answer it : And that he thought fit to do, by way of Letter again to Luther. And to which was added, Luther's former Letter to the King.

The King's Letter to Luther, in Answer to his. MSS. D. J. Ep. Elien.

This Book, being in *Latin*, bore this Title : *Literarum, quibus invictissimus Princeps HENRICUS Octavus, Rex Angliæ & Franciæ, & Dominus Hiberniæ, Fidei Defensor, respondit ad quandam Epistolam Martini Lutheri ad se missam ; & ipsius Lutheraniæ quoque Epistola, Exemplum.* Upon this Book (which I once saw in the late Bishop of Ely's exquisite Library) was written, *Rex Anglorum Regi Hæreticorum scribit.* It hath a Preface *Pio Lectori.* Therein is given the Occasion of this Letter of the King to Luther : *Viz.* ' That when Luther began so foolishly to get himself into the King's Favour, [by his Letter to him] whereby he might abuse his Name, the better to commend his Faction ; the King thought it necessary to signify to all Men, that he was not so light to be ensnared by the Flatteries of a [*fatui Fratèrculi*] foolish Friar ; nor so inconstant, to be driven away by any Means from that which he knew to be right, and what had been writ by him. And therefore he had answered to all the Parts of Luther's Letter ; that he might shew Luther, not only to Luther himself, but to every one else.

See L. Herb. Hist. p. 237.

And then the King's Letter began ; *Quas tu, Luthere, prima Septemb. An. D. 1525, ad nos mittendas curasti, eas nescio ubinam terrarum diu peregrinatas, tandem aliquando accepimus, &c.*

A N N O Luther's said Letter to the King began,

1525.

Luther's Letter  
to the King.

*Gratiam & Pacem in Christo Jesu, Domino & Salvatore  
nostro, Amen.*

*Quamquam vereri meritò debuerim, Serenissime Rex, Illustrissimeque Princeps, Literis Majestatem tuam tentare ; ut qui mihi conscius maximè sum, gravissimè offensam esse Majestatem tuam Libello meo, quem non meo genio, sed incitantibus iis, qui Majestati tuæ parum favebant, stultus & præceps edidi : Tamen, &c.*

Then he goes on to excuse his Writing against the King's Book ; and that for this Reason : ' Because from good Witnesses he had learned, ' that that Book, set forth against him under the King's Name, was ' not indeed the King of *England's* Book, as cunning Sophisters would ' pretend, abusing the Name of his Majesty. But he now was ashamed, he said, to lift up his Eyes to his Majesty ; who had suffered ' himself by that Credulity to be moved against so great a King, by ' means of those evil Workers : Especially since he himself was but ' *Fæx & Vermis, i. e.* Dregs and a Worm, in Comparifon to so great ' a King, &c.

It was dated from *Wittenbergh*, the First of *September, 1525.*

But however this his Exaltation of the King, and humbling himself to him, might tend to the appeasing of the King towards him ; yet his Attempt to deprive him of the Glory of that Book, could not but provoke him : And especially, that he had reflected with ill Words upon the King's great Favourite, the Cardinal : Calling him in this his Letter, *Monstrum, & publicum Odium Dei & Hominum* ; and again, *Pestis illa Regni tui, i. e.* A Monster, and the publick Hate of God and Men : And, That Plague of your Kingdom.

But we turn to the King's great Transactions with his Neighbour Potentates, and the Cardinal's considerable Influence, and Pains taken therein.

The King suddenly estranged from the Emperor, by the Cardinal's Means.

This Year there happened a mighty Change in the Scene of publick Affairs ; when the prosperous *Francis* was taken Prisoner at *Pavia*, by the Emperor. The King of *England*, how zealous soever he had been, but a little before, against him, joining with the Emperor to pull down *Francis*, yet now grew cold with the Emperor ; and even whilst *Francis* was a Captive, entred into a Treaty with *Louize* his Mother, the Regent of *France*, in the Year after. Such a sudden Alteration in the King's Mind seemed strange : But it was done by the Instigation of the Cardinal ; who had lately conceived a secret Displeasure against the Emperor, because he found him not so cordial for his Advancement to the Popedom, and bare him not so great Favour as he expected.

There was a secret Overture made by the Cardinal to the *French* King, That he would procure King *Henry* to break with the Emperor, and make Peace with him. This the Cardinal did : And so both revenged himself upon the Emperor, and got 400000 Crowns from *France* for his Pains. This was ordinarily spoke of in *France*, in those Times.

The



The Cardinal suppressed his private Malice, and insisted, before the King, upon those more specious Causes, of the growing Greatness of the Emperor, and the Danger of the Union of Two such great Princes. Especially, since the Captive King had lately at *Madril*, by a Treaty betwixt him and the Emperor, commonly called *The Concord of Madril*, agreed to divers Things very advantageous to the Emperor's Affairs. It was thought advisable therefore by King *Henry*, and his great Minister, First, to break that *Concord*; and, Secondly, to enter into a strict League with K. *Francis*; tho' the King were moved by some Reasons, and the Cardinal by others. And this was the more vigorously attempted by our King, because his Jealousy grew high, that the Emperor *Charles* was driving at the Universal Monarchy; he saw the Princes of *Italy* had entred into a mutual League against him, into which they agreed, that the King of *England* might, if he pleased, come in. And lastly, the Articles between the Emperor and *Francis*, made at *Madril*, whereupon that King was to enjoy his Liberty, were reckoned very hard and unreasonable, in the Judgment of the Neighbouring Princes.

Herein therefore our Cardinal shewed all his Skill, and the Finess of his Policy. The first Step, which he advised to be taken, was, That our King should use all the Obligingness and Civility possible, to possess the *French* King with an Opinion of the King's hearty Friendship and Love. And for that Purpose, first, Order was sent to Dr. *Taylor*, Archdeacon of *Buckingham*, and the King's Ambassador then in *France*, to hasten to the Place where the *French* King should first enter into his own Realm, after his Deliverance, to congratulate his Liberty in the most obliging manner possible.

The Cardinal strains his Policy, in setting on foot a League with K. *Francis*, and dissolving that lately made between that King and the Emperor.

Soon after, Sir *Thomas Cheney*, one of the Six Gentlemen of the King's Privy Chamber, was dispatched in Embassy into *France*, there to join with Dr. *Taylor*, already resident there. Here Sir *Thomas* was instructed to sweeten *Francis* after this manner. 'That he should mention first the mutual Interview, that was between the two Kings in the Year 1520; and that he should tell him, that the hearty Kindness, established then between them, took such Impression upon the King, that no Storms or Clouds since happening, could quench the Sparks, or dry the Roots. That the King did often revolve that fast-rooted Friendship; and could not be satisfied after he had heard of his Delivery, until he had sent to see him. That his Ambassador could not visit him before, because of his stricter Keeping. That as He [the King] lamented with him a great Time, so now he rejoiced. And that he, the Ambassador, with his Colleague, *Taylor*, had in Command to offer him any Stead, Pleasure, Honour.

His Instructions to the Ambassador.

And he was moreover instructed by the Cardinal, 'That this, or the like in effect, would be well couched, not as an Oration, but as a familiar, friendly and kind Message: With Addition of such other loving and kind Words, as should be then thought meet and accommodate for the Company present, and for that Purpose.

And this was to serve for the First Audience; being the whole of the first Part of the Charge committed to him.

A N N O

1525.

The Second, and Main Part, which was to tend to the breaking of the Peace betwixt the Emperor and King *Francis*, was next to be managed. And this, they both were instructed, should be handled and done with great Dexterity, Policy and Wisdom.

And, first, ‘ The Estate of the Affairs in *France* must by them, as far as they could attain to, be well and thoroughly enquired into, searched out and understood. What were the Conditions of the Peace. Whether they were such Matters for the most part, as had been bruited and divulged, or not. How they found the King, the Regent, the Council, Nobles and Commons, affected, and contented with them. Whether any Grudge, or Contradiction were risen about the Performance, or Difficulty. Whether they thought or devised any Thing, how the same might be infringed, or qualified. Or whether they were totally and with Effect inclined, disposed, determined inviolably to observe the Conditions passed and promised.

Then they were instructed to search, ‘ What Apparence there was of sincere Proceeding, and faithful Dealing between the Emperor and the King : And whether the Intelligence between them were suspected, doubtful, strange, uncertain.

Next ; ‘ After they had well pondered, foreseen, and ensearched into these Things ; that they, by mutual Consultation and Conference, should facily perceive, how they might best order themselves ; and proceed in the Second Article, and Point of their Charge. And that they should so deal herein, that their Speech might rather be thought to be occasioned by something said by the King, and the Regent, than of themselves ; and might serve as an Introduction into the Matter. That as they found the King, and found Commodity, they should always fall into Devises, as secretly as might be, as Time and Place offered Convenience, touching the Things that founded to the Disherison of the Crown of *France*, its Rights and Patrimonies, and the Renunciation of his Title to the Realm of *Naples*, or any Thing else, whereupon any good Ground or Foundation might be taken. In which Devises they should, as of themselves, soberly, and in manner with Stupefaction and Mervail, say, That these be great and high Conditions, the like whereof had not been heard of ; and, as wise Men had thought, were either not agreed upon, or were not meant to be performed. And that by such Words, the Ambassadors might perceive easily, whether the King, the Regent and the Council, should open themselves against them ; making any Reasons for the Justification of them : Which should be a convenient Leading to them, [the Ambassadors] how they should proceed, or stay, for that Time, till a more fit Season.

‘ That they should extend, and speak at large, what great Honour, Profit, and high Renown the Emperor should attain thereby, if in all Parts it were observed. That this would be the ready way to bring him to the Monarchy of *Christendom*, or at least to the Possession of the greatest Part thereof.

‘ That they should always so order their Speech, that it might seem rather a Demonstration of their Opinion and Reason, falling out by Chance in Discourse and Conference, then spoken of Purpose ; until they should assuredly perceive the King, or his Mother,

‘ [the



‘ [the Regent] and other Lords Minds aduerse, and studying how the same might be avoyded. A N N O

‘ And so proceeding, they [the Ambassadors] might recount, what  
 ‘ great Regions, and Countries, and Dominions the Emperor then had  
 ‘ in *Europe*, and should have by the Performance of this Treaty, be-  
 ‘ side those he had without. And so they should begin with the  
 ‘ Realm of *Naples*, the Realm of *Sicily*, the Dutchy of *Milan*, the  
 ‘ Seignory of *Feames*, the County of *Ast*, and other Possessions in *I-*  
 ‘ *taly*. Which, united to the Crown Imperial, would not be unlike  
 ‘ to bring to him the whole Monarchy of *Italy* : Whereunto joineth  
 ‘ the whole Country of *Germany*, being the greatest Part of *Chriстен-*  
 ‘ *dome*. Which was either totally in his Possession, or would easily be  
 ‘ at his Commandment ; having on the Lower Part, *Artois*, *Flanders*,  
 ‘ *Zealand*, *Holland*, *Brabant*, *Hainalt*, and other Provinces. From  
 ‘ the which is direct Passage to the Dutchy and County of *Burgoign*,  
 ‘ bounding upon *Bourbonois*, and so to *Averne* : Which, by means of  
 ‘ the Duke of *Burbon*, could not but be at the Emperor’s Command-  
 ‘ ment.

‘ On the other Side, are the Realms of *Castile*, *Aragon*, *Granat*,  
 ‘ *Gallicia*, *Asturia*, and other Parts of *Spain*. So that the Realm of  
 ‘ *France* should be environed in Three Parts ; and situate, as it were,  
 ‘ in the Midst of the Emperor’s Countries, Power, and Dominions. So  
 ‘ that when the Emperor should make War upon *France*, the King  
 ‘ must defend Three Parts ; and so likewise the Sea on the Fourth Part.  
 ‘ So they were instructed to say, That in their Opinion, a Realm so  
 ‘ situated, seemed rather to be in Servitude and perpetual Captivity,  
 ‘ with the Prince thereof Prisoner at continual Commandment, and in  
 ‘ Danger always to be oppressed. All which, as the Instructions ran,  
 ‘ might be so spoken, as nothing should sound to the Derogation of the  
 ‘ Emperor, but breed Miscontentment of the *French* Party.

‘ But then, as the Cardinal’s Instructions proceed ; that, if after all  
 ‘ this, they should find the *French* King’s Mind doubtful, and not per-  
 ‘ ceive an expresse Determination to approve and observe the Condi-  
 ‘ tions, and the Minds of the King’s Council remaining in Suspence,  
 ‘ and incertain ; then they should, by way of Demand, or Question,  
 ‘ ask the King, or the Regent, Whether they were minded duely and  
 ‘ throughly to fulfil their Conditions ? Or whether they thought them-  
 ‘ selves in Conscience, Honour, Law and Reason, bound and astringed  
 ‘ so to do ? Whereunto they should suffer them to make Answer. And  
 ‘ then Mr. *Cheney* was to ask Dr. *Taylor*, What he thought therein, by  
 ‘ such Learning as he had in the Law ? Whereto he might answer, of  
 ‘ what small Effect a Promise, Bond or Convention, made in Captivi-  
 ‘ ty, is : Which he should extend [that is, enlarge upon] for that Pur-  
 ‘ pose. Inforcing therby the Hearers to shew their Opinions the more  
 ‘ openly and frankly.

This, I confess, is but an Exscript from the Original Instructions,  
 taken thence by Sir *Michael Hicks*, Secretary to the Lord Treasurer  
*Burghley*. But it is easy to see who drew them up. They are the ve-  
 ry Style and Subtilty of *Wolfey* ; Laying a Train to bring the *French*  
 King to violate the Terms and Conditions of his Deliverance from Cap-  
 tivity, to which he had solemnly sworn.

After

ANN O  
1526.

His Letter to  
Dr. Taylor, to  
the same Pur-  
pose.

After the King's Ambassadors had, by *Wolfey's* Policy, succeeded well thus far; the next Step was to enter into a League reciprocal with *France*: Which was left to the Management of Dr. *Taylor*. For which Purpose, the Cardinal, in the Year 1526, and not long after the former Instructions, shewed all his Skill and Diligence in a large Letter; giving Directions to the said *Taylor*, for his Proceeding in the King's Business at this Juncture. He was, it seems, a very able Person; and had hitherto dextrously acquitted his Office. Which the Cardinal took notice of, and so had the King: Telling him, 'That he had shewn his Letters from Time to Time to the King's Highness; and that he was right glad, that he did so discreetly and substantially please and content the King's Grace, and Him also; which, no doubt, would be to his Weal and Furtherance hereafter.

And thus having whet his future Diligence by Commendation and Promise, he proceeded to tell him; 'That the King's Highness, and He, took great Consolation to hear the good Success of the *French* King's Affairs, and to perceive daily evident Demonstrations of his hearty and unfeigned Affection and Kindness he bore to him, [the Cardinal.]

For the *French* King knew, that was the way to come to the better Terms with the King of *England*; He being his chief Favourite: And well knowing also, that the said King's Alienation from the Emperor, was owing chiefly to the Emperor's Neglect of the Cardinal. This was the Cause the *French* King had told *Taylor*, the *English* Ambassador, and which he accordingly had signified to the Cardinal, what a sincere Affection and Kindness he bore to him; and likewise of the great Confidence he reposed in our King. 'For both which, as the Cardinal wrote to *Taylor*, he should not fail to have like Correspondence. That no Prince did more desire his Honour and Weal; and meant to pretermitt nothing, that might sound to the Advancement of his Causes; but, like a fast and stedfast Friend, to join and concur with him, knit in an assured perfect Love, and sincere Amity. And bad the Ambassador shew this to the *French* King, with the King's Master's most cordial and affectionate Recommendations. That he [the Cardinal] also meant to bend himself to the nourishing of Amity established.

Then he proceeded to discourse of Matters tending to a mutual Peace, and to the Corroboration of it. The Cardinal advised the Ambassador, that he had made an Overture to the Chancellor (who was some Person, as it seems, sent from *Louize*, or the *French* King, as their Ambassador) of the Conventions and Pacts, passed, (already, I suppose, at a former Treaty,) and to be passed by Virtue of the said Treaty: Which, he said, was but a Porch unto a succeeding Peace and Friendship. Upon this Motion of the Cardinal before the *French* King's Ambassadors, and the King of *England's* Commissioners, appointed to treat with them, he started, That an Obligation reciprocal, between both Kings, should highly answer to the Advancement of both their Affairs. And the rest were of semblable Opinion with him in that Matter.

The Cardinal  
insinuates  
himself into  
the *French*  
King.

Acquaints the  
Ambassador  
what Progress  
had been  
made in con-  
certing a Peace  
between both  
Kings.

See L. *Herb.*  
Hist. H. VIII.  
p. 194.

Then



Then he descended to the Consideration of the Treaty at *Madril*, *A N N O* made between the Emperor, and the Captive King there; of which, 1526.  
 he wrote, ' That it was very hard, that it should be thought to stand  
 ' good, notwithstanding any former Treaties: And that it bound the  
 ' *French* King, and left the Emperor at Large. To be sure, when the  
 ' Emperor had *Francis* his Prisoner, he would make the Terms, as  
 ' advantageous to himself as might be. There had been a Form of  
 ' Articles drawn up, and now laying before the *French* King's Amba-  
 ' sadors, and the King of *England's* Commissioners. Therein were  
 ' some Terms that seemed hard; as, not to treat or conclude any  
 Thing without the King's Knowledge or Consent. For the removing  
 of which Imparity, the Cardinal acquainted *Taylor*, ' That he had  
 ' devised to make the Band reciprocous and egal: And that there  
 ' should be inserted a special Article to promise not to take any Ad-  
 ' vantage: That this Clause added was thought sufficient, both by the  
 ' Chancellor, (that is, the Chancellor of *France*) and him. But  
 ' that this being sent into *France*, out of Design to have particular  
 ' Resolution of their Liking or Disliking, no fruitful Answer to the  
 ' same was sent, but Letters of Instruction and Commission, autho-  
 ' rizing the *French* Ambassador to conclude an Obligation reciprocous,  
 ' after such Force as the Instructions purported: Which was of ano-  
 ' ther Sort and Nature then he, [the Cardinal] had proponed. Yet  
 ' however, that upon the Receipt thereof, he [the Cardinal] had  
 ' made Overture to the Lords, and moved the King: And so had con-  
 ' duced the Matter with him. The Effect of which (such was the  
 Cardinal's great Interest with the King) was, ' That to remove all  
 ' Scruples and Doubts, and to do the *French* King Honour and Plea-  
 ' sure, the King of *England* was contented to allow the mutual Obli-  
 ' gation to go according to the Instructions sent to the *French* Am-  
 ' bassador, though of another Nature, then the Cardinal had pro-  
 ' pounded. Which were as large and ample, and as beneficial to the  
 ' King, and his Affairs in every Point, though it were under other  
 ' Terms and Words. That the King of *England* Articled to make  
 ' War upon the Emperor, for Recovery of his Hostages; (namely,  
*Francis* his Two Sons, that were delivered to the Emperor, when  
*Francis* was dismiss'd into *France*.) ' That this should be upon rea-  
 ' sonable Recompence of Money. That he should resist his Army  
 ' coming into *Italy*, with a Power and Puissance formidable, and  
 ' to expulse his Army out. Some other Matters propounded by the  
 Form brought by the *French* Commissioners for our King to yield to,  
 as to be bound to others out of the Contract, the Cardinal disproved,  
 saying, ' That if the Articles had so passed, it had been a great Dispa-  
 ' rity, and contrary to all Reason.

His Judgment  
of the Captive  
King's Treaty  
with the Em-  
peror.

' That after such debating of this Matter, there were Two Forms  
 ' devised, the Copies whereof he sent unto Dr. *Taylor*. These Forms  
 ' were drawn up by the Cardinal, and delivered unto the *French* King's  
 ' Ambassador, who was *Seigneur De Vaulx*, *Maitre d'Hosel* to *Lorizze*,  
 ' the Regent, and Mother of *Francis*; who had been one of her Com-  
 ' missioners, dispatched into *England* for concluding of the Treaty be-  
 ' tween King *Henry*, and the *French* King. These Forms being deli-  
 ' vered to him, he desired to send them into *France*, and promised,  
 ' within

Sends the Am-  
bassador the  
Copies of  
Two Forms of  
a Peace,  
which he had  
drawn up,  
and delivered  
to the *French*  
Ambassador.

A N N O  
1526.

‘ within Eight Days, to return an Answer concerning them to the King’s Commissioners. Although he in his own Judgment, did know, perceive, and would not deny, but that these Forms, being so conveyed and devised, were as effectual and beneficial to the French King, for his Content and Purpose, as that which had been sent out of France to the Ambassador here: Yet he dared not, nor would conclude, until the French King were first Advertised, and his Pleasure known. Affirming expressly, that that his Refusal proceeded of no manner of Compass or Intent, to protract Time for any sinister Purpose: But only for fear to transgress the Limits by him in his Instructions assigned. And that, as the Cardinal wrote, our Ambassador might be fully riped in the Specialities thereof, he sent him Copies: Upon the substantial Perusal, and reading whereof, he might make himself fully Master of the Contents thereof. That the French King, and his Counsil should find, and that he, the Ambassador, should affirm, that whichsoever Form he should content unto, should be found as beneficial. And that concerning this, he, the Ambassador, should desire to be speedily advertised of the King’s Pleasure, to the Intent the same might be with all Diligence notified hither.

Certifies him of Letters dispatched to the King’s Ambassador with the Emperor, in the French King’s Behalf.

Herbert’s Hen.  
VIII. P. 177.

Then he proceeded to another Matter, namely, concerning the Emperor’s restoring back the French King’s Sons, then Hostages for the King their Father. About this, the Cardinal advised Dr. Tayler to shew, ‘ That the King’s Highness minded and intended to have sent an honourable Personage on Ambassiate to the Emperor, for Requisition first to be made unto him, for Delivery of them upon reasonable Recompence of Money, without demanding Lands or Towns. Next, for speedy Contentation of the Money the Emperor owed to the King of England. The Occasion of this Debt was thus, The Emperor Charles, for the better drawing of King Henry to his Party, against Francis, had promised to pay unto the said Henry, the Sum of Three Hundred Thirty Three Thousand, Three Hundred and Five Crowns Yearly, in Lieu of those Pensions and Rents, which the said Francis was bound to pay to Henry. ‘ That it was thought expedient for the accelerating the Matter, (that is, to force the Emperor to return the Hostages, and to demand some reasonable Sum of Money for the restoring of them, or to make War upon him: For which Purpose, the Army in Italy was now in good Readiness,) ‘ To send Letters with substantial Instructions to the King’s Ambassador resident there, in the Emperor’s Court. Which were appointed to be carried in Post by a Gentleman of his House, [viz. of the English Ambassador with the Emperor] named, Osborn Ichingham, who had Knowledge of the Country, and good Language to pass. And who was ordered in his Way, to call upon him, the Ambassador in France.

Sends him a Copy of the Letter sent by the King to the Emperor.

‘ And because the French King might perceive after what good Manner and Fashion the King’s Grace had in a Letter exhorted the Emperor, allecting him first by doulce and pleasant Introductions, adding afterward Matter founding perfectly to Sharpness and Commination, to descend to the King’s Desire; the Cardinal had sent him therewith a Copy of the said Letter to the Emperor: And that in Declaration thereof, he [the Ambassador] might vary and digress in



in no Point from the King's Meaning. That he should substantially consider and digest the said Letter addrest to the Emperor. That he [the Cardinal] hoped the Emperor would have that Respect and Regard, as to beware how he did rashly refuse or deny the same. That the Words being well marked, in many Points were no less then a Summonition and Warning, that if the Emperor descended not to the King's Request, he would enter the League with *Italy*. (Which could not but have an Impression upon the Emperor, it being a strong League, not only of the *French King*, but the Pope, the *Venetian*, the *Florentines*, and *Sforza* against the Emperor.) That he should shew this Letter to the King and Counsil, but in no wise to leave the Copy with them, or suffer any Doubt thereof. That, if they should desire it, he should say, as of himself, that it was not convenient to give a Copy of the King's Letters sent to another Prince, nor that he had any such Commission, but that as to the suffering them to read it in his Presence, in that he should let them take their Pleasure. And that this might suffice for their Knowledge, how, and in what good Sort the King did proceed in that Behalf. That if they should demand, if the King had written any other Matter besides, more then was in that Letter, he should say, that over and beside the Effect thereof, his Highness had given other secret Charge to his Ambassador, how to use himself for the conducing of every Thing to the desired Purpose. Which was Matter not to be communicated Abroad. That the King had hopes to train the Emperor to Reason by doulce Methods: Which failing, he would go on to more angry Courses.

And instructs him to shew it to the French King.

Moreover the Cardinal instructed him, ' That after he had made these Declarations aforesaid, and finding the *French King* fully determined to accept one of the Two Forms for Conclusion of the League between him and the King of *England*, Dr. *Tayler* should, with all Diligence, dispatch *Ichingham*, in his way to the Emperor. But that, if the *French King* should say, he would shortly send Order to his Ambassador here, to conclude, then he should accelerate the Expedition thereof, as much as conveniently he could: Taking Order with *Ichingham*, that he depart to some Place on his way by soft Journeys, until such Time as it may be thought the *French King's* Commandment were brought to *England*. For it were not convenient, he said, if he should arrive in *Spain* with Letters and Intimations to be made by the King's Ambassador to the Emperor, until the Obligation reciprocous were concluded here. That therefore he should take special Regard by his Wisdom, to order *Ichingham's* Departure from him, as he might well think the Obligation past, or in good Likelihood to be past, a good Season before his Arrival in *Spain*. [And indeed this League was finished soon after this Letter, which was writ *July* the 15th, and the League was concluded *August* the 8th following.]

Directs him concerning the Dispatch of *Ichingham* to *Spain*.

The Cardinal gave him moreover to understand, ' That my Lord of *Bath* had all his Instructions and other Matters in Readiness, and had taken his Leave of the King, intending within Two Days to depart, and set on his Voyage toward the *French King*. He advertised him also, that forasmuch as divers Errors were apprehended in

Sends him Word that my Lord of *Bath* was ready to set forth for *France*.

A N N O  
1526.

Sends him a  
Form of a  
Commission,  
to be sent by  
Francis, the  
Pope and Ve-  
netians, to  
their Agents  
here.

the Treaty, prejudicial to, and something also omitted, which might concern the King, in case he should hereafter enter, [the *Italian Confederacy*, against the *Emperor*,] that therefore it was thought convenient, that Commissions should be sent hither, as well from the *French King*, as the Pope's Holiness, and the *Venetians*, to their Orators and Agents here resident. And that he had devised a Form of such a Commission, which he had sent unto him, [the Ambassador] which he should shew unto the *French King*, and his Council. So as if they should call upon the King to enter the League [of *Italy*] the same might be qualified in such Points as was necessary. Letting him to wit, that such Forms were likewise sent to the Pope and *Venetians*, and the Point sufficiently declared to the *French King's Ambassador* here resident: And a Copy delivered to the Bishop of *Bath*. And that therefore, if they should call upon entering the League, he should accelerate the sending the Commission. So dating his Letter *From his Place beside Westminster*, he subscribed himself,

Your Loving Friend,

T. Car<sup>lis</sup>. Ebor.

Hen. VIII.  
P. 194.

This is a brief and epitomized Extract, taken by Sir *Michael Hikes*, before mentioned, out of the Original Letter of the Cardinal. Wherein, if some Things be met with, not so full and intelligible as might be wished, it must be attributed to that Cause. The Lord *Herbert* tells us, that the Contents in short of this League reciproous, which the Cardinal gave all these Instructions about to Doctor *Tayler*, were, That both Kings did oblige themselves not to treat or agree apart, or separately, with the Emperor, concerning the Restitution of the Two Children of *France*, nor concerning the Money due from the Emperor, but jointly and together. And for all other Businesses, they should pass without Derogation or Prejudice to their former Treaties, which were understood to remain entire. And that neither of the said Kings should in any Kind assist the Emperor, whensoever he were invaded by the other. Which brief Relation of the Historian the former Letter doth more expatiate upon, and explain.



A N N O

1527.

## C H A P. VI.

*The Pope imprisoned by the Emperor. The Cardinal draws up a Requisition to him in Favour of the Pope. Goes himself Ambassador to France. Made Vicar-General by the Pope. The Cardinal's Legantine Courts. His Court for Wills and Testaments. The Archbishop's Contests with the Cardinal about his Courts. Complains to the King.*

I N the Year 1527, the Emperor had entred into *Rome*, and seized the Pope, and made him his Prisoner. This, as it made a great Noise in the World, so it served as a good Pretence for some further Revenges to be taken by the Cardinal upon him. This, by the Cardinal's blowing the Coals, begat new Counsils between the Two Kings. For this Purpose, the Cardinal had devised an Instrument, called a *Requisition*, that was to be offered to the Emperor, by the *English* and *French* Ambassadors in the Court of *Spain*. It related to the Injuries he had done to the Pope, and the See of *Rome*. This *Requisition* was made on Purpose, the better to justify that War, that they were bringing upon him in *Italy*. A Copy of this *Requisition* being framed by the Cardinal, was sent by him to *Louize*, the Lady Regent, who liked it well; and added Words to this Effect, to the Bishop of *Bath*; and Sir *Anthony Brown*, our Ambassadors, 'That Christian Princes 'could not in Honour suffer their Head, Christ's Vicar, to be kept a 'Captive: And, That no Prince of his own Authority, could keep a 'Pope in Prison, or demand a Ransom for him; And, that Princes 'should no longer obey a Pope, detained contrary to his Will. Which Propositions were left to the Cardinal, to improve and dress for their Purpose.

He draws up the *Requisition* in Favour of the Pope, then a Prisoner.

There were several strict Treaties made of late betwixt the Two Kings, in Prejudice of the Emperor, in which the Cardinal still had the great Hand, covering over his Malice against him, by his specious Shew of Devotion to the Papal See: And now to establish all, he himself resolved upon a Journey into *France*, in the Quality of an extraordinary Ambassador from the King. His Coming he signified unto the Lady Regent, and King *Francis*, and that he would meet him at *Amiens*, or further, if she, and the King, her Son, thought good; and if a Journey so far might not be prejudicial to the King, having lately been ill of a Fever. But she heartily thanking the Cardinal, signified to him there would be no Danger, and appointed the Time, and Place for the Congress. So he entring on his Journey about the Beginning of *July*, 1527, in very extraordinary State and Splendor, and accompanied with a mighty Train, (the Account whereof I leave to *Cavendish*, the Writer of his Life, to relate;) he arrived at *Calais*, and at the Time appointed, met *Francis* at *Amiens*. Where he tarried with that King Fourteen Days, feasting, and being feasted, and concerting Matters, for a firmer League between the Two Kings, and for

He goes Ambassador into *France*.

*Cavendish*, Life of the Cardinal.

*A N N O* 1527. for a more vigorous Opposition of the Emperor. I have put into the *Appendix*, the Letter of the *Englisb* Ambassador's, wrote the Day before his Departure from the Court, which relates to these Affairs.

*Numb.*

XIV.

The Cardinal made Vicar-General by the Pope.

In this Year he was at the top of all his Earthly Glory. His Dignities may be understood by the Style and Title, that was then ordinarily ascribed him, *viz.* *The most Reverend Father in God, Lord Thomas, of the Title of S. Cicile, Priest Cardinal, Archbishop of York, Primate of England, Chancellor of the same, of the See Apostolic Legat de Latere.* To all these Titles, he received one more from Pope Clement this Year, namely, that of *Vicar-General*. Whereby he was empowered to perform all that the Pope might have done himself. For when he was now under Restraint, after the Sacking of *Rome* by the *Spaniard*, the Cardinal, by a Bull sent him by the Pope, was made *Vicar-General* throughout all the King's Dominions, during the Pope's Captivity. So that whatsoever was determined concerning the Administration of Ecclesiastical Affairs by the Cardinal, assisted by the Prelates of *England*, who should be assembled by the King's Authority, that should be decreed and observed, the Consent of the said King being first had : And so it was in *France*. This was brought about by the Cardinal : Who in a Conference with certain other Cardinals at *Compeign*, 1527, being then Ambassador Extraordinary from King *Henry* to the *French* King, resolved, that the foresaid Order of the Government of the Church, was at this Time requisite. And so he took on him the Supreme Charge of the Ecclesiastical Affairs of the Realm. Where, as the Historian makes the Observation, began the Taste the King took of governing the Clergy in Chief ; and I may add, of constituting a Vicar-General immediately next under the King, over all Matters of the Church, throughout the Nation. And the King having much to do in the Church, and among Churchmen, some Years after, substituted *Cromwel* under him, with that Title.

*L. Herbert*  
*Hist. P. 209.*

His Legantine Courts.

By Virtue of this overtopping Legantine Authority, he drew into his own Courts all Matters, whatsoever Cognizable in the Ecclesiastical Courts, belonging either to Archbishop or Bishops. So that even the Bishops were his Commissaries in their own Dioceses. An Instance of this, I find, fell out this Year. For one *Forster*, of the Diocese of *London*, appeared for heretical Pravity at *Westminster-Abbey*, before the Cardinal's Commissaries sitting there ; whereof *Tonstal*, the Bishop of *London*, was one. The Copy of the Abjuration from the Original, I will here set down, to shew the manner of the Cardinal's Courts, who were his Commissaries, and what a strict Hand the Cardinal held over poor Men, that there might be no starting in the least from the old Superstitions.

*Int. Foxij,*  
*MSS.*

*Forster's* Abjuration in the Cardinal's Court.

' In the Name of God, *Amen.* I *Richard Forster*, of the Diocese  
' and Jurisdiction of *London*, before yow, Reverend Father in God,  
' Lord *Cuthbert*, Bishop of *London*, my Ordinary, and Diocefan, and  
' Commissary to the most Reverend Father in God, Lord *Thomas*, of  
' the Title of Saynct *Cecile*, Priest, Cardinal, &c. together with yow,  
' Reverend Fathers in God, Lords *Nicholas*, Bishop of *Ely*, *Henry*, Bi-  
' shop of Saynct *Asse*, *John*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, and *John*, Bishop of  
' *Bathe* and *Wellys*, likewise Commissaryes lawfully deputed, opynly  
' confesse



‘ confesse and knowledge, that I dampnably have erred in the Holy A N N O  
 ‘ Sacrament of the Aulter, sayng, belevyng, and affirmyng, That a 1527.  
 ‘ Priest could not Consecrate the Body of Crist. Also, that I, fac-  
 ‘ companied with certayn of the maner of Lyvyng of *Martyn Luther*,  
 ‘ and his Sect, dyd eate Flesh on the *Saturday*. The which myn He-  
 ‘ sy, Error, and dampnable Opinyon, in especyal with all other Here-  
 ‘ sies agenst the Faith of Crist, and our Holy Moder the Church in  
 ‘ General, here before Almighty God, and you myne Ordinary in this  
 ‘ Honorable Audience, I voluntary and gladly, as a true Penytent  
 ‘ Person, utterly renounce, forsake and abjure. Promytting, and I  
 ‘ promyse faithfully unto Almighty God, our foresaid Mother, the  
 ‘ Holy Church, and to you my foresaid Ordinary, and swere by these  
 ‘ Holy Evangelies, and Contents of thies Book, here by me Bodyly  
 ‘ touched, that from henceforth I shall never retorn agen to the said  
 ‘ Heresies, and dampnable Opinions, or any other Heresies, and  
 ‘ dampnable Opinions: And never more reherse, believe, or asirme  
 ‘ the contrary, to the Determination of our Holy Mother, the  
 ‘ Church: Nor hide, conceyl, or kepe close, any such Heresies and  
 ‘ dampnable Opinions, nor their Auctors, or Fawtors in Tyme to  
 ‘ come: Nor be conversant, or famylar wytyngly with any Person,  
 ‘ or Persons, suspect of Heresy. But as soon as I shall know any such  
 ‘ Persons, or their Fawtors, I shall truly and faithfully detect them, and  
 ‘ their Opinions to their Ordinary, for the Tyme being, without any  
 ‘ Delay. Submyttyng my self mekely, lowly and penytently, to our  
 ‘ Holy Mother, the Church, and your Correction: Beyng contrite  
 ‘ and sorry, and desiring Penance for my said Offences, and Trespas-  
 ‘ ses in this Behalf, which I promyse, by the Vertue of myne Othe  
 ‘ surely to do, observe and fullfyl. In Witness whereof, to this my  
 ‘ present Abjuration, I have subscribed my Name with my Hand, and  
 ‘ set to the Signe of the Crosse under the same.

*per me Ricardum Forster, Supradict.*



‘ *Letta per dictum Richardum Forster, quinto die Decembris, Anno*  
 ‘ *Dom. 1527, in domo Capituli Monast. Westmonaster. coram Reve-*  
 ‘ *rendo in Christo Patre Cuthberto London. Episcopo, ac alijs pre-*  
 ‘ *sentibus, ut in actis, in presentia mei*

Mathei Grafton.

And as the Cardinal had this Court at *Westminster*, to make Inqui-  
 sition about Heresy, so, by Virtue of his Legantine Power, he had  
 another Court in his own House at *Tork-Place*, for Matters Testamen-  
 tary, and peculiar Officers deputed thereunto. This was a new En-  
 croachment upon the Bishops of *Canterbury*, before whom, or their  
 Officers, Wills and Testaments were constantly used to be proved.  
 During this Innovation, one *Jane Roper*, Executrix to her late Hus-  
 band, *John Roper*, was called before the Commissaries of the *Prero-*  
 gative Court. And soon after the Cardinal's Commissaries cited her  
 before them, in the Chapel at *Tork-Place*, to prove the Will, or else  
 to be repelled, as no Executrice, and the Will of the said *John Roper*  
 to

The Cardinal's  
Court for  
Wills.

Clamoured  
against.

*A N N O* 1527. to be reputed as no Will. Hereupon she, and some other of her Counsel, wrote to Bishop *Warham*, complaining hereof. Others also spake to him, and other writ, what the Issue of this would be: And that the Jurisdiction of his Courts was like to be extinguished, and that all Testamentary Causes would come to that Pass, to be made depend upon the Cardinal's mere Will and Pleasure. This made a great Clamour against the Cardinal all *Kent*, and *London* over. The Archbishop's Officers also seeing their Office and Benefit so invaded, plyed the Bishop with their Complaints. He likewise was sensible how this new Court was like to be prejudicial to his other Courts. These Complaints and Considerations, made him resolve to stir, as much as he might, to put a stop hereunto.

Prejudicial to  
his Prerogative  
Court.

A Composition  
between  
the Cardinal  
and the Arch-  
bishop.

For it is here to be noted, that before this, the Archbishop had made a Composition with the Cardinal, to which they had mutually set their Hands and Seals, being an Agreement upon certain Articles, that their respective Courts might not interfere with one another, and for the Peoples Peace and Quietness, that should have any Causes depending. And by this Composition, the Prerogative was to remain entire to the Archbishop, only the Cardinal was to have his Commissaries in this Court, to be joined with those of the Archbishop. Which was Condescension enough. Insomuch that some of the Archbishop's Friends charged it upon him as an Oversight.

The Archbishop was now at his House at *Charing*. Whence he wrote of this Matter to the Cardinal. ' Taking God to judge, that ' he wrote no otherwise, then it had been shewed to his Face, or written to him by Letters. Beseeching him, that this Business might ' have a stop till after *Easter*: At which Time he would wait upon ' him. Assuring himself, that his Grace would do nothing contrary ' to the Composition Sealed with his Grace's Seal, and subscribed ' with his Grace's Hand, concerning the Prerogative which his Church ' of *Canterbury*, Time out of Mind, had been possessed of. This was dated *February* the 24th. But it doth not appear in what Year: But, as I suppose, about this Time, or not much before.

The Archbi-  
shop writes to  
the Cardinal  
against his  
Court.

But the Cardinal, notwithstanding the Archbishop's Letters, gave no Orders to his Commissioners, to cease any further Dealing in this Office of the Probate of Wills. For, but in the Month after, the Archbishop from *Croydon* sent another Letter to the Cardinal, complaining to him of the same Abuse, of interrupting him in the Use of the Prerogative. He urged, ' That hereby his Officers of the Courts ' of the *Arches*, and the *Audience*, and his Commissaries of the Dio- ' cese of *Kent*, and he himself in Matters of Suite of Instance of Par- ' ties, and in all Cases of Correction depending before him and them, ' if they should be thus continually inhibited by the Cardinal's Offi- ' cers, they should have nothing left to do; but that he should be as ' a Shadow, and Image of an Archbishop, and Legate. Which would ' be to his perpetual Reproach, and to his Church a perpetual Preju- ' dice. He prayed the Cardinal therefore to defer this Matter a little, ' till he might have some Communication with him therein; and that ' he would give Credence to his Chaplain, whom he had sent, the ' Bearer



‘ Bearer of his present Letter. Both these Letters of Archbishop *ANN O Warbam*, are in the *Appendix* most deservedly preserved.

But it seems, after all, *Warbam* found little Redress at *Wolsey's* Hand. When therefore the Matter could not be otherwise remedied, and the Cardinal had been guilty of unjust Encroachments upon all Ecclesiastical Affairs, the Archbishop repaired unto the King, acquainting him, and complaining of these Things. The King took his coming in good Part, and bad him go to the Cardinal, and as he saw him doing Things amiss, not to spare to tell him thereof. He did so; gravely admonishing him concerning several Matters, and particularly his meddling with Wills and Testaments, wherein he claimed a Power, not so much as claimed by the Pope himself: And in disposing of Benefices in the Gift of the Nobility, or others, he told him he usurped too much upon them. The Cardinal hated the Archbishop before, because he would not truckle to him, but would upon Occasion oppose him; but this last Reproof made him hate him more. It ended thus at last: The King finding all that *Warbam* said to be true, and that *Alan*, Judge of the Cardinal's Court, had appeared to be a very corrupt, ill Man, by the Accusation of *John London*, (a Man made Use of in these Times) he very severely reprov'd the Cardinal. Which had some good Effect upon him, to make him more wary, if not more just.

I do suppose the Cardinal assumed such Power in the *Prerogative* Office, by Virtue of his Commission from the Pope, as afterwards *Cromwel* had there the like, by virtue of his Commission to be Vicar General, from the King. Whereby all Wills, where the Estate was Two Hundred Pounds, and upwards, were not to be proved in the Bishops Courts, but in the Court of the Vicar General. And the Vicar General accordingly deputed Dr. *Petre* his Officer, for receiving these Probates of Wills. Which Thing seems to be but copied from the Cardinal's Practice, as the Original.

Thus between the Archbishop's Officers, and those of the Cardinal, besides the Delays, and dancing Attendance, before Matters could be dispatched, the Fees and Expences were excessive. In the Year 1528, Sir *William Compton* died of the Sweating Sickness. By whose last Will Sir *Henry Guilford*, Knight of the Garter, and Comptroller of the King's House, and certain others, were constituted his Executors. But before they could obtain a Probate from the Cardinal, and Archbishop of *Canterbury*, it cost them a Thousand Marks; the Cardinal, by his Legantine Power, had so disordered Wills and Testaments.

So that these Matters became publick Grievances. For the Burdens upon the Laity, whensoever they had Occasion to prove any Wills, were so heavy, and so intolerably expensive, that the Thing was brought before the Parliament, in the Year 1529, or 1530. When Six Grievances were complained of, wherein the Clergy oppressed the Laity: And this of Wills was the First. Then Sir *Henry Guilford*, aforesaid, protested, in open Parliament, on his Fidelity, that he, and the other Executors, were fain to pay that great Sum, before they could prove Sir *William Compton's* Will.

1527.

Numb.

XV. XVI.

But upon no Redress, complains to the King.

The Lord *Cromwel* followed the Cardinal in this. *Hist. Reform.* P. I. p. 181.

The excessive Charges of proving Wills.

Complained of in Parliament.

A N N O

1527.

## C H A P. VII.

*Persecution in the Diocese of London for Religion. Visitation of the Diocese of London. Divers detected for Heresy in Essex, London, &c. Their Confessions: And Penances.*

The Popish Errors disclaimed by many.

**B**UT by Occasion of the Abjuration above mentioned, let us a little interrupt the Continuation of the Cardinal's Story, and look into the State of Religion in these Days.

A Visitation in London Diocese.

*Heresy*, as it was then called, that is, the Gospel, had already spread considerably in this Diocese of *London*, and especially about *Colchester*, and other Parts of *Essex*, as well as in the City. The *New Testament* in *English*, translated by *Hotchyn*, (that is, *Tindal*) was in many Hands, and read with great Application and Joy: The Doctrines of the *Corporeal Presence*, of *Worshipping Images*, and going on *Pilgrimages* to Saints, would not down. And they had secret Meetings, wherein they instructed one another out of God's Word. Now the Cardinal earnestly bestirred himself to put a Stop to these Things, and to reduce all declining Persons to the old way again. And for the Diocese of *London*, a strict Visitation was commenced this Summer, by *Jeffrey Wharton*, Doctor of Decrees, Bishop *Tonstall's* Vicar General: The Bishop himself being then in Embassy in Foreign Parts, in Company, as it seems, with the Cardinal, who was this Summer in *France*.

Some Account of which Visitation I shall now give, having the Original Papers thereof before me; and the rather, because *John Fox*, in his *Martyrology*, hath omitted it, and hath recorded little more than the Names of them that were prosecuted; and these extant in the First Edition only.

Abraham Water persecuted. MSS. Foxian.

*Abraham Water*, of *S. Botolph's* in *Colchester*, Dutchman, was cited before the said Vicar General, for saying, *I can make of a Piece of Bread the Body of Almighty God, as well as the best Priest of them all*. For which he was fain to Abjure, the 15th Day of *July*, 1527; setting the Sign of the Holy Cross to his Abjuration, with his own Hand. Which Abjuration ran in the same Form mostly with that of *Forster*, mentioned before.

Hacker: Who detects,

One *Hacker*, or *Ebbe*, who was a great Reader and Teacher about Six Years past in *London*, and now in the Parts of *Essex* about *Colchester*, *Wittham* and *Branktree*, being discovered and taken up, was at this Visitation held in *January* and *February*, so hard set upon, that he made a Discovery, by Interrogatories put to him to answer upon Oath, of a great many of his Friends and Followers, both in *Essex* and *London*. Some of them were these that ensue.

Ravens.

*Christopher Ravens*, of *Wittham*, Tayler, (who had been abjured Anno 1511, before Bishop *Fitz-James*) was detected by the said Hacker,



*Hacker*, that he had Communication with him about a Quarter of a *ANNO* Year last past, at his own House in *Wittham* : And also that once or <sup>1527.</sup> twice a Year, by the Space of Four Years, he had resorted to his House, and taught him the *Commandments* ; and that in the Sacrament of the *Altar* was not the very Body of God, but a Remembrance of God that was in Heaven : And that Worshipping of *Images*, and Offering and going on *Pilgrimages*, was naught : And that the one taught the other in such Learnings.

He detected also *Thomas Hills*, Servant to the said *Ravens* ; that <sup>Hills.</sup> he was of the same Sect, and could read well, and had a Book of the *New Testament* in *Englisb* printed, which he bought at *London* ; and was a great Reader among them.

Farthermore, That the said *Christopher* had two Servants, born in <sup>Chapman.</sup> *Colchester*, called *John* and *Richard Chapman*, Brethren, which followed the Reading and Doctrine of them, and learned many of their Opinions.

To go on, as I am led by the Register : The said *Hacker*, being in- <sup>Goter.</sup> <sup>Stere.</sup> <sup>Knight.</sup> terrogated upon Oath to make true Answer, revealed *Goter*, *Stere* and *Knight*, of *S. Margaret Lotbbury*, Founders, to be of his Learning and Sort. And that their Conversations, Teachings and Readings, were kept at one *Russel's* House, at the Gate of *Birds Alley*, against *S. Stephen's* Church in *Colemanstreet* : And said, that those Three continued in his Company, and he with them, by the Space of Six Years.

Also, the said *Hacker* discovered one *Cony*, Clark of *S. Anthony's*, <sup>Cony.</sup> and his Wife, living beside the Friar *Augustins* Gate, about Six Years past to be of his Sect and Learning ; and that he had a Book of this Respondent's, called *The Bayly*.

Also he said, that one *Thomas Vincent*, which was Father in Law to <sup>Vincent.</sup> him that was brent for *Heresy* about Fourteen Years past, [*Ann.* 1513.] did teach this Respondent all and singular his Errors and Heresies, with which he was infected. And that *Vincent* gave him the *Evangelie* of *Matthew* in *Englisb*.

Also, that the same *Vincent* had a Daughter, which was married to <sup>Austie.</sup> *Thomas Austie*, which was much in Company with this Respondent, and followed his Learning and Opinions. Also, that *Vincent* had a Book of the *Ten Commandments*, which he read to this Respondent ; and afterwards gave him the Book ; and he gave it afterwards to one *Sime* of *Witney*, besides *Oxford*.

Also he confessed, that *John Pykas* of *Colchester* had a Book, Part in <sup>Pykas.</sup> *Englisb*, and Part in *Latin*, which began, *The most Excellent and Glorious Lord*, &c. And another Book, called, *Disputatio inter Fratrem* <sup>Books confessed.</sup> *& Clericum* : And another of this Respondent's, called, *The Prick of Conscience*.

Also he said, that *John Stacy*, of *Colemanstreet*, Bricklayer, kept a <sup>Stacy.</sup> Man in his House, whose Name was *John*, to write the *Apocalypse* in *Englisb* : And that one *John Sercot*, Grocer, then dwelling in *Cole-* <sup>Sercot.</sup> *manstreet*, bare the Costs of the said Writer. And the said *Sercot* had a Book of this Respondent's, called *The Bayly*.

Also, that one *Elizabeth Newman*, being then a Maid dwelling in <sup>Newman.</sup> *S. Thomas Apostle*, about Six Years past caused this Respondent to change his Name, and call himself *Richardson*.

A N N O

1527.

Rawlyn.

Besides all these detected by *Hacker*, the Register makes mention also of *Thomas Rawlyn*, Tallowchandler, dwelling in *Aldermanbury*, who was of the same Sect, and taught by *Hacker* in his own House, divers and fundry Times.

Tewksbury.

Also, *John Tewksbury*, Haberdasher, dwelling nigh to *S. Martin's Gate*, was another of *Hacker's* Disciples, and of the same Sect. This Man was afterwards burnt ; if he be the same with that *John Tewksbury*, Leatherfeller, mentioned in *Fox's Martyrology*, under the Year 1529.

Long.

*Dorothy Long*, of the Parish of *S. Giles in Colchester*, was also of his Conversation and Learning.

Westden.

Also of the same Sect was *Marion Westden*, Wife to *Thomas Matthew*, of *Colchester*.

Ruffel.

Also *William Ruffel*, Tayler, of *Colemanstreet*.

Philip.

Also *Thomas Philip*, Pointmaker, dwelling against the Little Conduit in *Cheap*, was of *Hacker's* Sect, and a chief Reader and Teacher of his Opinions.

The said *Hacker* confessed, that he and the said *Philip*, by the Space of Five or Six Years, met oftentimes at *Ruffel's* House, and once a Quarter in his own House ; and there had Communications of such Opinions as he used : And that *Philip* did sometime read in a Book of *Paul*, and sometime in a Book of the *Epistles*. And that he, *Ruffel*, and *Maxwel*, of *S. Olaves in Silverstreet*, Bricklayer, were much conversant at *Lawrence Swaffer's*, in *Shoreditch*, Tayler. •

Maxwel.

Swaffer.

Geffray.

Bulley.

Styes.

Tyllesworth.

Alice.

Tyllesworth.

Bristow.

Besides all these, there were divers others now detected by *Hacker*, as his Followers about Six Years past : As, *Thomas Geffray*, of *Colemanstreet*, Tayler ; and the Wife of *Bulley*, a Sadler, dwelling at the *Red Cross* and *Bull-head* in *Cheapside* : Mrs. *Styes*, at the *Ball* in *Fridaystreet* : *Thomas Tyllesworth*, Tayler in *Budge Row*. *Alice*, now married, then dwelling at the *White Hart* against the *Savoy*. *Robert Tyllesworth*, Tayler in *Abchurch-Lane*. Mother *Bristow*, at the *Castle* in *Woodstreet*.

Blissed.

She had a Book of *Hacker's*, of the Evangelist *S. Luke*, in *English* : Which Book he had, as he confessed, of *Thomas Blissed*, in *Swan Alley* in *Colemanstreet*. Which Mother *Bristow* did hear his Doctrines and Teachings, and had Delectation in the same ; and was of his Sect and Learning, and well learned in the same Opinions.

Carde.

Tuck.

Mason.

Moreover, he detected *Stephen Carde*, of *Ware*, Weaver ; and *Henry Tuck*, being well learned in his Opinions. Likewise *William Mason*, Tayler, dwelling in *Bishopsgatestreet*, since at the *Bell* in *New Fishstreet*. *John Household*, of the Parish of *Albhalloes* the *Lefs*, was of his Sect and Learning ; but not since he was abjured, as far as he knew.

Raylond.

*William Raylond*, of *Colchester*, Tayler, was also of *Hacker's* Sect, and a Reader and Teacher of his Opinions ; and had a Book of the *Apocalypse* in *English*. *Robert Best*, of *S. Botolph Colchester*, Weaver, or a Maker of Cloth, was also of *Hacker's* Opinions, and a Reader and Teacher of them.

Best.

Beckwyth.

Those in *Branktree*, by the said *Hacker* detected, were ; *William*, *Anthony*, *Robert Beckwyth*, and Mother *Beckwyth*. The Three former were Brothers, and Husbandmen. He said, they were of his Sect and



and Opinions ; and that they were learned, before he companied with them. And that by the Space of Two Years he came to *Brank-tree*, to them, twice or thrice a Year, and had Communication with them of his Learning and Opinions ; which they learned, and followed.

*A N N O*  
1527.

And besides these, many others were discovered by this one Man. By which we may conclude, what Numbers there were already in this Land, that dissented from the *Papal* Errors and Superstitions.

This Detection created Work for the Bishop and his Vicar General, as we shall see.

But to proceed with this Visitation. February the 24th, Dr. *Geffrey Wharton*, aforesaid, sat judicially in the Long Chapel of *S. Paul's* Church, *London*, near the *North Gate*. And then appeared before him, Sir *Sebastian Heris*, Curate of the Parish Church of *Kensington* ; who confessed that he had two Books ; viz. the *New Testament* in the Vulgar Tongue, translated by *William Hotchyn*, Priest, and *Friar Roy* ; and *Unio Dissidentium*, containing in it the *Lutheran* Heresy. But *Heris* being by the said *Wharton*, Vicar-General, absolved from the Sentence of *Excommunication*, that had been by the Canon passed against him ; he enjoined him, by Oath upon the Holy Gospels, that he should not for the future keep any of the said Books, or any other containing *Heresy* in it ; nor knowingly read, sell, pawn, or any other way dispose of such Books ; nor knowingly converse, or hold Familiarity with any Person suspected of *Heresy*, nor favour them. And moreover, he enjoined the said Sir *Sebastian*, under Pain of *Excommunication*, that after he had obtained Licence to depart, he should not tarry or abide within the City of *London* [being so dangerous a Place to be infected with *Heresy*] above a Day and a Night ; but go thence elsewhere, and not approach near the City any where Four Miles in Circuit, for the Space of two Years following. This was done in the Presence of *Matthew Greston*, Publick Notary, and Scribe of the Acts ; and of *John Darrel*, Batchelor of Decrees, the Archdeacon of *London's* Official ; and of *Henry Bonsfel*, Notary Publick, and one of the General Proctors of the Court of *Canterbury* ; being desired to be Witnesses to the Premises.

*Heris*, a Curate absolved ;

Having been excommunicated for Heretical Books.

*March* the 2d, appeared before the aforesaid Vicar General, *Thomas Matthew*, *John Pykas*, and *Henry Raylond*, Men of *Colchester* ; being cited to answer to certain Articles concerning the mere Health and Correction of their Souls : Whom he assigned to appear before the Reverend Father, the Bishop of *London*, in his Palace, at One of the Clock Afternoon the same Day. Then the same Vicar General caused *William Raylond* to be called, to appear at the same Day and Place as above was specified : But being often and publickly called, and not appearing, he pronounced him contumacious ; and of his special Grace, and by Certificatory continued, he thought fit he should be stayed for in and unto an Hour assigned the next Day. Which Day and Hour being come, the said Vicar General sat judicially, and the said *Raylond* being called, and not appearing, he pronounced him contumacious ; and for the Punishment of his Contumacy, excommunicated him in Writing.

*Raylond* excommunicated for Non-appearance ;

The 12th Day of *March*, the said Vicar General, in the Palace of the Bishop of *London*, did absolve *Raylond* from the Sentence of Excommunication ; giving Caution *de Parendo Juri*, &c. And enjoined him to say for Three Days together Five *Pater Noster's*, and Five *Ave Maria's*.

And absolved.

*March*

A N N O  
1527.

*Pykas charged  
by the Bishop,  
for keeping  
the N. Testa-  
ment.*

*March* the 3d, the Reverend Father in Christ, *Cuthbert* Bishop of *London*, sitting judicially in the Chapel within his Palace at *London*, ministred in Word against *John Pykas*, the Articles which were ministred to *John Hacker*, and all Things contained in the same ; adding, That he had, and retained in his keeping, the *New Testament* in the Vulgar Tongue, translated by *William Hotchyn* and *Friar Roy*, notwithstanding the Condemnation, Publication, and Monition made thereupon ; and other Books, containing in them Heresy and reprobate Reading. Upon the ministring of which, and other Things, the same Reverend Father took, *ex Officio suo*, for Witnesses, *John Borewghton*, of *Colchester*, and *John Hacker* ; whom my Lord, setting aside Hatred, Love and Envy, burdened with an Oath, in the Presence of the said *John Pykas*.

*Raylond inter-  
rogated, and  
dismissed by  
the Bishop.*

*March* the 4th, *Raylond* appeared before the Bishop, sitting judicially in a certain Chamber within his Palace. Whom the Bishop interrogated, Whether the *True Body* of Christ was in the Sacrament of the Altar ? He answered, It was so. He interrogated him further ; Whether he believed *Pilgrimages* were profitable ? He answered, Yea. He asked him again, Whether he had not formerly said, That the Holy Virgin *Mary* of *Ipswich*, was an Idol ? He answered, No. Then my Lord, for Reasons moving him, dismissed him ; and admonished him to appear before him, whensoever he should have Notice thereof by his Commissary, and the Day and Place assigned him.

Present, *Geffrey Wharton*, Vicar General.

*Robert Ridley*, Th. P.

*Richard Sparchford*, M. A.

And, *Matthew Greston*, Notary Publick.

*Matthew  
sworn a Wit-  
ness against  
Pykas.*

*March* the 5th, The said Reverend Father, sitting judicially in his Chapel within his Palace at *London*, took for a Witness *Thomas Matthew* of *Colchester*, upon certain Articles ministred to *John Pykas* ; burdening him with an Oath in the Presence of the said *Pykas*, to answer truly, all Kind of Corruptions being laid aside.

*Abolved by  
the Bishop.*

The same Day and Place, before the said Reverend Father sitting judicially, appeared *Thomas Matthew* aforesaid. Against whom the said Reverend Father ministred Articles ; to which he answered distinctly, as in the Answers subscribed by his own Hand. And then the Answers to the Articles being made, the said *Thomas* abjured, as in the Abjuration by the same publickly read, and reached to my Lord, and by his Hand subscribed, and signed with the Sign of the *Cross* ; and submitted himself to Correction. And then my Lord, touching first the Sacred Gospels of God, and kissing them, absolved him in Form of Law. Being then present, *Robert Ridley*, *John Royston*, Professors of Divinity ; *Richard Sparchford*, M. A. *John Tunstal*, Chaplain ; *Nic. Tunstal* ; *T. Dowman* ; *Tho. Pilkington*, and *James Multon* ; all Learned Men.

And then my Lord enjoined him, That every Week, for the Five Weeks of that Instant *Lent*, he should distribute in Alms, Six Shillings and Eight Pence : *Viz.* Sixteen-Pence to the Prisoners in the Castle



Cattle of the Town of *Colchester* ; and Eight Pence to other Prisoners, in the Prison of the same Town. And the Remainder of the Money to the Poor of the Town, in Bread and Herrings. And that he break the Loaves, before they be delivered to the Poor. And he enjoined him, to certify him of the Premises the next Week after *Dominica in Albis*, [that is, *Low-Sunday*] and to receive the Remainder of his Punishment the same Time.

March the 7th, *John Pykas* made Answer to the Articles ministred to him, before the said Bishop, sitting judicially in the Chapel of his Palace in *London* ; there being present, *Matthew Greston*, Scribe of the Acts ; *Tho. Forman*, S. T. P. *Richard Sparchford*, *John Tunstall*, and *Tho. Chambré*, Chaplains, and many others. Which Answer was to this Tenor :

‘ That about a Five Yeres last past, at a certayn Tyme, his Mother, then dwellyng in *Bury*, sent for hym ; and movyd hym, that he shuld not beleve in the Sacraments of the Church, for that was not the ryght way. And then she delyvered to this Respondent, one Book of *Powle's Epistles* in *English* ; and byd hym lyve after the Maner and Way of the said Epistles and Gospels, and not after the Way that the Church doth teche. Also, about a Two Yeres last past, he bowght in *Colchestre*, of a *Lumbard* of *London*, a *New Testament* in *English*, and payd for it Foure Shillings. Which *New Testament* he kept, and read it thorowghly many tymes. And afterward, when he herd that the said *N. Testaments* were forbaden, that no Man shuld keep them, he delyvered it and the Book of *Powle's Epistles* to his Mother ayen. And so, in Contynuance of Tyme, by the Instruction of his Mother, and by Reading of the said Books, he fell into these Errors and *Heresies* ayenst the Sacrament of the Altar ; That he thowght that in the Sacrament of the Altar, after the Words of Consecration, was not the *very Body* of Christ, but only *Bred* and *Wyne*.

‘ Which *Heresie* he hath divers tyme spoken and tawght ; not only in the House of *Thomas Mattheu*, in the Presence of the said *Mattheu's* Wife, *William Pykas*, and *Maryon Westden*, Dawghter to *Mattheu's* Wife ; but also in the Houses and Presences of *John Thompson*, *Flecher* ; *Dorothy Lane*, *Robert Best*, Mestress *Swayn*, *John Gyrlyng* ; *John Bradley*, Blacksmith, and his Wife ; *Thomas Parker*, *Wever* ; *Margaret Bowgas*, the Wife of *Thomas Bowgas* ; Mestress *Cambridge*, Wydow, of the Town of *Colchestre* : And also in the House and Presence of *John Hubbert*, of *Est Donylond* ; *Robert Bate*, of the same ; *Richard Collins*, alias *Jonson*, *Wever de Boxstede* ; *John Wyley*, of *Horkefley*, *Wever*. Which all and singular Persons, often and many tymes have had Communication of the said Articles with hym, and stedfastly belevyd them ; and did affirm them to be of Truth, as this Respondent hath herd them say.

‘ Also he saith, That he hath tawght, reherfed and affirmed, before all the said Persons, and in their Houses at sondry Tymes, ayenst the Sacrament of *Baptism* ; saying, That ther shuld be no such Thyngs : For there is no Baptysm, but of the Holy Ghost ; and that he learned in the *N. Testament* in *English* : Wheras *John* saith, *I baptize you but in Water*, in Token of Repentance ; But he that shall come after

4 N N O  
1527.

Articles ministred to Pykas.

MS. A. 17

His Confessions.  
MS. Foxian.

A N N O 1527. after me, is stronger than I, he shall Baptize you in the Holy Ghost. Also he saith, that he hath in the Places and Presence aforesaid, spoken agenst the Sacrament of Confession, saying, that it was sufficient for a Man that had offended to shew his Synnes pryvly to God, without Confession made to a Pryst. Yet notwithstanding this Respondent hath Yerely byn confessed, and Housled, but for no other Cause, but that People shuld not wondre uppon hym.

Bylney  
preaches at  
Ipswich.

Also he saith, that he hath herd dyvers Prechers preche, and specially Mr. *Bylney* preche at *Ipswicke*, that it was but Folly for a Man to go on Pilgrimages to Saints; for they be but Stocks and Stones; for they cannot speke to a Man, nor do him any Good. And also, that Men should pray only to God, and to no Saints. For Saints can here no Man's Prayer, for they are but Servants. Which after this Respondent herd preched, he did publish and declare it to divers Persons, and set it forward as much as in hym was. Moreover he saith, that Mr. *Bylney's* Sermon was most goostly, and made best for his Purpose and Opinions, as any that ever he herd in his Lyef.

Also he saith, that he hath oftentimes spoken ayenst Fastyng in Places and Presence aforesaid, That God never made no Fastyng, and the Church hath no Authoritie to make it. Wherefore there shuld be none kept. And he saith, he kept no manner of Fastyng, except the *Imbren* Days. Also ayenst Holy Days, in the Presence and Places afore reherfed, and many moo, this Respondent hath said, That God never made Holy Days, but the *Sunday*, and no Man else can make other.

Also he confesseth, that he hath spoken, reherfed and affirmed, in the Presence and Places aforesaid, and dyvers other moo, ayenst Pardons, saying, and affirmyng, that Pardons graunted by the Pope, or other Men of the Church, are of no Effect. For they have no Authoritie to grant them. Also he saith, that all the foresaid Persons divers and many Tymes hath resorted to this Respondent's Company, to many sondray Places, whereas they gladly and wyllingly hath herde thies Articles red, tawght, and disputed. And he knowith certaynly, that though some of the foresaid Persons be not so well lerned as he, yet ther is never an one of them, but that hath spoken and affirmed the said Articles to be true, and be infected with the same.

Books in his  
Possession,  
confessed.

Farther, he saith, that he hath now in his Custody a Book, called, *The Pryck of Conscience*, and another of the *Seven Wise Masters of Rome*; which he had of a Fryer of *Colcheshire*: Also a Book which begynneth, *O thou most Glorious and Excellent Lord*, &c. Which he had of old Father *Hacker*, alias *Ebbe*. Also he had the Copy of a Book of Communication, *inter Fratrem & Clericum*, of his Brother *William Pykas*, which he lost by Negligence, about a Twelve Months past.

Be me John Pekas, of Colchestre.

After this, *Pykas* and *Hacker*, before spoken of, the chief Leaders and Teachers of the rest, were thus Sisted, and by Imprisonment, Severities and Threatnings, brought to confess all the known Men and Women



*Women*, as they were then called, even their Friends, their Brethren, *ANNO*  
their nearest Relations, and those that themselves had brought into *1527.*  
these Opinions; they were enjoined Penances, and Abjured, and  
sworn to be Witnesses against others, and to betray all; as we have  
seen in Part, and shall further see.

C H A P. VIII.

*A Continuance of the Visitation and Prosecution of the Professors  
of the Gospel in the Diocese of London. Many detected in  
Colchester, and the Parts thereabouts.*

ON Thursday, the 19th of March, *Cuthbert*, aforesaid, Bishop  
of London, sitting judicially in a certain inner Chamber with-  
in his Palace in London, *Robert Forman*, S. T. P. Rector of the Parish  
Church of *All Saints, Honey Lane*, appeared before him. Who foras-  
much as he had despised the Condemnation of *Martin Luther*, and of  
his Books and Works, together with the Publication, Declaration and  
Monition thereof, and had kept in his Possession, the Books and Works  
of the said *Martin*, by which he was involved and intangled in the  
Sentence of the greater Excommunication, by the Authority of Pope  
*Leo X.* of happy Memory, and for other just and lawful Causes, the  
said Reverend Father inhibited and interdicted the said *Forman*, that  
hereafter he should not celebrate Mass, nor preach publicly before  
the people, until he should otherwise be dispensed with, under the  
Pain of Law.

*Dr. Forman of  
Honey Lane  
suspended.  
MSS. Foxian.*

The same Day, in a certain great Chamber in the said Bishop's Pa-  
lace, appeared before him, *John Thompson*, *William Pykas*, *Robert*  
*Best*, *John Tyrlyng*, *John Bradley*, and *Alice Gardner* of *Colchester*,  
and *John Hubberd*, of *East Donyland*, being cited at that Day, and de-  
tected of Heretical Pravity. To whom the Reverend Father, by  
Word of Mouth, recited and declared the Articles and Errors detected  
against them, and every of them, and admonished and exhorted  
them, that they should acknowledge and reveal their Heresies and  
Errors: And then caused them, and each of them, to be separated  
from one another, and committed unto Custody to divers Prisons.  
And afterwards he examined them singly: Who being so examined,  
refused to acknowledge and reveal their Heresies and Errors, and did  
expressly deny to do so. Whereupon my Lord admonished and coun-  
selled them to consider with themselves till to Morrow.

*Thompson, Py-  
kas, &c. of  
Colchester, ap-  
pear before  
the Bishop.*

*And commit-  
ted to Cu-  
stody.*

On Friday, the 20th of March, the Bishop Ministred Articles against  
*John Thompson*, of *Colchester*; concerning which, he laid an Oath  
upon him, touching the Holy Gospels, to answer truly. And then the  
said Reverend Father, *ex Officio*, took for Witnesses *John Pykas*, and  
*John Hacker*, alias *Ebb*, and *William Raylond*; on whom he laid an  
Oath to depose faithfully, &c. without any kind of Corruptions, in  
the Presence of the said *John Thompson*. And then appeared *William*  
*Pykas*, whom my Lord commanded to take an Oath to answer truly;  
but he refused. Being asked, whether it were lawful to Swear, he an-  
swered

*John Thompson,  
and William  
Pykas, ap-  
pear.*

*A N N O* 1527. *William Pykas* committed to *Lollard's Tower*. answered; he could not tell. And being often commanded to Swear, and still refusing, the Bishop commanded him to be committed to *Lollard's Tower*, and to be thrust into the Stocks, for his manifest and manifold Contumacy. And then before his Departure, the Bishop took the Witnesses before named against him, and gave their Oath, as above, in the Presence of the same *William*.

*John Bradley* appears. The same Day, and Place, *John Bradley* appeared before the Bishop sitting judicially: But refused to take an Oath to answer truly. And being thereupon admonished and exhorted, by the said Reverend Father, he was Sworn. Which Thing being so done, the Bishop took for Witnesses against the same *John Bradley*, those that were brought for Witnesses against *Thompson*; whom my Lord caused to be sworn, according to the Form of Law, in the Presence of the said *Bradley*. *March* the 23d, in the Place aforesaid, the Bishop took for Witnesses *William Pykas*, and *John Thompson*, whom he swore, as above, in the Presence of the said *Bradley*.

*Hubberd, Girlyng, Best, &c.* appear. In like Manner, *John Hubberd*, of *East Donilond*, *John Girlyng*, and *Robert Best*, and *Alice Gardiner*, of *Colchester*, appeared the same Day and Place, before the Bishop, and an Oath according to the Form being tendered them, to make true Answer to such Articles as should be propounded to them, [that is, to accuse themselves] they at first refused; *Best* said he would willingly Swear, if his Lordship would first declare what those Articles were; which the Bishop did, and giving some Exhortation to the rest, he and they took their Oaths. And then were sworn against them in their Presence, *John Pykas*, *John Ebb*, alias *Hacker*, and *William Raylond*. Some Days after, viz. *April* the 26th, *Henry Raylond* was sworn also a Witness against the said *Alice*. And *March* the 23d, *William Pykas*, that had been put in the Stocks in *Lollard's Tower*, for refusing to swear, submitted, and was sworn. And the said *William Pykas*, and *John Thompson*, were also then sworn Witnesses against *Best*, and *Hubberd*. And thus Brothers, and Friends, were by Oath bound, most unnaturally to accuse one another.

Now to shew how these that were sworn against their Fellows, were searched and pumped, to do all the Mischief possible to them, and that nothing might be concealed, that might rise up in Judgment against these poor Men, I shall next set down *John Pykas*, his Examination; who having undergone Abjuration and Penance, that was not all, but this unworthy forced Detection of his Relations and Friends, was the worst Penance of all; which follows;

*John Pykas*, his Examination against *Best*. *John Pykas*, of the Parish of *St. Nicholas* in *Colchester*, Baker, where he lived from his Birth, being born there, of Thirty Three Years of Age, or thereabouts, of free Condition, being a Witness taken, admitted, sworn, and secretly and singly examined, of and upon Articles ministred against *Robert Best*; and first upon his Knowledge of him, he said he had known him well Five or Six Years. He said moreover, That about a Twelvemonth ago, he had Communication with the said *Robert Best*, in his own House, Two Times, as he now remembreth, of the Epistle of *James*, so beginning, *J A M E S, the true Servant of God*. Also he saith, that the said *Robert Best* had Knowledge of the Epistle of *James*, and could say it by Heart, or  
this



this Deponent did company with him. Moreover he saith, that the said *Robert Best* hath been taken continually, by the Space of a Twelvemonth last past, as a *Known Man*, and a *Broder in Christ*, amongst them that be called *Brothren in Christ*, and *Known Men*. By the which it is understood, that the said *Robert* is of the same Sect and Learning as this Deponent was. Also this Deponent saith, that the said *Best*, about a Twelvemonth past, borrowed of this Deponent a *New Testament in English*, which he had in his Custody, by the Space of a Month together.

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1527.

Being examined against *John Girlyng*, he saith, that about a Two or Three Years last past, this Deponent, and *John Girlyng*, did commune together one Time, in the House of the said *John Girlyng*, upon the XXIVth Chapter of *Matthew*, where Christ spake of *Jerusalem*, and said to it, *If thou knewest, thou wouldest weep: For there shall not a Stone of thee be left upon a Stone; for thou shalt be destroyed*: Meaning thereby, that Priests, and Men of the Church, which have strong Hearts, (because they do punish Hereticks, and be stubborn of Heart) should reign awhile, and in Conclusion, God would strike them, and they should be destroyed for the Punishment of Hereticks. Also, that about an half Year ago, he had Communication with the said *Girlyng* in his House, or his Shop, of a Chapter of *James*, where it appeared that God is Father of Light, and overshadowed all Sin. And therefore we should pray only to him. For we be the beginning of his Creatures, and he begat us willingly, by the Words of Truth: With which Words, the said *John Girlyng* was content, and did consent to them, and allow and approve the same. Item, he saith, that the said *John Girlyng* is taken and reputed among all such as be *Known Men*, and called *Brothers in Christ*, that is to say Hereticks, to be one of them, and of their Sect and Learning, and a Favourer of the same: And for such a Person, by the Space of Three Years last past, he hath been reputed and taken, by the sure Knowledge of this Deponent.

Against Gir-  
lyng;

And being examined as to the Wife of *John Girlyng*, he saith, that one *Robert Bishop*, the Natural Son of the said *Girlyng's* Wife, by another Husband, about Sixteen Years past, told this Deponent, that his Mother did Penance, but where, or for what Cause, now he remembreth not.

And his Wife.

Being examined against *William Raylond*, of the Parish of the Holy Trinity in Colchester, he saith, that he knew him for a Year, or thereabout, and communed with him concerning the *Lord's Prayer*, and the *Apostle's Creed*, in *English*, and of the Epistles of *James* and *John* often, in the House of the said *W. R.* in the Presence of *Henry* his Son; also of the Eight Beatitudes contained in the Fifth Chapter of *Matthew*. Also he saith, that the said *William Raylond*, and *Henry Raylond*, his Son, and this Deponent have divers and many Times within these Twelvemonths, communed in the said *W. R.'s* House, against Pilgrimages, and other Articles: And there they concluded amongst them, That Pilgrimages were not profitable for a Man's Soul, and that no Honour nor Worship, should be given to the Images in Churches, but only to Saints that were in Heaven. Also, that it was not lawful to set up any Light before Images in the Church. And so none of the *Known Men* did ever set up Light before any Images, as

Against Wil-  
liam Raylond;

*A N N O* far as he knoweth. Also, as concerning Baptism in Water, *W. R.* said, that Baptism in Water, was but a Token of Repentance; and when a Man cometh to Years of Discretion, and keepeth himself clean, after the Promise that his Godfathers made for him, then he shall receive the Baptism of the Holy Ghost. After the which Communication so had and done, *Henry Raylond* being present at divers Times in his said Father's House, did hear the same, and did consent to the same, and said, that it was very good Learning.

And *Marion Matthew*;

Also being examined against *Marion Matthew*, alias *Westdon*, saith, that he hath heard her speak of the Epistles and Gospels, (and had them well by Heart) in her own House, divers and many Times: And had heard her say to him divers Times within these Three Years, in her House, that Men should not go on Pilgrimages, for they were Nought, and should not be used: And that she should say to him, that she had set up as few Candles to Images, as any Woman had, for it was not lesul. And he said further, that she had been taken and reputed as a *Known Woman*, and of the Brotherhood, that is to say, as a Woman suspect of Heresy, by the Space of these Three Years of his sure Knowledge, and also by the Space of Twelve Years, as he hath heard say.

And *Dorothy Long*;

Being examined, as to *Dorothy Long*, he saith, that he had known her for Six Years; and moreover said, that she was of the same Sect, and infected with the same Opinions and Heresies, with which this Deponent, and others above named, were infected: And that he often communed with the said *Dorothy*, concerning the said Errors in her House.

And *Katharine Swain*;

And being examined as to *Katharine Swain*, he saith, that he is ignorant: Yet he saith that she is reputed for a *Known Woman*.

And *Alice Gardiner*;

Also, being examined concerning *Alice Gardiner*, he saith, that he hath known her for Twenty Years, and communed with her of the *Lord's Prayer*, and the *Angel's Salutation*, and the *Apostle's Creed*, and certain Epistles in the vulgar Tongue. To which Communication in the said *Alice's* House, she assented, and freely gave her Hearing, as he said, and further he knoweth not.

And *Mother Denby*;

Being examined as to *Mother Denby*, he saith, he knoweth not.

And *Thomas Parker*.

Also being examined concerning *Thomas Parker*, he saith, that he hath known him Sixteen Years, and that the said *Thomas Parker*, and this Deponent hath communed together, by the Space of these Two Years, sometime in the House of the said *Thomas Parker*, and oftentimes in this Deponent's House, and in the Presence of *John Thompson*, Fletcher, Son-in-Law to the said *Thomas*. And in their Communication so had betwixt them, the said *Parker* hath said and affirmed openly divers and many Times, in Places aforesaid, against Pilgrimages, Pardons, and other Articles following, that Pilgrimages were not profitable, and should not be used, and that we should Worship God only, and no Saints, &c. These, and many more, did *Pykas* discover.

*William Raylond* examined;  
Against *John Pykas*:

Then *William Raylond*, formerly of *Trinity* Parish in *Colchester*, and afterwards of *St. Botolph's* there, now of *Ardely*, was brought under Exami-



Examination, and by Oath forced to betray his Friends and Relations. *A N N O*  
 And being first examined about *John Pykas*, he saith, that within this *1527.*  
 Twelvemonth last past, *John Pykas*, in this Deponent's House, Four  
 Times in the Year, in the Presence of this Deponent, and his Wife,  
*Henry* his Son, and his Wife, had said and affirmed, That in the Host  
 was but Bread, and that the Body of Christ was in the Word, and not  
 in the Bread: And that God is in the Word, and the Word is in God,  
 and God and the Word cannot be departed. And that that Bread was  
 but in Remembrance of his Passion. The which Heresy he saith, that  
 he, and *Henry* his Son, did gladly hear taught and read, and was con-  
 tent with the same, and believed it to be true.

Being examined as to *Henry Raylond*, his Son, he saith, that he *Against Henry*  
 hath heard the said *John Pykas*, and *Henry Raylond*, his Son, often- *Raylond;*  
 times say in this Deponent's House, that it is Missavory to go on Pil-  
 grimage to *Walsingham*, *Ipswich*, or any other Place. For they be  
 but Idols; and it is Idolatry for to go to them in Pilgrimage; and  
 that they cannot help themselves. Therefore they cannot help another  
 Man. Also, that he hath heard *John Pykas*, and *Henry Raylond* say,  
 by the Space aforesaid, in this Deponent's House, and in Presence  
 aforesaid, that we should pray only to God, and to no Saints. For  
 Saints in Heaven have their Reward. Also, that he hath oftentimes  
 rebuked his Son for the said Opinions. To whom his Son would say,  
 Yea, Father, set your Heart at Rest, and apply your self to learn the  
 true Laws of God, as I do.

Being examined about *John Girlyng*, he saith, that he hath known *Against John*  
 him Six Years; and saith moreover, that he hath heard the said *Girlyng;*  
*J. G.* reherse a certain Epistle of *Paul*, in this Deponent's House,  
 about Four Years ago, as he now remembereth, no Man then be-  
 ing present, but the said *J. C.* and this Deponent. Also that the said  
*J. G.* by Reason that he used the Company of *W. Pykas*, *J. Pykas*,  
*J. Thompson*, and this Deponent, is taken, and hath been taken and  
 reputed amongst the *Known Men*; which be those Persons that be  
 suspected of Heresy, as one of them.

Being examined further about *Girlyng's Wife*, he saith, that about *And his Wife.*  
 Four or Five Years ago, he had heard her speak of the Gospels and  
 Epistles, and open the *Apocalyps* in her own House. Also, that what  
 Tyme she dwelled with *Sir Thomas Evers*, Curate of *Ikells*, of the  
 Diocese of *Norwich*, which was about Twelve Years past, she was ab-  
 jured, and did bear a Faggot. And at last the said Priest was burned  
 for Heresy, as he heard say. Also, that about Five or Six Years  
 past, this Deponent asked the said *John Girlyng's Wife*, sitting at the  
 Table in her own House, in the Presence of this Deponent's Wife,  
 this Question, What is the Sacrament of the Altar? To whom she an-  
 swered and said, That the Sacrament of the Altar was but an Host;  
 and that the Body of Almighty God was joined in the Word; and  
 the Word of God was all one, and might not be departed. Also,  
 that at the same Time, Place, and Presence, he did hear her say, That  
 Images of Saints were but Idols.

This *Raylond* was also examined concerning *Robert Best*, *Dorothy*  
*Long*, *Thomas Parker*, *Robert Bate*, *Thomas Bowgas*, *Mrs. Cowbridge*,  
 and many more; and detected them for *Known Men and Women*.

To

A N N O  
1527.

Further Pro-  
ceedings the  
next Year.

The Judicial  
Proceedings  
of the Bi-  
shop,

Against Tho.  
Bowgas ;

And William  
Bowcher ;

And Robert  
and Thomas  
Hempsted.

The Bishop's  
Vicar General  
visits in Essex.

Colchester.

His Proceed-  
ings against  
divers Known  
Women.

To make thorough-Work, this Visitation went on vigorously in Essex the ensuing Year, viz. 1528, partly before the Bishop himself, and partly before his Vicar-General.

Before the Bishop sitting judicially in a Chapel within his Palace in London, April 28, 1528, appeared *John Tybal*, of *Steeple Bumsted*, a notable Leader of these *Known Men*. Who was so dealt with, that upon his Examination, he confessed all of himself, and of his Party, and finally, was Abjured, and did Penance. May the 14th, ensuing, the said Bishop sat as Judge in the Chapel, within a House, called the Manor of the Bishop of *Norwich*, near *Charing Cross*. Then appeared before him, *Thomas Bowgas*, of *St. Leonards* in *Colchester*. Who, after his Lordship had often exhorted and admonished him to submit and confess his Errors, did at last submit himself; and declared, that he was contented to Abjure his Errors and Opinions, and to return to the Unity of the Church. And then read publickly his Abjuration, the Holy Gospel being by him touched, and signing his Abjuration with his Hand, and the Sign of the Cross. Which done, the said Reverend Father absolved him from the Sentence of Excommunication, which he had incurred, and enjoined him by his Oath, and under pain of Relapse, that on the *Lord's Day* next, he should go before the Cross bare Headed, in Procession, in his Church of *St. Leonard* at *Hith*, near *Colchester*, where he was a Parishioner, carrying a Faggot on his Shoulder: And Procession being done, he should hear High Mass on his Knees, before the Steps of the Choir, from the beginning to the end of it, and then depart. He enjoined him also, that he should bear no Malice or Hatred against the Witnesses produced in this Behalf, or should molest or trouble them any ways; and that he should certify of his Penance done, and that either from himself, or else by his Curate's Letters, within Fifteen Days. And then being asked whether he would undergo the Penance enjoined, he answered, He would. Present at this Meeting, *Geffrey Wharton*, the Bishop's Chancellor, *William Layton*, Principal Register, Mr. *Thomas Chambre*, Chaplain; also Mr. *Skelton*, *Marmaduke Tunstal*, Gentlemen, and divers others. On another Day in May, did *William Bocher*, of *Steeple Bumsted*, Plowghwright, make his Abjuration before the Bishop, in the Chapel of the Manor of the Bishop of *Norwich*. In which Day and Place, did *Robert Hempsted*, of *Steeple Bumsted*, Husbandman, appear before the Bishop, and confessed and read divers Articles; and then abjured all. And so also did *Thomas Hempsted*, his Brother.

*Dr. Wharton*, the Bishop's Vicar General, in June or July following, went down into Essex, the better to detect this Nest of pretended Hereticks. For the 15th of July, he sat in the Chapel of *St. Mary*, within the Monastery of *St. Johns* of *Colchester*, the Venerable Father, *Thomas*, Abbot of the said Monastery, and Mr. *Michael Everard*, assisting. To which Session was cited *Agnes Pykas*, the Wife of *John Bradley*, the Wife of *Thomas Parker*, the Wife of *William Raylond*, the Wife of *Henry Raylond*, the Wife of *John Thompson*, the Wife of *John Girlyng*, *Margaret Bowgas*, *Margaret Cowbridge*, and *John Clark*, detected of Heretical Pravity: Also *Rose*, the Wife of *Robert Bate*, the Wife of *John Hubbert*, and *Katharine Swain*, appeared, and

other



other Women. Who now were sworn to answer truly : And Witnesses A N N O  
 were sworn against them, namely, *John Hacker*, *John Pykas*, and 1527.  
*William Raylond*. The 16th of *July*, the said Vicar-General sat again  
 in the same Chapel : And again the 17th. Then *Margaret Cowbridge*  
 brought for her Compurgators, *Thomas Burton*, *Bartholomew Culpack*,  
*John Sterling*, *Robert Dow*, *Emme Harkyn*, *Anne Chriflmas*, *Margery*  
*Draper*, and *Joan Norman*. With which, Proclamation being made  
 for Contradiction in due Form of Law, she purged her self, and swore  
 that she was not guilty, or blameworthy, upon the Articles objected  
 to her, as she believed. Then the Persons before named swore, that  
 of their Belief and Knowledge, she was not guilty in these Matters.  
 Which Purgation the Vicar General admitted and declared she was  
 lawfully purged, and restored her to her former Fame. And then did  
 swear her, that for the Time to come, she should keep the Catholick  
 Faith, that she should not knowingly favour Hereticks, nor conceal  
 them, nor contract Familiarity with them : And that if she knew any  
 Hereticks, she should denounce them with their Heresies, as soon as  
 she could, to the Ordinary. In the same Day and Place, did *Margery*  
*Bowgas* also purge her self with divers Compurgators. *July* the  
 20th, Dr. *Wharton* removed from *Colcheſter*, and came to *Walden*, Walden.  
 where he sat in *St. Mary* Chapel, within the Monastery there. Then  
 he adminiſtred Oaths to *Robert Faire*, *Iſabel Holden*, and *John Wig-*  
*gen*, to make true Answer. And *July* the 21ſt, he received the Con-  
 feſſion and Abjuration of *Edmund Tibal*, Husbandman. Preſent *Core*,  
 Rector of *Radwinter*, Sir *Richard*, Curate of *Haydon*, *John Golding*,  
 and *Thomas Turner*, Learned Men. *July* the 22d, in the ſame Place,  
 he ſwore *Joan Agnes*, alias *Smith*, detected of Heretical Pravity, to  
 make true Answer. The ſame Day, and Place, appeared *John Smith*,  
 and *Agnes Smith*, of *Rideſwel*, detected and ſuſpected of Heretical  
 Pravity : Whom the ſaid Vicar General ſwore to make true Answer.

And theſe were ſome of the Doings of Biſhop *Tunſtal*, and his  
 Chancellor, againſt ſuch as preſumed to read God's Word, or vary in  
 the leaſt from the corrupt Doctrines and Practices of the *Roman*  
 Church, as they happened in the Years 1527, and 1528. And ſo the  
 Proſecution went on with as much Rigor, through the Years 1529,  
 and 1530, (when good *Bilney* ſuffered) and 1531, even till the Diſ-  
 grace and Fall of the Cardinal, and the King's Marriage with *Anne*  
*Bolen*. Some Account of which Years, is ſet down by *Fox* ; whereas  
 the Years 1527, and 1528, are by him very ſparingly ſpoke of. And  
 therefore I have taken this Notice of them ; that the Memory of theſe  
 Profeſſors and Confeſſors might not be wholly loſt : And that I might  
 not Burthen this Hiſtory with the prolix Examinations and Abjurations  
 of theſe poor Men, and Women before mentioned, and yet to preſerve  
 them from periſhing, I have put ſome of them into the *Appendix* ; as Numb.  
 the Confeſſion of *John Tybal*, the Abjurations of *T. Bowgas*, and *William* XVII,  
*Bocher*, the Confeſſions of *Robert* and *Thomas Hemſted*, and of *R.* XVIII,  
*Neſton* : who went about the Dioceſes of *London* and *Norwich*, to diſ- XIX, XX,  
 perſe *Tindal's* New Teſtament, the greater and the ſmaller, and other XXI,  
*Lutheran* Books, buying them of the Merchants, and ſelling them XXII.  
 again. All taken *Verbatim* from the Register of Biſhop *Tunſtal*.

A N N O

1527.

## C H A P. IX.

*The Cardinal acting in the King's Matrimonial Cause. Ambassadors sent to the Pope, to dissolve the Marriage. The King's own Book against it. Which was brought to the Pope.*

The Cardinal  
shews the King  
his unlawful  
Marriage.

**B**UT to return to the Cardinal ; we will stay a little longer at this Year 1527, the King's great Matrimonial Cause being about this Time earnestly transacted ; upon which such great Alterations afterwards depended ; and wherein our Cardinal bore so considerable a Part : And that, if you will believe his own Protestations, because he judged the Marriage, in which the King lived, to be unlawful : And because he thought the Cause was very just.

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It is certain, he was as earnest in this Cause, as ever he was in any ; as appears by his Importunacy with the Pope : ' Begging and beseeching him, as he esteemed him a Christian, a good Cardinal, worthy of that Sacred College, no useless and unprofitable Member of the Apostolick See ; as he looked upon him to be a Lover of Right and Justice, his faithful Creature, and, in a word, one that desired Eternal Salvation ; that he would at this Time have Respect unto his Counsel and Intercession, and favourably grant the King his most godly Requests. Which, had he not known them to be right, holy and just ; he would rather, he said, have undergone all Kind of Punishment, than have promoted them : Nay, that he would pawn his very Life and Soul for them.

But yet, according to Historians, this his Zeal sprang out of a Displeasure he took both against Queen *Katharine*, and the Emperor, nearly related to her. The Emperor he hated, who had opposed his Election to the Popedom. And he was averse to the Queen, as it is said, because she had taken the Liberty to reprove his dissolute Way of Living.

Now, to bring his Purpose to pass, the King was first to be brought into Scruples, or rather his former Scruples were to be renewed, concerning the Lawfulness of that Matrimony ; Which the King at first seemed not disposed to annul. And then the Pope was to be dealt withal to dissolve it.

An Embassy  
to the Pope,  
for the dissolving it.

So the Cardinal, they say, first instigated Bishop *Longland*, the King's Confessor, to shew his Majesty in what unlawful Marriage he led his Life. Which the Cardinal seconded with other Reasons to the King ; as, the Want of Issue Male, and the Danger of Discontents and Tumults in his Kingdom, arising thence.

When the King was resolved to send to the Pope about this Matter, the Embassy, by the Counsel and Managery of the Cardinal, was to consist in these Points : *Viz.*

The Ambassadors were to signify to the Pope the King's Scruples concerning his Marriage ; And that he had thoroughly studied the Matter



Matter himself, and found it unlawful *Jure Divino*. And they were *A N N O* to represent the dangerous Condition of himself, his Issue, and Kingdom hereby. And therefore he required of the Pope a *Bull*, that *1527.* should contain,

I. A Commission to Two Cardinals, for Hearing and Determining the Cause in *England*: Hereof Cardinal *Wolfey* to be one.

II. A Decretal, wherein the Pope should pronounce the Marriage Void, upon Proof of Carnal Knowledge between *Arthur*, the King's Brother, and *Katharine*.

III. A Dispensation for the King to Marry another.

IV. A Pollicitation, that the Pope would not revoke any of these his Acts.

And Minutes of this Instrument were drawn up by the Cardinal, and sent withal. A Copy of which may be read in the History of the *Reformation*.

Two of these Four, by *Knight* and *Cassalis*, the King's Ambassadors, their Solicitations, and the earnest Letters of Cardinal *Wolfey*, the Pope (by *Gambara*, his Prothonotary) sent: *Viz.* the Commission, and the Dispensation, signed by himself; but altered from the Minutes and Forms drawn up here. But the Pope's Messenger told the King, at the Delivery of them, That if the said Instruments were in any Point thought insufficient, or that any Thing, by the Advice of Learned Men, were thought convenient to be added thereto; his Holiness would be ready to perform it: And withal to dispatch all such Breves, Bulls and Rescripts, as might conduce to the effectual Determination of the Matter. But, as the King and Cardinal were not pleased, that the Pope had not drawn his Commission and Dispensation according to the Minutes sent; and that the Two other Instruments required, were not sent at all: So it mitigated their Displeasure, that the Pope had offered so freely to do any Thing else, that should be judged convenient.

This caused another Embassy: And *Gardiner*, the Cardinal's Secretary, and *Fox*, the King's Servant, Provost of *King's College, Cambridge*, were dispatched to the Pope, to effect this, in *February 1527*, according to the Computation of the Church of *England*. Of whom *Gardiner* was the chief; having been admitted into the King's and Cardinal's Cabinet Council for this Affair, and stiled, in the Cardinal's Credential Letters to the Pope, *Primary Secretary of the most Secret Councils*. He was grown into extraordinary Request with the Cardinal; insomuch that in his said Letters, he calleth *Gardiner* the *Half of Himself*; than whom none was dearer to him. He writ, that he should unlock his Breast to the Pope; and that in hearing him speak, he might think he heard the Cardinal himself.

The Particulars of this Embassy, of which I have the very Minutes, in divers Letters sent to the King and Cardinal, I will give some Account of; especially of such Things as the Lord *Herbert*, or the Right Reverend Author of the *History of the Reformation*, have made no mention of, or but briefly and imperfectly.

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A Commission and Dispensation, sent from the Pope.

A Second Embassy sent to the Pope.

The Cardinal's Character of *Gardiner*.

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A N N O

1527.

The Instructions of it.

These Ambassadors carried with them the King's Pollicitation, obliging himself to stand by the Pope in his present Troubles from the Emperor; and Money to present the Cardinals, and others the Pope's Servants with; as Gratuities, when the Commission and other Matters should be dispatched.

But tho' the King's great Matrimonial Cause were the chief Matter of this Embassy, yet they had divers other Busineses to do at this Court. They had Instructions concerning the Cardinal's College, and to get certain Breves from the Pope, for the better Establishment of it; and for taking away, by a Redemption, the First-fruits, for the Ease of the Clergy: And upon some Propositions made by *Nix*, Bishop of *Norwich*, for the Releasing of his Diocese from the said Fruits. Which last Business they got dispatched. Likewise something was to be done by the Pope, about the Degradation of Priests. And for the Canonization of King *Henry VI.* And a Pardon was to be procured for *Windfor* College.

The Ambassadors arrive at the Pope's Court, at *Orvieto*.

The Ambassadors went first to *Francis*, the *French* King, to solicit him to use his Interest with the Pope, in King *Henry's* present Cause. Thence, by Post, to the Pope; whom they found at *Orvieto*, lately (*viz. December 9.*) escaped out of the Castle of *S. Angelo*, where he was Prisoner. There the Ambassadors arrived, *March* the 20th: Where they met *Sir Gregory de Cassalis*, one of the King's Ambassadors sent before; who very humanly received them, leaving them his own Bed, and Lodging them in his own Lodgings; and Providing them, at his own Cost and Charges, all Things that were necessary for them. He kept an Honourable Port here; and had great Access of Gentlemen to him, to his great Cost, and the King's great Honour. The Pope had him in great Reputation. And he was able to do the King much Service there; and so much as could be done by none other Man.

Sir Gregory *Cassalis*.

The Pope hearing of their coming, by a Message from them, sent *Sauga* (the *Datary's* Servant) to them, to welcome them into that City in the Pope's Name; Telling them, That his Holiness was sorry, he could not better receive them into that Town, being himself destitute and unprovided of all Things: Offering them free Access to his Presence, at their Pleasure. The said Servant advertizing them also, that his Holiness's Mind was, they should, all Ceremonies set apart, repair to him after an homely and familiar manner. But being minded first to discourse somewhat more largely with *Cassalis*, according to their Instructions, they excused themselves for a few Days, for want of Apparel. Which, however, was true and evident. For journeying by Post, they were fain to leave all their Cloaths behind them at *Calais*; and had now no other Coats to wear, but those they rid in; being much worn and defaced by the bad Weather.

The Incommodiousness of this Place.

*Orviet* was an old, decayed Town: And all Things here were now in great Scarcity and Dearth, as the like was hardly any where else; not only in Victuals; (Which could not be brought into the Town in any Quantity, by reason all Things were conveyed by Asses and Mules) but also in other Necessaries. So as Cloth, Camblet, or such like Merchandises, which in *England* might be worth Twenty Shillings, were there worth Six Pounds: And yet not to be had in any Quantity neither. So that had not the Ambassadors made Provision for their Gowns

at



at *Lucca*, they must of Necessity have gone in *Spanish* Cloaks ; such as they could have borrowed of the Pope's Servants. And therein would have been Difficulty ; inasmuch as few of them had more Garments than one. And had not Sir *Gregory* resided there, and being advertised of their coming, had made Preparation for their Lodging ; (Borrowing of divers Men, so much as might furnish Three Beds) they had been in Danger of their Lives at their coming into the Town ; being a very foul Day, and they forced to pass a River on Horseback, within a Mile of the Town ; Wherein they rid so deep, as the Water came almost to their Girdlesteads, and were very wet.

This Town, *Orvieto*, was as much as to say, *Urbs vetus, An old City*. And so it might well be called : For every Man, at his first Entrance into it, in his own Tongue, would give it no other Name. It was a Fall, from the Top of the Hill, to the lowest Part of the Mountain. And in these respects, such was the Condition of the Place, that our Ambassadors, in their Letters to Cardinal *Wolfey*, said, they could not tell how the Pope could be said to be at Liberty, being there, where Hunger, Scarcity, ill-favoured Lodging, ill Air, and many other Incommodities, kept him and all his as streightly, as he was ever Captive in Castle *Angel* : And that it was, *Aliqua mutatio soli, sed nulla libertatis*.

The Pope ill accommodated here.

And, in effect, the Pope could not deny to Sir *Gregory*, but it had been better to be in Captivity at *Rome*, than there at Liberty. He lay in an old Palace of the Bishop's of that City, ruinous and decayed. Where, before they came to the Pope's Bed-Chamber, they passed Three Chambers, all naked and unchanged, the Roofs fallen down, and, as was guessed, Thirty Persons, riff-raff, and others standing in the Chambers for a Garnishment. And as for the Pope's Bed-Chamber, all the Furniture in it was not worth twenty Nobles, Bed and all.

*March* the 22d, They came into the Pope's Presence, and so were for some Time with him every Day, three or four Hours together ; sometimes till Midnight ; consulting and debating of their Business. This their first Access was after this manner. Being admitted into his Privy Bed-Chamber, they found him accompanied with the Cardinal *De Radulphis*. After due Reverence, and Ceremonies accustomed, they delivered him the King's and the Cardinal's Letters : Which he immediately read over. And then repeated to the Ambassadors the Sum of them, in very compendious and well-couched Words : And without suffering them to speak a word, went on, acknowledging the great Benefits the King had done him, and the See Apostolick ; and especially in the Time of his Captivity : And how much He and the Apostolick See were beholden and bound to the Cardinal ; by whose Procurement, Solicitation and Mediation, such Things had been always set forth, as might conduce unto the same. Adding thereunto, of what Mind and Intention he ever was, as well before, as since his Preferment to that Dignity ; namely, To do all Things that might be to the good Satisfaction and Contentment of the King's Highness ; and especially in this Case, touching so near the Quietness and Tranquility of his Conscience, with the Wealth and Commodity of his Realm. And many such Words, spoken, as they might judge, as proceeding sincerely from the Bottom and Root of his Heart and Soul. Then he

The Ambassadors first Accets to the Pope.

His Speech to them.

*A N N O* 1527. willed them finally, without any Circumstance of Words, familiarly to enter with him into Communication of the Essential Points of their Charge : Wherein he promised to give such Resolutions, without Tract or Delay, as they could reasonably desire, and as might be agreeable with Law and Equity, for the Justification of his Doings, and Maintenance of his and the King's Honour hereafter.

They deliver  
their Message.

At this Point, his Holiness making a Pause ; Dr. *Gardiner* said, That it was well known to the King and the Cardinal, of the great Zeal, Love and Affection, that his Holiness bare towards them both, and the Wealth of the Realm of *England* : Whereof of late both had Advertisement, as well by sundry Letters of Sir *Gregory de Cassalis*, as also the Reports and Relations of Mr. Secretary, Dr. *Knight*, and more amply by the Mouth of the Prothonotary *Gambara*, sent from the Pope to the King. Who, he said, had exhibited to the King a *Commission* and *Dispensation*, (the one to examine the King's Matter in *England*, and the other to allow of another Marriage) both passed by his Holiness : But that the same Instruments, being altered from the Minutes and Forms that was by the King desired, and so not fully serving the King's Purpose ; their Message was, that another *Commission* and *Dispensation* might be drawn up and granted : Especially, considering, that the Pope had before, by his Agent *Gambara*, promised to supply and reform, if any Thing might be thought wanting in the said Instruments ; and to add other *Bulls* and *Breves* thereunto, if required.

The Pope's  
Answer.

But the Pope, out of Fear of the Emperor, was willing to make Delays ; and to dissemble, and keep the same secret, till all Things were compounded and pacified in *Italy*. He pretended also, for his Delay, that this, the King's Matrimonial Matter, was not managed, as he heard with Cardinal *Wolsey's* Consent, or Knowledge. But this coming to the Cardinal's Ears, before these Ambassadors came away, he ordered them to protest to the Pope, on the Cardinal's Behalf, that he was sincere in the Matter. And so they did at this Time ; and then delivered the Cardinal's Judgment, as to the Merits of the Cause, and likewise of the good Qualities of the Gentlewoman, meaning the Lady *Anne*, whom the King had signified his Inclinations, after his Divorce from Queen *Katharine*, to take for his Royal Consort, for the Sake of an Heir to the Kingdom by her. For it had been told the Pope before by some, that the King followed some private Affection in this Matter : And that the Lady was already with Child ; And that she had no such Qualities, as should be worthy the King's Bed. Therefore for the taking off these false Reports, the Ambassadors were thus instructed by the Cardinal.

The King's  
Book against  
his Marriage.

At this Meeting they also told the Pope, That the King had writ a Book of his own Cause ; which they had brought with them, to read to his Holiness. And herein the King's Reasons were set down, for the dissolving his present Marriage, and of the Scruples of his Conscience.

What the Pope  
said of it.

Of which the Pope said, ' That to his Majesty's Opinion, Mind and Sentence, he would sooner lean, than any other Learned Man's : ' And that the King's Reasons must needs be of great Efficacy and Sufficiency, whereby this Matter might be ruled and ordered ; Considering



dering his Excellent Wisdom, Learning and Judgment. All which, *A N N O*  
he doubted not, had concurred to the setting forth of this Mat- *1527.*  
ter.

And then he appointed the Ambassadors the next Day to resort to him, and to read before him the said Book ; and so, being informed of the Reasons, consult with them, and the Cardinal *Sanctorum Quatuor*, how the Commission should pass.

And this was the Sum of the Transactions in this first Meeting.

C H A P. X.

*The Pope reads the King's Book ; And commends it. Divers Conferences with the Pope, about the King's Matter. The Pope declares his Mind in it.*

THE Ambassadors the next Day, being *March* the 23d, exhibiting the King's Book to the Pope, he began to read standing : *The Pope reads it.* And after a while, sitting down upon a Form, covered with a Piece of an old Coverlid, not worth twenty Pence. That which he read was the *Epistle*, being directed by the King to the Cardinal and the Prelates, requiring their Answer thereunto in the End of it ; and that Part of the Book that related to the Law : Not suffering any of them to help him therein. Noting the Reasons, as one succeeded another : And making his Objections ; which he afterward saw answered.

The Pope much commended the Book ; and said, he would keep it with him for a Day, to read over as well the first Part, which he had not read, as the Second Part again, which he had. He asked the Ambassadors for the Answer of the Cardinal and Prelates to the King's *Epistle*. They told him, no Answer was made in Writing ; and of what Import their Answer was by Word of Mouth, might be perceived, by the Letter the Cardinal had writ to his Holiness. He asked also, Whether the King had broken this Matter to the Queen ? They answered, Yes ; and that she shewed her self content to stand to the Judgment of the Church. Then he signified some Doubt, whether the *English* Cardinal should be refused to be a Judge in this Matter, as suspected to favour one Side ; having already declared his Mind hereupon ; and so in manner giving Sentence beforehand. But they said, that hindred not, but that the Pope might commit it unto his Grace's indifferent Knowledge of the Fact ; sending a Commission Decretal, *In Eventum Veritatis facti allegati*. With which the Pope seemed satisfied. *His Questions put to the Ambassadors.*

In which Commission it was devised, for avoiding all Lets, that the Clause should be put into it, *Remota Recusatione & Appellatione*. Whereunto his Holiness assented. This Commission, ready drawn up and prepared, they left at that Time with the Pope, as he desired, *The Commission Decretal ; what.*

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desired, that he might read it himself : Pretending then, that he would do all Things to the King's Desire, with the greatest Speed that could be. Which, indeed, the Ambassadors did much excite him to ; urging, what Danger it was to the Realm to have this Matter hang in Suspense. His Holiness confessed the same ; beginning to reckon what divers Titles might be pretended by the King of *Scots*, and others : and granted, that without an Heir Male, with Provision to be made by the Consent of the States for the Succession, the Realm were like to come to Dissolution.

The Ambassadors concert with the Cardinal *Sanctorum Quatuor*.

Then departing from the *Pope*, they went to concert the Matter with the Cardinal, to whose Trust and Care the *Pope* had commended it ; viz. the Cardinal *Sanctorum Quatuor*. Who was so just and honest, as to refuse Two Thousand Crowns, that were sent from the King to him, to be presented him by the Hands of Sir *Gregory*, and the King's Secretary, that came Ambassadors before. And all that they could do, was to fasten Thirty Crowns on his Secretary ; the Cardinal saying, that he was, and so would be reputed the King's true Servant, to do any Thing that lay in his Power, that he might be serviceable unto him ; to whom the See Apostolick, and the Members of the same were so much obliged : And that he thought all that he had done, or could do, was much less than his Duty towards him, who had so much merited from them, in making War for the Churches Cause, and ceasing from War at the *Pope's* Desire ; and especially for procuring the *Pope's* Deliverance ; and other Things done by him, for the Church, in other *Popes* Days. And for these Causes, he said, he would shew himself diligent in expediting the King's Business. And so they entred upon Consideration of the Commission with this Cardinal.

And at last, the Cardinal concluded, that the Commission should pass under Lead ; but so, as the *Pope's* Holiness might alledge, if he listed, Ignorance therein, as being passed by his Officers. But the Ambassadors liked not that ; because such a Commission, by an Inhibition obtained in the like Fashion, might be frustrate. In fine, they perceived, that it was only the Fear of the *Spaniards* Victory in *Italy* that let the Cause ; and lest that Army might upon this Matter make a Quarrel with the *Pope*, who was but newly got out of their Hands.

Cardinal *Campegius* propounded to be joined with *Wolfey*.

Soon after they had Conference with the *Pope* about some Cardinal, whom he should think most convenient to be sent jointly with Cardinal *Wolfey*, or severally, for compounding a Peace between the Princes. But the *Pope*, at the present, refused to take upon him the Province of a Moderator of the Peace. Though the Emperor had sent unto the *Pope* Letters for that Purpose, as *Gambara* had told the King. Which when our Ambassador had mentioned to the *Pope*, he acknowledged, faintly, he had such Letters, but spake little of that Matter. The Ambassador then propounded the said Cardinal *Campegius*, as a meet Person to be sent into *England*, to mediate in the *Pope's* Name : And who being here, might jointly with *Wolfey*, proceed in the King's Business. The *Pope* replied, that it would be hereby so divulged, that whatsoever other Cause were pretended, it would be verily thought this were the chief Cause. They added, that no such Thing would be judged concerning *Campegius*, because he was

noted



noted somewhat to favour the Emperor's Causes, and to be in- *ANNO*  
different. *1528.*

*March* the 26th, 1528, The Ambassadors waited again upon the Pope: Who withdrew into a little Study, which he used for a sleeping Chamber: There seating himself against the Wall, he caused the Ambassadors, and the Cardinals, *Sanctorum quatuor*, *Ursinus*, *Cæsarinus*, & *de Casis*, to sit round about him; and then called for *Jacobus Symonet*, Dean of the *Rota*, a Man of great Gravity, and substantially Learned. Next, the Cardinal *Sanctorum quatuor* began to propose the Consultation, and Cause of the Meeting. And after him spake the Dean, approving of what the Cardinal before had spoken: Yet with a Preface, that it was a Case he had not much studied. Then the Pope willed Dr. *Gardiner* to speak. Who then urged what he thought good, in Defence of the Commission. Which proved to their good Satisfaction. And so the Pope allowed the King's Desire. For finally, the Matter was reduced to this Point, that such Commission, although in old Time it had past, (for the Ambassadors had proved before, that it was agreeable to such as be in the *Decretals*, and had shewed the Cardinal *Sanctorum quatuor*, this, by rehearsing to him the Chapter *Veniens*, in the Title *De Sponsalibus*) and was not discrepant from Justice; yet it was now a new and uncouth Thing: And the Emperor might take Occasion against the Pope to say, That to his Injury he did an Act against the Custom, and common Stile of the Court, observed from the Times, that the *Decretals* were put forth. But from this the Ambassadors made a Shift at length to bring the Pope.

The Pope, Cardinals and Ambassadors, in Consultation.

And now it rested only to know the Opinions of learned Men, whether the particular Cases expressed in the Commission, might be justified to be sufficient for a Divorce, or not. And thereupon *Symonet* was wished to consult his Books, and to have Conference with the Ambassadors. This Meeting took up Four Hours. Then the Pope said, That he had so much Confidence in the King's Conscience, as he would ground his thereupon; and did persuade himself that it was true and just, which so appeared unto the King's Conscience, and would upon that Ground privily pass any Thing he might do by his Authority. But in this Case, which should come to the Knowledge of the World, he said he must do, as the See Apostolick be not slandered thereby. Forasmuch as in himself, his Holiness acknowledged no such profound Learning, as were sufficient to discuss this Matter. Therefore he thought he could do no less, than consult with others that were about him thereupon: That he might have them to justify his Doings, whatsoever should be alledged on their Parts. For upon this Matter, he doubted not, the Emperor would cause divers Universities to write. And thereupon he pulled out a Letter, and shewed it to Sir *Gregory*, which was sent secretly from a Gentleman in the Emperor's Court; mentioning what Answer was made by the Emperor, to the Information made unto him, on the King's Behalf, concerning this Matter of Divorce. Which added some Fear to the Pope, who was of his own Nature timorous. Which Fear was increased by the doubtful End of the War in *Naples*.

The Pope declares his Mind in this Matter.

*Symonet*

A N N O  
1528.

*Symonet and the Ambassadors argue Matter of Law.*

*Symonet* and the Ambassadors meeting together, from Seven of the Clock in the Morning till Dinner Time, and after Dinner till it was Night, argued Matters of Law in the King's Matter. He taking upon him to make what Objections he could against the Causes alledged in the Commission. But at last he descended from Reasoning, to persuade the Ambassadors rather to take a General Commission, in as ample Form and Manner as they could devise, with Promise of Ratification, than to stick upon that Form they required, being new, and out of Course. And if they would be so content, he would not doubt, but they should speed Tomorrow. And so made his Reckoning, that within Three Months, Sentence might be given here in *England*, and remitted to the Pope to be confirmed. But the Ambassadors would by no means yield unto it.

Another Meeting. The Commission required to be dispatched.

Some Days after, they had another Meeting with the Pope, the Cardinals *Sanctorum Quatuor*, and *De Monte*, and *Symonet*, present, in his Sleeping Chamber. Now Dr. *Gardiner* again urged the Passing the Commission: The Question stuck at being only, Whether the Pope might do it lawfully? To which the said Ambassador said, 'That he presumed the Pope was satisfied, that he might in Justice do it, convinced by the King's Book; and also by the Offer which the said Two Cardinals and *Symonet* had made: Who had told them, that the Sentence given in *England*, should be confirmed by his Holiness. Which Promise, said *Gardiner*, if it were to be trusted to, was a plain Confession, that the Cause was good, or else it ought not to be confirmed. So that between the Ambassadors Desire, and the Cardinals Offer, there was, he said, only Difference of Time; and that which was promised to be done after the Sentence, the Ambassadors required to be done in effect before. Which was necessary to be obtained, for avoiding such Chances as might hinder the obtaining of the Confirmation; as, the Death of the Pope, or other adverse Success.

*Gardiner threatens.*

He said, moreover, 'That if this were not granted, the King would take it very strangely, and would think his manifold Benefits ill employed; if merely for Manner and Form, which was the only Impediment, he could not obtain Justice; and no Respect should be had of his Person, and the Weight of his Cause: And if after so great Charges, Cost, and Delay of Time, he might obtain no more, than he might have obtained at Home: And that he doubted not, his Majesty, understanding hereof, would use a domestick Remedy within his own Kingdom, without ventilating his Cause, where he should perceive it was handled, looked on and heard; as tho' there were already rooted in Men's Hearts a prejudicate Opinion, that all Things were coloured, and grounded on no Root of Justice and Truth.

The Ambassadors grow more earnest.

Then all looking one upon another, and speaking nothing, *Symonet* thinking the Matter touched him near; inasmuch as granting and offering Confirmation of the Sentence, he should seem to approve the Justness of the Cause; began to make and shew a Difference between confirming the Sentence after it was given, and making this Decretal Commission. And so entred again into Reasoning of the Cause. In fine, the Pope said, that all that which with his Honour he might do, he would do gladly, without Tract or Difficulty. To which the Am-

bassadors



ambassadors answered, that what was not honourable for his Holiness to grant, was not honourable to be desired on the King's Behalf. So as in this Matter, if Honour should be touched, it should be touched in both: And it was not to be supposed, that the King, who hitherto had such Respect of his Honour, conserved and defended the same above all Princes, should now do any thing, that should stain or blemish the same: Or that the Cardinal would counsel or minister any Thing, that should be dishonourable to both, or either of them.

The Pope, observing that their Words were plainer than formerly; and that by Degrees they began to speak more earnestly, at length yielded: Saying, That he was fixed and determined, to satisfy the King's Desires, to set aside all Stile and common Course of the Court: Which, he said, could be no Law to him, nor bind his Holiness to follow the same in so great a Cause as that was, and to such a Prince, who had deserved so many Benefits of the See Apostolick: Extending his Authority herein, and speaking as it were against *Sanctorum quatuor*, who was a great Defender of the Stile of the Roman Court: Adding, that if in the Law these Causes may be Ground, Just and Sufficient, to maintain a Sentence of Divorce, he would make such a Commission, any Style or Use to the contrary notwithstanding: Subjoyning, that if the Emperor should grudge thereat, he cared not. And, having Matter to defend the Justice of the Cause, he would by Brief signify to the Emperor and the World, that in that Manner of administering Justice, he of Duty ought to shew all Favour and Grace to the King's Highness. Whereupon he would hear what the Cardinal *De Monte*, and *De Ancona* said, to whom he would write; and having their Judgments he would satisfy the Ambassador's Desires.

The Pope yields.

The Pope cared not to have the Cause brought before him.

## CHAP. XI.

*The Pope declined the King's Matter, as much as he could, for Fear of the Emperor. A notable Speech of Dr. Gardiner to the Pope.*

IN Case this large Commission Decretal would not be granted by the Pope, the Cardinal *Wolsey* had considered upon another Expedient; namely, to have the King's Matter examined and prosecuted before the Pope: Only, he feared the Length of the Process, the Court at *Rome* being so Dilatory. Therefore he secretly had instructed the Ambassadors to learn, how long the Process might continue, in Case it should be examined and discussed there: Now, to this the Ambassador sent Answer, that without giving any Cause to them of conjecturing, that the Ambassadors would have it brought thither, they had by all Means possible endeavoured to know this. And first they perceived, that that Court had no Mind, as the State of the World then was, that it should come there, the *Cæsarians* being not yet purged out of those Parts. And as for all the Stops, Difficulties, and Delays in this Matter, they proceeded only, as they wrote to the Cardinal,

1528.

**A** N N O dinal, from Fear. Which; they said, considering their late Calamities, and the Uncertainty of the War in *Naples*, seemed to be such, as might happen to a constant Man: They feared another Captivity, which the Doing this might occasion: And the News daily came of the *Spaniards* Adversity, yet they feared, and were glad to retain, and not to abandon, the Emperor's Part. The Process, as they wrote, would probably be long there, where every learned Man should have Liberty to say his Mind. Nor cared they to meddle openly against the Emperor, especially in this, which he took so much to Stomach, as they knew he did. So that the Pope's and Cardinal's Device was, how Speed might be made in *England* in this Cause, and then that the Sentence should be remitted to them to be confirmed. And other Answer the Ambassadors could get none.

The Ambassadors consider the Pope's Circumstances.

So that all that had hitherto been spoken by that Court, as that the King should first marry, and such other Devices, were set forth only for that Intent, that whatsoever they did, they would not be noted of Counsel in the Beginning of the Matter, or to be privy to any Specialty thereof in the Commencement. For which Cause the Ambassadors were the more earnest, as they wrote the Cardinal, in pressing them to grant the Commission after the first Device, mentioning the Specialties of the Cause. Which set apart, and not required, they were certain, they said, to obtain the second Degree of their Instructions, in the most ample wise, and with great Thanks to take it: Which was a Commission allowing of an Appeal. With which they should have a Promise to confirm the Sentence there, with all Speed and Expedition possible. They wrote the Cardinal, that all Things considered, and the Difficulty that at that Time attended the Pope, and the adverse Party slandering the King, as tho', without extraordinary Remedy, he could not obtain his Purpose; it was their Judgment, that the second Instructions should serve to very good Purpose, to ground the Process upon, and to be that which should be openly shewed or exhibited. And they verily thought, notwithstanding the Pope's Words, which he had spoke to them, they should not be able to obtain that Commission that ran in that Form aforesaid.

A secret Commission from the Pope propounded.

And therefore, considering that the Effect of that Commission was only that it might appear to be the Judgment of the Church in those Articles, for the Discharge of such as should proceed therein; the Ambassadors desired, that being without Hope of obtaining the Commission absolutely in the first Form, they should desire the Pope to pass it secretly, to remain with the King's Highness for Justification of his Matter, in case happily the Pope's Confirmation of the Sentence that should be pronounced in *England*, by some Chance could not afterwards be obtained. And the same should be kept secret, and shewed to none but only the King's Councillors. And so the Pope should give them a general Commission, as was promised, for a Legate; as their Instructions purported. And that by some light Words uttered, they thought they might probably obtain such a secret Rescript of the Pope determining the Cause.

A Cardinal to be sent.

The Pope, however he had no mind to send any Cardinal into *England* about this Business, yet he told the Ambassadors he would send one, such as should be agreeable to the King's Desire. The Cardinal

Cam-



*Campegius* was then at *Rome*: Of whom the Pope said, that the said *A. N. N. O.* Cardinal wrote to him to give credit to the King's Writings and *1528.* Reasons in this Matter. So that the Ambassadors concluded, there was no Doubt of his good Will; but only they feared he might make too long Halts by the way, being exceedingly troubled with the Gout: But nevertheless it was not yet known who should be the Cardinal to be sent.

The Pope still, to colour over his Delays, pretended that he was ignorant in the Law. For which, he said, he was both sorry and ashamed; and therefore that he must consult those that were learned therein; Whether the Matrimony should be declared null, and the Dispensation for it void; before he could come to any Resolution. And that otherwise, when the Commission should come abroad, as it must do, by reason a Copy thereof should be given to the Queen, and so consequently to the Emperor's Hands; he should be looked upon as rash, to the Slander of the Church, doing it without Counsil; or too credulous a Judge, to be persuaded by Sayings of the Party only, without hearing any thing replied on the other Side. He added, that those of the Court there, Learned Men in the Law, whose Counsil the Popes had heretofore followed, would be sure to study to confute that which should be done, (tho' the same were well done) to the passing whereof their Judgment was not required. Tho' of the Truth of the Matter himself was persuaded, he said, by the King's and the Cardinal's Writings.

The Pope will consult with the Lawyers, before he will pass any thing.

Then Dr. *Gardiner* replied, 'That this Answer of his Holiness was different from what he had spoken in divers former Communications: And that the King would conclude it to be invented to colour the Denyal of his Purpose. From whence might arise such Suspicions in the King's Breast, as the Cardinal *Wolsey* would be loth should enter there. He advised the Pope, that he would have good Regard unto the King's Sentiments upon this his dealing; and stop the Occasion, that was flying by, and endeavour to retain the King's Devotion towards the See Apostolic, and not put things in such Condition, as they should not be recoverable by any means hereafter. And that now was the Time, in which, doing that which of Justice and Duty he ought to do, his Holiness might acquire an inestimable Treasure of the King's good Will, for the Recovery of the Authority of the See Apostolic, with Maintenance of the same.

*Gardiner's* smart Reply.

Bishop *Staphileus*, the Pope's Agent, was now returned from *England*. To him our Ambassadors resorted: Who by Instructions from King *Henry* was to join with them in the Business, wherein they were soliciting the Pope on his behalf. Which that Bishop promised them to do. But whereas the Instructions of the Ambassadors were, that the Commission should be directed to *Wolsey* alone, or to him and another Legate; *Staphileus* said, his Instructions were the quite contrary, and that the King at the *More*, on an Evening he was there with him and the Cardinal, said, That the Queen might, and would refuse the Cardinal; and therefore that it would be well done, that his Grace should not meddle as Judge in the matter. From which our Ambassadors could not a great while bring him, tho' they assured him it was

*Staphileus* his Return out of *England*.

ANN O not so, being quite different from their Instructions: till at length he  
1528. said he would conform himself to their Instructions.

The French  
King's Judg-  
ment of King  
Henry's Cause.

*Staphileus* came through *France*: Whose King made him his Ambassador to the Pope. Of whom *Staphileus*, in that Quality, had certain Audiences. In one whereof he told the Pope, that he thought the King of *England's* Cause was good. That he knew nothing of that Form of Commission the *English* Ambassadors so much urged: Only that a Legate should be sent with a general Commission, and that the King liked not of *Wolfey* to be Judge.

A Disputation  
commenced,  
before the  
Pope, thereof.

The *Friday* before *Palm Sunday*, was appointed by the Pope a solemn *Confessus* of the Cardinals, *De Monte*, and *Sanctorum quatuor*, and *Staphileus*, and the Dean of the *Rota*, an Auditor of the *Rota*, and *Gambara*, were also present, to dispute upon the King's Matter. The Ambassadors all the while were in the Pope's little Chamber. *Staphileus* made a long Oration, containing his whole Book, with the Reasons thereof, which lasted Two Hours. *Sanctorum quatuor* spake next: Refuting *Staphileus* his Arguments, and seemed to refute them. And *Staphileus* replied. Then *Gardiner* desired Leave of the Pope to speak: And it being granted, answered the Reasons of *Sanctorum quatuor*, which were but frivolous. But that Cardinal remitting his Reasons to the Dean of the *Rota*; some of them were sifted so well between *Gardiner* and the said Dean, that the Pope plainly perceived the Weakness of them.

A notable  
Speech of  
*Gardiner*.

Then Dr. *Gardiner* made a brisk Speech to them: ' That the King, ' the Nobles and People of *England*, would think strangely of the Pope, ' and that College, and would cry out upon them, as a most ungrateful Generation, and most negligent of the King's Kindness; viz. that ' they, who ought to be simple as Doves, and of an open Breast, were ' full of all Deceit, Craft, and Dissimulation; that promised all things ' in Word, but performed nothing in Deed. And that when they will ' answer nothing certain, a hard Thought of this See would possess ' the Minds of the *English*: namely, that God hath taken away the ' Key of Knowledge from it. And that however the King had hitherto exploded the Sentence of some, yet now would begin not to be displeased at it, viz. That the Pope's Laws were fit to be committed to the Flames: Which were uncertain even to the Pope himself, ' and those that belonged to him. He told them moreover, That it ' was a very sad, and a very hard thing, that any should think, that ' they could not resolve the Knot of this Cause, which they saw untied by the King's Reasons. But that is more grievous, if when ' they could, they would not: When their Sentence, whatever it were, ' so it were certain, would deserve the Favour of that Prince, who deserved best of all from them. But however, they would by no means be brought further than a general Commission. Which when *Gardiner* saw; and that they ever sung that Song, he said to the Pope plainly, That by this covert Dealing, and the Motions made for the general Commission, he could perceive no other thing, but that every Man should hereafter pretend Ignorance in the Matter, and would keep himself at Liberty to resolve the Doubt on his Part hereafter, that should have the better hand. And if *Cesar* overcome, then they may with their Honesties lean to him. But he said, hereby they would



shew themselves prodigal of their Reputations, and unmindful of their A N N O  
Salvations. And a great deal more to this Purpose : Which they heard 1528.

The Pope being risen, the Ambassadors said secretly to him, That his Holiness might well consider, to what Part Justice inclin'd : And that these Men could shew no Matter substantial to impugn that which the King had wrote. The Pope said, To say truth, albeit it were a Saying in the Law, that *the Pope bath all Law in the Desk of his Breast*, yet God never gave unto him the Key to open that Desk. The Cardinals weakly answer the King.  
A remarkable saying of the Pope.

But it was the Resolution of the Cardinals, that the Commission should not be granted in that Form the Ambassadors desired. The next Day they spoke roundly unto the Pope, telling him, That the King's Highness would do it without him. The Pope said, he would it were done, and fighed, and wiped his Eyes. And added, that in a Matter, where the Right of a Third was concerned, he could do nothing without the Counsil of them; and wished it were in his Power to give the King's Highness something, depending only on his own particular Hurt, or Damage, without touching any other Man's Right. The Ambassadors threaten.  
How the Pope took it.

C H A P. XII.

*A Secret Commission propounded to the Pope by the King's Ambassadors in his great Cause.*

WHEN this would not be obtained, the Ambassadors repaired to the Pope to get a General Commission, and for the Decretal Commission to be passed in a secret manner. Which was not to be seen publickly, unless in case the Pope refused to confirm the Sentence that should be given; or else to be kept secret. Their Course whereby they were to manage this Affair was, that according to the Instructions, Sir *Gregory de Cassalis* should privately ask the Pope, as of himself, whether he should move this to the College. Which he did, and had the Leave and Approbation of the Pope so to do. When they came to move it to the Pope, he resolv'd himself in this Dilemma; If it may be done justly, it ought to be done publickly. If it cannot be done justly, it would be the greatest Disgrace, and withal would touch the Conscience, to do it secretly. To which *Gardiner* said, Because it was just, it ought to be done publickly; but because the Fear of the Emperor makes it not to be done publickly, let it be done without Fear secretly. Which if his Holiness would do, they had some Hope, that the Cardinal, by his Dexterity, would so handle it, as the same should be taken of the King in good part. But of this they could get no Answer. The Ambassadors pursue their Second Instructions.  
Gardiner's Answer to the Pope.

The Minutes of the Commission having been drawn by the Ambassadors, the Cardinals made Objections against it. One said, that the sick Man shewing his Disease to his Physician, doth not himself proportion the Physick, but takes it after his Physician's Discretion. At length the Cardinals drew up one with Additions, Detractions, and

Corre-

ANNO  
1528.

Corrections. Upon which, *Gardiner* laid to the Pope's Charge his Promise made concerning this Commission, and shewed what Double-ness might be noted in this Dealing: And that he having a mind to delude and delay them, had chosen these Men as his Instruments, with as sore Words as he could devise. The Pope answered, he must use Mens Counsils: But condescended at last, that if *Symonet* would say, the Minute, as the Ambassadors devised it, was nothing contrary to Justice, they should have it, and he would fulfill his Promise. But *Symonet*, being sent for, would not answer directly, till he had conferred with the other Cardinals. The Ambassadors then argued hotly with *Symonet*, but to no Purpose. At this Meeting they tarried Five Hours with the Pope, till about One a-Clock at Night. But the Cardinals shamefully dallied with the Ambassadors; and the Pope was more willing, than they, to grant the Commission. For these Cardinals noted several Places in the Commission, and added some things, as well tending to the Slander of the Honour of those that were to be Judges, as to the infringing the Ambassadors Credit: and mended Things, that needed no mending at all. Soon after, when the Cardinals and Ambassadors had read the Commission together, and agreed to some Amendments, the next meeting the Cardinals had altered even those Things that had on both Sides been consented to.

But they are  
nothing but  
trifled with.

At length, after much arguing, all was agreed upon between the Ambassadors, and *Symonet* and *Gambara*, except two Words, in the whole Commission. And when they went, by the Pope's Order, to the Cardinals Houses, to adjust those two Words, the Cardinals sent them Word, they were making Collation, and on the Morrow would look their Books therein. By Means of these Shufflings, and unhand-some Dealings, after so many fair Promises and Compliments, of the Cardinals, at length the Ambassadors grew stark angry, and complained, that they were deluded and scorned, and told the Pope, that this was not the Way to entertain the Favour of Princes. And *Gardiner* said to him, that these Men, in correcting the Commission, after all had done nothing herein, that favoured of Learning, but only of Ignorance and Suspicion; thinking that under every Word lay a Scorpion. And it was his Judgment, that this was done by the Pope's Commandment: *Who*, he said, *had Eyes and saw not*.

*Gardiner* huffs  
the Pope.

He began to expostulate with *Gambara*, as tho' he procured this Contumacy to the King and the Cardinal, by his good Words to them, when he was in *England*, to encourage them to send Ambassadors. And when they came, to go about to intoxicate them with good Words, and to enchant them with the sweet Voices of Syrens, to circumvent them by their own People. Meaning, in that they had moved *Staphileus* to be content with a general Commission, whereas his Instructions from the King and Cardinal were for a Commission Decretal. To deal with the Ambassadors as Men do with Hawks, to show them Flesh on their Fists, to make them follow whither they would. *Gambara* said, he spake no Word of Comfort to the King, or the Cardinal, but such as he had in Commission from the Pope to say. Then *Gardiner* turned his Speech presently to the Pope, telling him, That he handled the King, as tho' he had been the most ungrateful Man, and one of mean Sort. The Pope said nothing, but sighed,  
and



and wiped his Eyes. *Gardiner* signified, that he would make Relation, when he came Home, of what Condition Men were there towards them that best deserved at their Hands: Hinting the ill Case they would be in, if the Favour of that Prince, who then only favoured them, should be withdrawn and taken away: And how the Apostolick See, then tottering, would fall by the common Consent, and Applause of all. At which Words the Pope, casting his Hands abroad, bad them put in the Words they varied for; and therewith walked up and down the Chamber, casting now and then his Arms abroad, the Ambassadors standing in a great Silence.

After these Broils, the Commissions were written and sealed: and the Cardinals desired the Ambassador, that these Alterations might be forgotten, and Things represented fair to the King. And the Pope desired them to write the King and Cardinal from him; that as Things then stood, the sending this Commission was a Declaration against the Emperor, and that he committed himself to the King's Protection. This Commission, thus at last obtained, wanted the Clauses of Confirmation and Revocation; but abating them, the Ambassador reckoned it as good as could be devised: Since a Commission Decretal would not pass.

A N N O  
1528.

The Commission at last sealed.

And with this Commission *Fox* left the Pope's Court, and went away for *England*. But being thus served by the Pope and his Servants, the Ambassadors declined giving the Pope the King's Pollicitation, which they brought with them, and the Pope's Servants the Gratuity intended them; till they wrote to Cardinal *Wolfey* for his further Direction therein. And *Gardiner* repaired to *Rome* to Cardinal *Campesius*, where he was as the Pope's Deputy in his Absence, to deal with him to be the Pope's Legate, to go into *England* about judging the King's Business. And the Pope intended to send a Friar to the Queen with a Brief of Credence; and so by him to shew her what he thought of her Matter.

*Fox* returns into *England*, and *Gardiner* goes to *Rome*.

The Pope sends a Friar to the Queen.

But the Pope soon repented what he had done in granting the Commission. For understanding, how the Emperor took to Heart the King's Intimation in Relation to his Marriage with Queen *Katharine*, he told the Ambassadors, that by granting this Commission, Denial of Inhibitions, which should be required, and Confirmation of the Sentence, which must be past by him, he thought verily the Emperor should take it more displeasingly, than if his Holiness had declared himself; specially considering, the General being advertised of the Ambassadors Suit, had made Suit to the contrary. And the *Venetians*, *Florentines*, and Duke of *Ferrara* were reported to have entred into a new League, and cast Lots, as *Gardiner* expressed himself, upon his Vesture: and the *French* King deferred to do or promise any Thing. And the *Venetians* still retained *Ravenna* from him, and *Cervia*, and and other Places. The *French* King also called upon him to declare himself, and enter into the League against the Emperor. In these Perplexities, he earnestly desired the King to stand by him; and the Cardinal to use his Dexterity with the *French* King; appointing by Capitulation what the Pope should do, and what he should trust to. Especially since the Confederates required the Pope to proceed to deprive the Emperor, as well of his Empire, as of the Realm of *Naples*. But those

The Pope's Perplexities.

*ANNO* those were Things he judged not to be done hastily : And bade the  
 1528. Ambassadors to write to the Cardinal, that he fled to his Prudence as  
 a Sacred Altar:

## C H A P. XIII.

*Fox, one of the Ambassadors, returned home : The King is glad  
 of the supposed good Effect of this Embassy.*

*Fox relates the  
 Success of his  
 Embassy to  
 Anne Bolen :*

**I**N the mean time, Dr. *Fox*, one of the Ambassadors, came home in the Beginning of *May*: And coming to Court, the King gave Order, that he should go unto Mrs. *Anne Bolen's* Chamber ; who at that time had moved her Lodgings into the *Tilt Yard*, because the Lady Princess, and divers others of the Queen's Maidens, were sick of the Small Pox. Being admitted into her Presence, *Fox* declared to her what Progress was made, and the Commissions obtained, and how extraordinary diligent and dextrous Dr. *Gardiner* had been in the Business, and in hastening the Coming of the Legate : and that he presented her with his humble and hearty Commendations. This she most thankfully received, and expressed much Joy and Comfort. And oftentimes in Talk with *Fox*, she called him Mr. *Stephens*, (so much did the Name of *Stephen Gardiner* run in her mind) making Promise of large Recompence for his good Acquittal of this Business. Then the King came in, and she departed.

*And to the  
 King.*

He delivered to the King, Letters from the Pope, from Dr. *Gardiner*, and Bishop *Staphile*. *Gardiner's* Letter he read to himself. *Fox* told the King he had brought with him a Dispensation, and a Commission. The Dispensation pass'd without Alteration of any Sentence or Word : They having propounded unto the Pope the Nature of it, that it touched no Point, nor belonged to the Right of any Third Person, and that if his Holiness would grant the like unto all Princes christned, it might be to the great Quietness of *Christendom*, and many frivolous Titles and Occasions of Debate, (wont heretofore to be moved upon such Ground, as the said Dispensation was laid aside) would be taken away by such Relaxation, and Grace of the Apostolic See. But as to the Commission Decretal, he told the King, that they could by no Persuasions induce the Pope to it, nor to confess that he might in Justice give out his Decree without hearing the other Party. He acquainted the King, how the Cardinals said, that such a Decretal Commission was of such a Nature, that no Process could be honourably made by vertue thereof, and that it could not come to light without a great Slander to the Cause. How the Ambassadors urged on the other hand, that this Commission had no other Strength or Vertue, but one : Which was, in case the Pope, prevented by Death or Captivity, would not, or did not, confirm the Sentence given by the Delegates, that then it might serve for Confirmation. But that the Pope right gladly had granted another Commission, being the same in all Points with the  
 other,



other, except two, *viz.* the Sentence of the Pope *de jure*, with the Promise of Confirmation, and no Revocation. And that this Commission, all the Cardinals and others granted, was of such sufficient honourable Sort, accustomed Justice and Uprightness, that nothing could be devised more. And to make amends for those two Things left out in this Commission, the Pope, as *Fox* proceeded, offered to make to the King a faithful Promise under his Seal, that the Sentence, once given by the Delegates, he would without Respect or Delay confirm, and never revoke nor give Inhibition to the contrary.

At this the King took much Delight, and called in Mrs. *Anne*, and bad *Fox* repeat the same before her. Which he did. Then the King bade him go to the Cardinal, and shew him what he had said; and that he would have the Cardinal's Opinion about the Revocation and Appellation. To the Cardinal he resorts, who hearing he was there, tho' he was in Bed, commanded him to be brought up: And after much Communication with him, he left the Commission and others Letters with him, and departed for that Night. The next Day he pondered the Contents of the Commission, calling to him Dr. *Bell* and *Fox*, to read them before my Lord *Rochford* and himself. The Cardinal concluded, that the Commission could not be better devised; and much applauded *Gardiner* for it, and justified him. And intended the next Day to have Dr. *Wolman*, and Dr. *Bennet*, Civilians, and others, with him, to consult with them upon this Commission. And then he bad *Fox* go to the King, and report to him, how well satisfied he was with it: and that he had some new Matter to employ Dr. *Gardiner* in with the Pope, which should perfectly consummate the King's Desire.

The Cardinal soon after commanded *Fox* to write unto *Gardiner*; that he should let him know, that the Cardinal told him much for the Managery of this Matter, so well, and to their full Satisfaction; that he thanked him for his great Labour therein: and that *Fox* should, among other, use these Words to him, O! *inestimable Treasure, and Jewel of this Realm!* But there was one Thing more the Cardinal put *Gardiner* upon. Which was, 'That for the Exoneration of the Cardinal's Conscience, and by the Consent and Sentence of other Prelates, and for the Chance of Mortality, he would labour by his Wisdom and Rhetorick, to obtain of the Pope the Commission Decretal in the most secret Fashion, to be sent unto the Cardinal. And that for these Reasons: Because this Decree and Sentence once given by the Pope, and the Judgment of the Church, might be to his Conscience a Rule and Standard, to direct and instruct him how to proceed in this Matter; especially, in determining the Law upon those Points, whose Justice is not yet so manifest. And that it might also be unto him a sure Defence against all Detractors, and such as hereafter should maliciously attempt the Violation of the said Sentence and Decree. To whom it might always be answered, his Grace's Judgment was agreeable to that given by the Church: And that this would be the Means to stop the Mouths of such as favoured the contrary Cause. But especially, *Gardiner* was to urge to the Pope, how much it would tend to the Welfare and Restoration of that See, that my Lord Cardinal should be of such Authority and Credit with the King, that whatsoever his Grace should advise and counsel the King, should by the same be pre-

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The King is  
glad, and bids  
*Fox* resort to  
the Cardinal.

The Cardinal's  
Message  
to *Gardiner*.

**A N N O** 1528. sently condescended to. And nothing would so effectually attain this, as if the Pope, at the Sole Contemplation of the Cardinal, should grant this Commission, to the perfect End of the same Cause; the King being so desirous of good Success therein. Finally, that the Process should not be grounded upon it, but upon the Commission already sent; and that it should be shewed to no Person in the World, but the King.

To enquire of the Lawyers concerning the Queen's Appeal.

Another Business committed by the Cardinal to him was, because the Lawyers urged, that the Queen might appeal, and might refuse; that he therefore should consult with the Lawyers there, whether she might do so, or no: and in Case she did, of what Value it was, and how much it might lett the Process. And whether notwithstanding the Legate might proceed: and what Remedy might be used in Remission of the Appeal, and Confirmation of the Sentence by a higher Judge. And the Sentence of the learned Men in these Cases to get subscribed with their Hands.

The King's Case for Gardiner to get resolved.

Also the King required of *Gardiner* to know the Judgment of the learned there upon this Point; the King was told, that the Queen would not insist upon such Benefit and Privilege as she might pretend to have by the Dispensation of Pope *Julius*, and would refuse to enter Disputation of the Validity of the same. For so the King was informed she would do, by some of her Council, and recurr only to this Allegation, that she was not known by Prince *Arthur*. Now hence the Case was, whether if that should be proved true, the Bull would be invalid, by reason there is no Mention in the same *de publica Honestate*; because the Bull dispensed only with any Manner of Affinity, if her Allegation should be true, namely, *nulla Coitio intercessit inter Contrahentes*, yet being necessary to be dispensed with, argued the Matrimony unlawful in the King's Account. The King desired the learned Men's Judgment herein, and to get a Certificate made with Hands subscribed, to be sent to the Cardinal thereupon.

The Cardinal's Scruple concerning the Commission sent.

The Cardinal made another Doubt about the Words of the Commission now sent from the Pope. Which were, that first the Validity or Invalidity of *Julius* his Bull for the Marriage of the King and Queen, should be pronounced or declared. Then the Matrimony should be decreed to be legitimate or illegitimate. And lastly, that the Sentence of Divorce should be given. The learned Men in *England* did not sufficiently resolve hereupon: That is, whether the Cardinal might not by Order of Law vary from this Prescript of the Commission, and were bound to give three several Sentences in these three Cases, or only one Sentence, of the Nullity of the Matrimony, would suffice. By which, Sentence is tacitly given of the two former. The Cardinal desired *Gardiner*, that he would take the Judgment of some learned Men there in this Case. And in these Matters he desired him to come Home fully instructed for the Cardinal's sake, in determining the better this Cause; wherein, he said, depended *the Wealth or Ruin of this Realm, the Conservation of his Honour, or else his immortal Ignominy and Slander, the Damnation of his Soul, or his everlasting Merit*. Therefore he would proceed according to due Order of Justice, and ground his Conscience upon a perfect and infallible Rule of Equity, that before God he might account himself discharged, nor to have done any Thing *reclamante Conscientia*.

The Cardinal's Conscientiousness.

Another



Another Thing therefore put to *Gardiner* at this Time to enquire into was, because the King knew nothing at all of the obtaining of the Bull for the first Marriage, as both the King and Bishop of *Winchester* told the Cardinal, he bad him secretly to enquire of the Cardinal of *Ancona*, or some other, whither this Ground was so justifiable, as the Cardinal might build his Conscience thereupon, without Grudge or Scruple hereafter.

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Another En-  
quiry to be  
made by *Gardiner*.

To the King and Cardinal at *Greenwich* were called *Tuke*, *Wolman*, *Bell* and *Fox*, to consult about the aforefaid Matter. Then *Wolman* made a Question, whereof the King and Cardinal thought convenient to have *Gardiner* get resolved there. It was this, how to satisfy the Cardinal's Conscience in the managing of this Business, when according to the Commission all Recusation and Appellation is taken away; and yet, in the same Commission, he is to do as the *Ratio Juris* shall persuade his Mind and Conscience. Which *Ratio Juris* alloweth of Appeal. And that therefore it seemed that the Queen might at any Time recuse, and appeal from whatsoever Decree or Sentence she will; and so protract and defer the Decision of the Matter, and thereby frustrate the King's Expectations. In the Resolution of this Matter it was writ to *Gardiner*, that he might boldly write and say according to his Learning, and the Learning of other Lawyers. And that because the King was of perfect Mind and Inclination to do nothing in this Matter contrary to the accustomed Manner and just Process of the Law. And being fully persuaded, that the Queen having and using the Benefit of Appellation, or other Remedy, shall much advance, and confer to the Honour and Surety of his Case. To which Temper and good Conformity to Justice, the Cardinal gave out himself to have brought the King.

A Case of  
Conscience of  
the Cardinal's.

And he made this Protestation to the King, before *Tuke* and the other three above mentioned, 'That tho' he was as much bound to the King as any Subject could be to his Prince; and by Reason thereof he was of so perfect Devotion, Faith and Loyalty towards his Majesty, that he could gladly spend Goods, Blood and Life in his just Causes; yet because he was more obliged to God, and that he was sure he should render an Account of his Works before him, he would in this Matter rather suffer his high Indignation, yea, and have his Body torn in Pieces, than he would do any thing in this Case otherwise than Justice required. Nor that his Majesty should look after any other Favour to be ministred unto him in this Case, than the Justness of the Cause would bear. But if the Bull were sufficient, he would so pronounce it; and rather the most extreme Things, than do against his Conscience.

The Cardinal's Protestation in the King's Cause.

A N N O

1528.

## C H A P. XIV.

*The King begins to be offended with the Pope. His sharp Speech against him. Cardinal Campegius comes into England from the Pope. The Cardinal's Colleges.*

The King begins to be highly offended with the Pope.

IT was mentioned before, that *Gardiner* was going to *Rome* to Cardinal *Campegius*, who was the other Legate, joined in Commission with Cardinal *Wolsey*, to be Judges of the King's Cause. But when *Gardiner* had talked with him, he found him as the other Cardinals before-mentioned, very backward to enter himself in this Business: pretending great Difficulties, and contriving Delays. So that there was great Uncertainty of that Cardinal's Favour and Inclination to further the King's Purpose, and of his coming hither. This when *Gardiner* had wrote into *England*, the King and the Cardinal were exceedingly disturbed at it: And their Hopes were almost extinct of a sudden Expedition and Dispatch of this Cause. And they began to conceive very ill Opinions of that Court of *Rome*: Reckoning themselves deluded by them; and that the Pope did on purpose defer and protract the Coming of this Cardinal, to the Intent it might be known, which Army, the *French* or *Imperial*, would be Conqueror, before any thing were done, or attempted in this Case.

The King's open Speeches against the Pope.

And the King now began to decline from the Pope's Part, as from a most ungrateful, and unworthy Man. And whereas the Pope had desired *Gardiner* to intercede with the King for his present ayd upon the *Almayns* fresh breaking into *Italy*, the King said openly, ' Shall we further employ our Study and Travail, Wit or Counsil? Shall we spend our Trefure to the empoverishing our selves, our Realm and Subjects? Shall we yet entertain Battel and Hostility with our Friends for his Sake: Which neither considering our private Honor, our Tranquillity of Conscience, nor the public Weal and Quiet of our Realm; nor yet our manifold Benefits done heretofore to him: And have desired only of him to minister unto us such Part of his Spiritual Grace and Favour, such Advice and Counsil, as he, being the common Father, and having Care of all Christen Men committed unto him, is bound of Justice to exhibite even to an Enemy? First, by crafty Means, and under the Face and Visage of entire Amity, he caused his learned Men there to pretend Ignorance and Doubt in the Justness of our Cause, without determining what the Law would have therein, or giving any Counsil, by what Means we might discharge our Conscience, and come to such an End, as might stand with our Honor: And remitting the same to be discussed and resolved here, as tho' he would have said, It is nothing to me, whether the King perish, and all his Kingdom with him. Take ye him, and judge him according to your Law. And hath denied utterly to grant the Commission Decretal, or any other Thing that might conduce to the Furtherance, and Expedition of the Cause. And, after marvailous importune Suit and Instance, would only give out such a Commission, as he might revoke again, and inhibit at his Pleasure: Leaving in the same such Remedies of Appellation and other Delays to the

Adver-



‘ Adversary, as tho’ he seemed nothing less to intend, but to involve  
 ‘ and cast us so in the Briers and Fetters, that we should hang always  
 ‘ under his Yoke and Bondage ; and not to be delivered thereof, but  
 ‘ at his good Wil and Plesure. And now finally, whereas Cardinal  
 ‘ *Campegius* was of good Zele and Towardness to accomplish al our  
 ‘ Desires and Purposes, as could be by us desired, he would not suffer  
 ‘ him to execute that Commission, which he had directed unto him ;  
 ‘ but by imagined and contrived Excuses, rather deferred and delayed  
 ‘ his coming, then did any thing, which might be to the Accelera-  
 ‘ tion thereof’. Such Words, and the like, did now begin to be freely  
 spoken.

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An Account of these Speeches did *Fox* write to *Gardiner*. Whom he told moreover, that the King and Cardinal began to impute some Miscarriage unto him ; as tho’ he used not that Diligence, that he ought to have done. And that therefore, notwithstanding the Suit of his Friends for his coming home, the King and Cardinal resolved, that he should tarry to accompany *Campegius*, until he were on this Side the Mountains. And if he never came, neither should *Gardiner* ever return. And so *Fox* exhorted him earnestly to solicit the Commission Decretal, and the speedy coming of *Campegius* : Or, in Default of him, to cause the same Province to be committed unto the Cardinal of *Ancona*. And here my MS. hath an End. The Continuance of this History, in short, may be had in our printed Books of History. Whence we may learn, that it was not before *June* the 8th, that another Commission was signed by *P. Clement* at *Viterbium*, to determine the King’s Business without Appeal. Which Commission is set down by the Lord *Herbert*, which he transcribed out of an authentick Record, then in the Possession of Sir *Henry Spelman*. And in *October* following, Cardinal *Campegius* came into *England*, and not before. And it was Six Months longer, by studied Delays, before the Two Cardinals fate upon the King’s Cause. Now because the Letters out of which I have extracted this foregoing Relation, have many more Particulars than I have set down : and containing much of the Policies and Intrigues of that Court of *Rome* ; and divers other Remarks a curious Observer may espy in them ; I have transferred some of them into the *Appendix*.

Which *Fox* writes to *Gardiner*.

Hist. of King  
*Henry*, p. 261.  
 Edit. 1672.

And there is among our Records concerning this Cause, and the Embassies and Proceedings therein, a great Number of Instruments ; as Letters, Bulls, Dispensations, Appellations, Sentences Definitive, Reasons, Revocations, &c. which were formerly, and, I doubt not, still remaining in the *Exchequer* : and in the Custody of those that belonged to it. An exact Note whereof I give the Reader in the *Appendix*, following next after those Papers above-mentioned. These are 57 in Number : Besides a Bundle of other Letters, Cyphers, &c.

*Numb.*  
 XXIII,  
 XXIV,  
 XXV,  
 XXVI.

*Numb.*  
 XXVII.

Before I conclude the Narration of this Embassy, I must briefly mention a few other Matters, which these Ambassadors had in Commission to transact and dispatch with the Pope, both from the King and Cardinal. One was for the Canonization of King *Henry VI*. Which being moved by the Ambassadors, he told them he was well content to make short Process therein. But the Matters relating to that King must, he said, be examined there at his Court, and a Number of Cardinals

The Canonization of King  
*Henry VI*.

*A N N O* 1528. Cardinals thereat, with other Ceremonies, which could not be done in *England*. And that therefore if the Bishop of *Canterbury* (*Warham*,) and the Bishop of *Winchester* (*Richard Fox*,) who had examined these Matters, would send the Process thither, as the Commission required, the Sentence of Canonization should shortly pass there. So that by these Words it seems to appear, that the Pope had formerly sent a Commission to those two Bishops, to examine the Merits and Miracles of that King. And that it was Cardinal *Wolsey's* Desire, that he and the other Cardinal, that was to be sent over from the Pope, as his Legate now about the King's Matter, should be furnished to dispatch that Canonization.

First Fruits.

Another Business of the Ambassadors now was, to treat with the Pope concerning taking away the Burden of *First Fruits* from the Clergy of *England*. The first moving thereof to the Pope happened seasonably upon the Pope's Communication with them concerning the Bishops of *England*, and the great Age of some of them, and particularly *Norwich*, who then was about Eighty Years old. Of him they told the Pope, that he had made a Motion to the King and the Cardinal for the taking away these First Fruits in his Diocese. Then the Pope asked, how and after what Manner it might be done. They answered, by Redemption. And then shewed him a Device of the King and Cardinal's; which he liked very well, and so did the Cardinals there present. They acquainted the Pope also, that they had express Instructions to obtain a Commission with sufficient Authority for the Doing thereof. His Holiness said, it were a good Deed, and he would gladly concur to the perfecting thereof. But what became further of this Affair, I find not.

The Cardinal's Colleges.

The Pope then fell into Discourse with the Ambassadors about the Cardinal's Colleges, and told the Cardinals *De Monte* and *Sanctorum quatuor*, being at that Time present, what a meritorious Act the *English* Cardinal had begun in that Realm. He enquired of the Ambassadors, how the Building of that at *Oxon* proceeded, and what they thought it would cost before it were finished; of the Numbers of the Scholars, and common Readers, and other Particularities. Which they then declared at large, to the great Rejoyce and Pleasure of his Holiness, and the Cardinals. And in particular it rejoiced the Pope, when they told him, that *Wolsey* had taken order, that in letting the Farms belonging to his College, no Man should have them but such, as would dwell upon them and maintain Hospitality. Of which the Pope said, that the same was not only good and expedient, for Example to be followed and observed of others, but also greatly meritorious before God. And he justified and maintained the Commutation and Alteration of those Religious Places, whereof only did arise the Scandal of Religion, as he spoke. For the Cardinal, for the endowing of his College, had lately obtained of the Pope a Bull for the dissolving of divers Monasteries, wherein much Vice and Wickedness was harboured, as he informed the Pope, to incline him thereby the easier to grant his Request. Upon Occasion of this Communication the Ambassadors mixt such Discourse as might serve to facilitate somewhat more to be attained of that Court for the said College: Saying, that if his Holiness continued his good Mind toward the finishing and perfecting

The Ambassadors and Pope's Discourse concerning them.



fecting of that College, as he had towards the Beginning and Com-  
mencement, the Cardinal had so disposed all things there, as it should  
shortly be brought to the desired Perfection: altho' the same was to his  
Grace's inestimable Charge. Which should be a perpetual Memory, as  
well for his Holiness, as for his Grace. The Pope then replied, that  
he would gladly do all things that he might by his Authority to-  
wards it.

The Names of the religious Houses which the Pope granted his Bull  
for the dissolving of, the Revenues whereof to be laid to the Cardinal's  
College, may be seen in a Volume of the *Cotton* Library, together  
with the Countries where they were situated, the Founders and the  
Values of them. The Pope granted his Bull for the Dissolution of Two  
and Twenty; but in that Volume there be but Twenty mentioned as  
actually dissolved, as tho' Two by Intercessions made, escaped, unless  
it were an Oversight of the Transcriber. The divers Orders professed  
in these dissolved Houses are not set down in the *Cotton* MS. but may  
be supplied out of the Antiquities of *Oxford*, as the industrious Au-  
thor took them out of the Bull. But besides these Monasteries, there  
was a vast Number of Parsonages impropriated and converted to the  
Use of the said new College. Both which, Parsonages and Monaste-  
ries may be found in the *Appendix*, as I took them out of the afore-  
said Volume.

Other Convents also there were that now ceased, that the Means  
thereof might serve for the Subsistence of his College at *Ipswich*. And  
among the rest was the Priory of *Romeburgh* in the Diocese of *Norwich*,  
an Appendent to the Abbey of *York*. On the 11th of *September*, the  
Cardinal's Officers came to this Priory, and being fortified with Let-  
ters Comissional from the King, the Pope and the Cardinal, read  
them there, and forthwith entred and took Possession; and carried  
away the moveable Goods, together with all the Muniments and Evi-  
dences belonging to the House. All this was soon certified to *Edmund*  
Abbot of *York*: Who speedily dispatched his Letters to the Cardinal,  
to rescue, if possible, the Priory from Destruction. He shewed how  
*Alien Niger*, Earl of *Richmond*, was Co-founder of their House, where-  
of *Romeburgh* was a Member: That among the Instruments taken  
thence, many belonged unto them, having lately sent them to that  
Priory upon Occasion of a Suit with certain Gentlemen in *Cambridge-*  
*shire*, for some of their Lands still depending. That their Revenues  
were confirmed to them by Pope *Boniface* IV. under Censures and  
Pains in Case of Alienation. Therefore the Abbot beseeched his Grace,  
that the said Priory might consist and abide as a Member of their Mo-  
nastery, as it had done for 300 Years. Whereby he should free them  
of many Doubts, and Perils of losing their Lands. That the Rents of  
the said Priory were but little better than 30 *l.* a Year. And that he  
was entirely contented to give unto his Grace 300 Marks Sterling to-  
wards the Erection of his School and College, for his tendring the  
Premises: Praying him most humbly to accept his poor Mind towards  
his most noble Act; yet, if it were his Pleasure to have the Priory,  
protesting to endeavour his accomplishing the same with his utmost  
Study and Diligence. But the Letter at full length, I have reposit-  
ed in the *Appendix*.

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1528.

The Mona-  
stries dissol-  
ved for the  
Cardinal's  
College at  
*Oxon.*

Page 246.

Numb.  
XXVIII,  
XXIX.

Others dissol-  
ved for his  
College at  
*Ipswich*.  
*Romeburgh*.

Numb.

This XXX.

ANNO  
1528.

The Cardinal  
repairs *York*  
*Place*.

This Year the Hall of *York-place*, the Cardinal's Palace, (now called *Whitehall*) with other Edifices, were now building, the Cardinal intending most sumptuously and gorgeously to repair and furnish the same. And in the mean time he removed his Lodgings to *Durham Place*.

### C H A P. XV.

*The Cardinal's Declination and Fall. Tyndal's Book of Obedience falls into his Hand. The strange Event thereof. The Cardinal exceedingly dejected. Labours by Crumwel and Gardiner, his Servants, to recover the King's Favour. Pardoned.*

ANNO  
1529.

The Occasions  
of *Wolsey's*  
Fall.

AND now as to the Fall of this Great Cardinal, there is none but knoweth the Occasion thereof; namely, his baffling the King, and declining at last to do that which before he was too forward in, that he might please the Pope and Court of *Rome*: Which extremely alienated the King's and the Lady *Anne's* Affections from him. For this Matter therefore, I leave the Reader to consult other Histories. Only I shall lay before him a Passage I have met with among my Papers, that may deserve to be related, between the Cardinal and this Lady, shewing an additional Occasion of her Displeasure towards him, and a notable Event depending hereupon, that hastened the Overthrow of Abbies, and forwarded those Beginnings of Reformation in Religion, that happened under this King.

A Book of the  
Lady *Anne's*  
taken away  
by the Dean  
of the Cha-  
pel.

Upon the Lady *Anne* waited a young fair Gentlewoman, named *Mrs. Gainsford*; and in her Service was also retained Mr. *George Zouch*, Father to Sir *John Zouch*. This Gentleman, of a comely sweet Person, a *Zouch* indeed, was a Suitor in way of Marriage to the said young Lady: And among other Love tricks, once he plucked from her a Book in *English*, called *Tyndal's Obedience*, which the Lady *Anne* had lent her to read. About which Time the Cardinal had given Commandment to the Prelates, and especially to Dr. *Sampson*, Dean of the King's Chapel, that they should have a vigilant Eye over all People for such Books, that they came not abroad; that so as much as might be, they might not come to the King's Reading. But this which he most feared fell out upon this Occasion. 'For Mr. *Zouch* (I use the 'Words of the MS.) was so ravished with the Spirit of God speaking 'now as well in the Heart of the Reader, as first it did in the Heart of 'the Maker of the Book, that he was never well but when he was 'reading of that Book. *Mrs. Gaynsford* wept because she could not 'get the Book from her Woer, and he was as ready to weep to deli- 'ver it. But see the Providence of God: Mr. *Zouch* standing in the 'Chapel before Dr. *Sampson*, ever reading upon this Book; and the 'Dean never having his Eye off the Book in the Gentleman's Hand, 'called him to him, and then snatched the Book out of his Hand, 'asked his Name, and whose Man he was. And the Book he delivered 'to the Cardinal. In the mean time, the Lady *Anne* asketh her Wo- 'man for the Book. She on her Knees told all the Circumstances.

Fexii MSS.

The



‘ The Lady *Anne* shewed her self not sorry, nor angry with either of *A N N O*  
 ‘ the two. But, said she, Well, it shall be the dearest Book that ever the *1529.*  
 ‘ Dean or Cardinal took away. The Noble Woman goes to the King,  
 ‘ and upon her Knees she desireth the King’s Help for her Book. Up-  
 ‘ on the King’s Token the Book was restored. And now bringing  
 ‘ the Book to him, she besought his Grace most tenderly to read it.  
 ‘ The King did so, and delighted in the Book. For, saith he, *This*  
 ‘ *Book is for me and all Kings to read.* And in a little Time the King  
 ‘ by the Help of this virtuous Lady, by the Means aforesaid, had his  
 ‘ Eyes opened to the Truth, to search the Truth, to advance God’s  
 ‘ Religion and Glory, to abhor the Pope’s Doctrine, his Lies, his  
 ‘ Pomp and Pride, to deliver his Subjects out of the *Egyptian* Dark-  
 ‘ ness, the *Babylonian* Bonds, that the Pope had brought him and his  
 ‘ Subjects under. And so contemning the Threats of all the World,  
 ‘ the Power of Princes, Rebellions of his Subjects at Home, and the  
 ‘ raging of so many and mighty Potentates abroad; set forward a Re-  
 ‘ formation in Religion, beginning with the Triple Crowned Head at  
 ‘ first, and so came down to the Members, Bishops, Abbots, Priors,  
 ‘ and such like.

The very having this Book intituled, *The Obedience of a Christen* *Tindal’s Book*  
*Man*, was enough to make a Man a Heretick, and reading of it a *of the Obedi-*  
 dangerous Article against any in these Days. But no Wonder the King *ence of a Chri-*  
 took a liking to it. For in it there is an Exposition of the XIIIth *sten Man. The*  
 Chapter to the *Romans*. Where upon those Words, *For he is the Mini-* *King likes it.*  
*ster of God for thy Wealth*, he thus descants, ‘ To defend thee from  
 ‘ a thousand Inconveniences; from Thieves, Murtherers, and them  
 ‘ that would defile thy Wife, thy Daughter, and take from thee all  
 ‘ that thou hast; yea, Life and all, if thou didst resist. Furthermore,  
 ‘ tho’ he be the greatest Tyrant in the World, yet is he unto thee a  
 ‘ great Benefit of God, and a Thing wherefore thou oughtest to thank  
 ‘ God highly. For it is better to have somewhat, than to be clean  
 ‘ stript of all together. It is better to pay the Tenth than to lose all.  
 ‘ It is better to suffer one Tyrant, than many. Yea, and it is better  
 ‘ to have a Tyrant unto thy King than a Shadow, a passive King; that  
 ‘ doth Nought himself but suffer others to do with him what they will,  
 ‘ and to lead him whither they list. For a Tyrant tho’ he do no  
 ‘ Wrong unto the good, yet he punisheth the evil, and maketh all Men  
 ‘ obey: Neither suffereth any Man to rule, but himself only. A King  
 ‘ that is soft as Silk, and effeminate, that is to say, turned into the Na-  
 ‘ ture of a Woman, what with his own Lusts, which are as the long-  
 ‘ ing of a Woman with Child, so he cannot resist them; and what  
 ‘ with the wily Tyranny of them that ever rule him; shall be much  
 ‘ more grievous to the Realm, than a right Tyrant. Read the *Chro-*  
 ‘ *nicles*, and thou shalt find it ever so.

And thus at length, we have seen the Cardinal in his Closet, and in the *The Cardinal*  
 publick Station, governing the *English* Affairs, giving his Instructions to *his Declinati-*  
 Ambassadors, and transacting Matters between his King, and other great *nation.*  
 Princes and States in the World. Which he did with a great Fineness,  
 as well as Diligence; and with a courtly Obligingness, tho’ not with-  
 out a Mixture of Stateliness. We have seen him domineering in his  
 Courts, flourishing in his Buildings, and managing the King’s Matter

**A N N O** with the Pope. Let me now shew him in another, and that  
 1529. a quite different, Scene; namely, in his Declination at Court, lying  
 under the King's Frown. And it is strange to observe, what an Altera-  
 tion that Vicissitude of Fortune made upon him. It abjected his Spi-  
 rit to that Degree, that he fell dangerously sick: Such an Influence the  
 Troubles and Sorrows of his Mind had upon his Body. As soon as  
 the King had demanded the Great Seal from him by the Dukes of *Nor-*  
*folk* and *Suffolk*, and by a Letter from himself, he commanded him to  
 leave *York Place*, his ordinary Dwelling, now called *Whitehall*; and  
 ordered him to confine himself to his House at *Asber*, a Country Seat  
 near *Hampton Court*, belonging to the Bishoprick of *Winchester*, till  
 the King's further Pleasure was known. Here he abode from the Middle  
 of *October*, 1529. till the Middle of *February* following: when he de-  
 sired for his Health to remove to *Richmond*. And it is remarkable in  
 this Eclipse of the King's Favour towards the Cardinal, he intermixed  
 divers Tokens of his Kindness to him, signifying at least that he in-  
 tended not his Ruin. For he sent him a Protection, and left him his  
 Two Bishopricks, namely, of *York* and *Winchester*; sent him a Ring,  
 which had been a Token between them, when any especial Business  
 was recommended: And not long after that, sent him another *Tur-*  
*quoise* Ring, as a Token of his Care and Affection. And after, when  
 in the Month of *December*, this Year, the House of Lords had drawn  
 up Four and Forty Articles against him, and being sent down to the  
 Lower House, by his Servant *Thomas Cromwel*'s Defence of him in that  
 House, no Treason could be laid to his Charge from any of them. Add  
 to all, the many gracious Messages sent him by the King. Yet his  
 Grief and Fear had so overwhelmed him, that he fell not only into a  
 most deep Pensiveness and Melancholy, but into a pining Sickness.

The great Ef-  
 fects it had  
 upon his Bo-  
 dy and Mind;

Notwithstand-  
 ing the King's  
 Kind Messa-  
 ges to him.

His Two  
 Friends.

Impatient to  
 know the  
 King's Deter-  
 mination con-  
 cerning him.

The Meanness  
 of his Spirit.

In the mean time, he employed those few Friends he had to inter-  
 cede with the King, and to make as good a Conclusion of his Troubles  
 as he could. He had Two that stuck close to him, viz. the aforesaid  
*Thomas Cromwel*, and Dr. *Stephen Gardiner*, Secretary of State. This  
 latter he plied with his Letters; the Bearer whereof was *Cromwel*,  
 whom he called *His Trusty Friend*. After he had got free of the Ar-  
 ticles drawn up against him in Parliament by the means of *Cromwel*,  
 as was mentioned before, the King appointed, to come to some Con-  
 sideration of the Cardinal's Business, and to determine what was to be  
 done concerning him. This Secretary *Gardiner* signified to him in  
 Writing, and likewise the Time when he supposed it might be, name-  
 ly, within a Week, or thereabouts: And likewise told him, that he  
 would not fail to write to him the Particulars. The Cardinal, impa-  
 tient to know the Issue, and not thinking the Secretary swift enough  
 in his Information, above a Week being now past, could take no Rest  
 till he had heard from him the Sum of what had past concerning him.  
 And therefore in a Letter sent by *Cromwel*, most earnestly begs the Se-  
 cretary, in much Meanness of Spirit, 'As he tendered his poor Life,  
 'and at the Reverence of God and that holy Time [of *Christmas*] he  
 'would send him his Letter: appealing also to his Pity, knowing in  
 'what an Agony he was; and that he would not only deserve towards  
 'God, but bind him thereby to be his continual Beadsmān: And so  
 ended, 'From *Asber*. Written (those are his Words) with his rude  
 'Hand



‘ Hand and sorrowful Heart. Subscribing himself, *T. Carlis Ebor. mi-* A N N O  
‘ *ferrimus. The most miserable Thomas Cardinal of York.* This was 1529.  
written in *Christmas* Holy Days. Soon after *Crumwel* returned from  
the Secretary with this Message to the Cardinal: ‘ That the King  
‘ moved with Pity of the Cardinal, and commiserating his lamentable  
‘ Condition, [ prest with extreme Poverty, as well as Sicknes of Body  
‘ and Mind ] had committed the ending of his Troubles to the Secre-  
‘ tary, and some other of the Privy Council; and that to be done with  
‘ all the haste that might be. And that he should have a Pardon drawn  
‘ up in the most full and ample Form, that his own Counsil could de-  
‘ vise’.

The King's  
favourable  
Resolutions  
concerning  
him brought  
him by *Crum-*  
*wel.*

Upon this Message, he soon dispatched a Letter to the Secre-  
tary, importing, That this favourable Order of the King he was the  
more sensible of, and thankful for, ‘ Because it proceeded from him-  
‘ self, out of a gracious Remembrance of him: For which he accounted  
‘ himself most bounden to serve and pray for the Preservation of his  
‘ most Royal Majesty: Thanking God, that he, the Secretary, had  
‘ Occasion given him to be a Solicitor, and Setter forth of such Things  
‘ as should conserve his End. That in the making and compounding  
‘ whereof, his assured Trust was, that he would shew the Love and  
‘ Affection which he bore towards him. He earnestly intreated him,  
‘ to whom he, the Cardinal, had been an old Lover and Friend, that  
‘ he would so declare himself in the managing of his Business, that the  
‘ World might perceive, that by his good Means the King was the  
‘ better good Lord unto him; and that, now coming newly in a man-  
‘ ner into the World, there might such Respect be had unto his De-  
‘ gree, old Age and long Service, as might be to the King's Honour,  
‘ and the Secretary's Praise; which would, as he said, undoubtedly  
‘ follow, if he obtained his Benevolence towards him. And Men would  
‘ perceive, that it was by his Wisdom and Dexterity that he was re-  
‘ lieved, and holpen in his Calamity. *At the Reverence* therefore of  
‘ *God*, he prayed him, that was his Refuge, to set to his Hand, that he  
‘ might come to a laudable End and Repose. And that he would see,  
‘ that he might be furnished after such a sort, that he might end his  
‘ short Time and Life to the Honour of *Christ's* Church and his Prince.  
‘ Promising withal to requite his Kindness in such a manner, as he  
‘ should have Cause to think his Pains to be well employed: And so  
‘ referring him to his trusty Friend [*Crumwel*] for the rest, to whom he  
‘ desired him to give firm Credence, he concluded, *At Asber, with the*  
‘ *trembling Hand and heavy Heart of his assured Lover and Beadsman.*

His Letter to  
the Secretary  
hereupon.

His Stile is all poor and servile, and so different from his former  
Way of writing, that it is a Wonder, that any outward Accident  
should make such an Alteration in one and the same Man. He sneaked  
too much beneath himself, to the Secretary, that had been but his Ser-  
vant, and Creature, stiling his favouring of his Business at Court, his  
*Benevolence* and his *Goodness* towards him; calling him his *own good*  
*Master Secretary and Refuge*; telling him, that he would pray for the  
Increase of his Honour: Flattering him, that what he did for him  
would redound to his Praise and Laud, and that Men would perceive  
his Wisdom and Dexterity by his relieving of him: Begging him *At the*  
*Reverence of God* to write to him, and to send him his *consolatory* Let-

Strangely de-  
jected, and  
low-spirited  
in his Calami-  
ty.

*A N N O* 1529. *ters*: And that he should thereby bind him to be his continual Beadsman. By these and other Passages in these his Letters it appears, that he had no Ballast of Religion, nor Philosophy, no nor human Courage, to bear up himself under Afflictions; but still meanly aggravating his own hard Condition, complaining of a *great Alteration and Indisposition of his Head and Body, by Means of his daily Sorrow and Heaviness*, and of the lamentable State and Condition he stood in: And subscribing his Letters, *With the rude Hand and heavy Heart. And, with the trembling Hand and sorrowful Heart.* As may be seen in both his Letters, which I have transcribed from the Originals, and repositied in the *Appendix*: With two others, which I have made use of in what I am proceeding with.

*Pardoned and restored to* Soon after, *viz. Feb. 12.* the King sealed his Pardon, and three Days after restored him the Archbishoprick of *York*, and sent him Money, Plate, and Furniture for his House and Chapel. Which Favours pretty well recovered the Cardinal, while he remained still at *Ashe*; And by the King's Leave removed thence to *Richmond*. But his Enemies now thought him too near the Court: So they prevailed to get him removed to his Diocese of *York*. In the Month of *Septemb.*

*A N N O* 1530. He came to *Cawood* Castle near *York*: So the Lord *Herbert*. But before he came hither, I find him, in the Months of *July* and *August*, at *Southwel*, a Manor of the Archbishops; where he made some Stay. Here the Cardinal recommended unto the Secretary one, who had the Title of Provost of *Beverly*, the Governour of a religious House situate in his Diocese. His State it seems was in some Hazard. Whereupon the Cardinal espousing his Cause, and probably to make himself popular upon his first coming into his Diocese, desired the Secretary, that he would use his Interest for him to the King, and bring him into his Presence. This the Secretary did accordingly, receiving the Provost, as coming from the Cardinal, humanly and lovingly, and addressing him into the King's Highness Presence. Whom the King received, and shewed him, that he was his good and gracious Lord, and admitted and accepted him as his Orator and Scholar. For this the Cardinal, from *Southwel*, thanks him much, intreating him to continue his good Favour towards the said Provost, and to take him into his Patronage and Protection.

*Sues to the Secretary to be a Means to the King, to relieve his Poverty.* The Cardinal now found a great Change in his Revenues and Incomes, sinking very low, in Comparison of what they had been. So that he laboured under Want. This made him write, in the Month of *July*, to his Friend, the Secretary, to take the Opportunity to excite the King to some Liberality towards him. 'That he would remember the poor State and Condition he stood in, and to be a Means to the King's Highness for his Relief. Whereby he would not only, as he said, deserve Thanks of God, but also declare, to his perpetual Laud and Praise, that he being in Authority had not forgotten his old Master and Friend.' And indeed he had reason to solicit in this Behalf. For there were many that now came upon him for Debt; some just, and some, it may be, not so: Commencing Suits against him. So that this once most great and wealthy Prelate, became now full of Care to be in a Condition to support himself. Among the rest, there was one *Strangwish* his Servant, commenced a Suit against him, for Seven Hundred

*He is sued for Debt.*

*Particularly by one Strangwish his Servant.*



Hundred Pounds, which he pretended the Cardinal owed him for the *Ward of Bowes*. What that was, I leave to conjecture : And who this *Strangwish* was is uncertain : It may be the same *Stranguidge*, tho' somewhat differently writ, that was Administrator to *Ruthal*, his Predecessor in the Diocese of *Durham* ; who, dying before he had finished the goodly Dining Chamber at *Aukland*, left the Care thereof to this *Stranguidge*. At the first Coming of *Strangwish* into the Cardinal's Service, by Consent of both Parties, an End was made of this Matter, as the Cardinal wrote the Secretary. Probably *Strangwish* was willing to forgive the Debt, that he might be admitted into his Service, reckoning that the Place might be so gainful, as fully to recompence the Debt. But he, whether upon some Disgust, or Injury formerly offered to him by the Cardinal, but to be sure, taking the Opportunity of his Calamity, and being destitute of Friends, now demanded that Money ; and not only so, but acquainted the King with it : Complaining unto him, and surmising, that he had contrary to Justice detained Seven Hundred Pounds from him : Whereby he had gotten the King's Letters to the Cardinal to pay the Debt. The Cardinal, partly fearing the least Matter might rouse the King's Displeasure again, and partly to be rid of this Man's Clamours, writ to his trusty Friend *Crumwel*, to make some reasonable Offers to him, notwithstanding his great Necessity and Poverty, as he added ; ordering him also to acquaint the Secretary with such things as might be said on his Part ; desiring the Secretary that he would, by his Dexterity, make some good End between them, as should accord with good Congruence, and as he might be able to bear, his other Debts and Charges considered. This to the Secretary was from *Southwel*, August 25.

But the great Affair, which above all he desired to be solicited at Court by the Secretary, was his Colleges. Which ran much in his Mind, fearing, if not their utter Ruin, yet the diminishing their Revenue. The Lord *Herbert* writes, that the Revenue of these his Colleges were torn and divided, which grieved him more than any other Affliction. And that he wrote to the King most instantly in their Behalf. ' And indeed, as Bishop *Godwin* saith of him, that it was great Pity he ' finished them not. And that had they been perfected, he thought ' they would have been Two of the goodliest Monuments of the World. ' And that it was a Wonder, that any one private Man should take ' Two such Pieces of Work in hand at one time, whereof any one ' might seem a great Matter for a Prince to finish, had not his Receipts ' been infinite. And withal telling us, that he obtained of the Pope a ' License for dissolving Forty small Monasteries : The Spoil whereof ' chiefly furnished him for the building of those Houses.

Dr. *Gardiner*, the Secretary, and *Thomas Crumwel*, (when his Servants) were both greatly instrumental to him, in aiding and counselling him in these great Works. And this he now made use of, while he himself was under a Cloud, and his own Interest too little to secure them from Ruin, as an Argument to excite them both to use their utmost Endeavour to preserve them. He prayed the Secretary. ' In the ' way of Charity, and for the Love he bore to Virtue, and *ad bona ' studia*, to be means to the King's Highness for his poor Colleges, and ' especially for the College of *Oxford*. That he would not suffer the ' Thing,

A N N O  
1530.

Chiefly concerned for his Colleges.

History of Henry VIII.

Catalogue of Bishops.

His earnest Application to the Secretary in that Behalf.

ANNO  
1530.

‘ Thing, which by his great Learning, Study, Counsel and Travail, had been erected, founded, and with good Statutes and Ordinances to the Honour of God, Increase of Virtue and Learning, established, to be dissolved or dismembred. That he knew, no Man better, to what Use the Monasteries suppressed by the Pope’s License, the King’s Consent concurring with the same, and a Pardon for the *Premunire*, were converted’. This probably he urged, because that might have been a great Argument used by his Enemies, why the King should take the Colleges and their Revenues into his own Hand, seeing they, consisting of the Spoil of those Monasteries, did more properly belong to the King, than to any Body else. Whereupon he added, ‘ That it was not to be doubted, but the King’s Highness, of his high Virtue and Equity, being informed, how every Thing was past, and his License and Consent obtained likewise, would never go about to dissolve the said Corporations : Whereof so great Benefit and Commodity should ensue unto his Realm and Subjects’. And that he might the better secure the whole, he seemed willing to have them pared and stript of some Things belonging to them. For so he proceeded. ‘ Superfluities, if any such should be thought and found, may be rescate : But to destroy the whole, it were great Pity. And so concluded : Beseeching him to be good Master and Patron to the said Colleges, *Et non sinas Opus manuum tuarum perire, aut ad Nihilum redigi* : And he importuned *Crumwel* in the same Words, telling him, that these Colleges were in a Manner, *Opera manuum tuarum*, as the Lord *Herbert* writes. So that, tho’ his College at *Ipswich* was utterly lost, yet the present flourishing State of that at *Oxon* is owing to the great Pains that both *Gardiner* and *Crumwel* took to incline the King to continue it. Tho’ they seemed to make Use of one Stratagem, that they knew was apter to succeed with the King, than any of those Arguments suggested by the Cardinal; and that was, the Advice of founding it anew in his own Name, and so he might have the Glory of being called its *Founder*.

Life of Hen.  
VIII.

The Continu-  
ance of the  
Colledge at  
*Oxon*, owing  
to *Gardiner*  
and *Crumwel*.

The School at  
*Ipswich*.

Numb.  
XXXV.

But because the Memory of his School at *Ipswich* is almost utterly vanished with its Ruins, I will here put in a Word or two concerning it, that the Cardinal may not be deprived of his due Praise for so commendable a Foundation. His great Intent in this Work, tho’ not without some Mixture of Glory, seems to have been the good of his native Country, and City, and to stand an eternal Testimonial of his Piety and Love thereunto. He professed he should think himself well rewarded, if he might herein prove an Instrument of adorning the Minds of his Countrymen. He constituted two Masters over this School, and divided it into Eight distinct Classes; taking Pattern, I suppose, from Dean *Colet*’s School by *St. Pauls*. To these Masters he propounded a Method of teaching, which they were to follow, in a Book of his own drawing up: Therein directing them, what Books were to be read in each *Classis* or Form, and by what particular Ways and Means they should govern themselves in the Instruction of the Youth. This, with an Epistle wrote unto them by himself in the Year 1528, I have preserved in the *Appendix*. And the rather, it being the only publick Piece of this famous Man, as far as I know. You have it, as I transcribed it out of an old Grammar, printed at *Antwerp*, 1537. Entitled, *Rudimenta*



menta Grammatices, & docendi Methodus, non tam Scholæ Gypsü- A N N O  
chianæ, per Reverendissimum D. Thomam Cardinalem Ebor. feliciter 1530.  
Instituta, quam omnibus aliis totius Angliæ Scholis præscripta.

## C H A P. XVI.

*Some Observations upon the Cardinal.*

**M**Y Observations upon this Great Cardinal shall not be many. It hath been commonly and truly observed of him, as to his Temper and Disposition, that he was of a very elated and haughty Mind in his Prosperity; and most servilely low and mean, when he fell under his Prince's Displeasure. Which indeed may appear to be true by reflecting upon this little that hath been here collected together concerning him. It may not be improper to mention one notable Instance of his aspiring Spirit, which made the Fourth Article of his Indictment. It was, that he should use this Style, *Ego & Rex, I and the King*. This, tho' I do not find in any of his Letters and Instructions, that have come to my Hand; yet I see it a very usual Expression with him to say, *The King and I*; always joining himself with the King, as tho' he were equal with him, or came very near to an Equality. So in his Letter to Pace, Ambassador in Italy, he writ, 'I have received divers Letters to the King's Highness and me directed. And, in your said Letters you have full discreetly advertised the King's Highness and me of the Occurrents.—For which Diligence the King's Grace giveth unto you hearty Thanks, like as I do'. Bidding him, 'With Diligence from time to time advertise him with the Occurrents and Successes, as the King's and my special Trust is in you'. So in his Dispatch to Dr. Knight, Ambassador with the Lady Margaret, 'The King's Grace and I, for the singular Affection We bear to the Lady Margaret, &c. And to Dr. Tayler, Ambassador with the French King, 'You singularly please and content the King's Grace and Me'. And again, 'The King's Highness and I take great Consolation to hear of the good Success of the French King's Affairs'. And which further argued his excessive haughty Mind, he was addressed to with the Title of, *Celsitudo, Your Highness*; a Style due only to Kings and Princes. In this Phrase Erasmus used in his Letters to accost him. Which I find him indeed also giving to Two other Cardinals; but they were also Princes, viz. the Cardinals of Lorain, and of Toledo. Tho' afterwards this Style became more common, and was given to Archbishops by their Flatterers.

Observations upon him. Elated in Prosperity.

Joins himself with the King.

Was addressed to by the Title of, *Your Highness*.

But especially his aspiring Mind appeared in his Ambition to be Pope; which, as his ultimate End, all his Designs and Transactions aimed at. And this was, in effect, to make himself above all Earthly Kings and Emperors. And by the Measures he put his Master, the King, upon taking in Favour of the Emperor, he thought he had gained him to further this his Ambition, as he was sure of the King. And indeed

His aspiring to the Pope's dom.

the

A N N O

1530.

Fox's Marty-  
rol. Lib. 8.

the Emperor, whether in Shew or in Reality, had often exhorted him to do his Endeavour for the Popedom, as Occasion should serve: And so did the Lady *Margaret* too. As there is a Letter extant to *Stephen Gardiner*, the King's Ambassador at *Rome*, to labour to make him an Interest for the Popedom upon the Sicknes of Pope *Clement*: So before, upon the Vacation by the Death of *P. Adrian*, I have seen in *Bennet* \* College Library, another Letter of his to the King's Ambassadors to the same Intent. Wherein may be seen as well the Fineness of his Wit, as his earnest Diligence to compass that Preferment. Therein he directed the Ambassadors, how to deal with the Cardinal *De Medices*, one of the greatest Interest among the Cardinals, and who sought the Papacy, and had it; and how with the other Cardinals: And how to time their Delivery of the King's Letters, which *Wolfey* had procured, both to the College of Cardinals, and to divers of them distinctly. That they should moreover signify at large to them his Abilities for this Dignity, having great Experiences in the Causes of *Christendom*; that he had the entire Favour of the Emperor, and the King: His Knowledge and deep Acquaintance with other Princes; the studious Mind he ever bore to *Italy*, and to the Quiet of *Christendom*: That he lacked neither Substance nor Liberality, to look largely upon his Friends: And the sundry great Promotions that by his Election would be vacant, and that he should have in his Hand to bestow upon such Cardinals as stuck to him: That they should find in him a loving Familiarity; and that of his Nature he was not ingrateful, nor disposed to Rigor: That he had not any Faction, or Kin, or Family, to shew any Partiality to, in bestowing the Goods and Promotions of the Church: That by his Preferment, all Differences among Christian Princes would be in such a fair way of Composition, that they might be at leisure to undertake one of the greatest and most notable Expeditions against the *Turk*. He ordered the Ambassadors also in the King's Name, that they should not spare his Authority, nor his Money. He sent also Two Commissions, which he had procured from the King, under the Broad Seal. The one was couched in general Words, without making mention of any Person: The other made mention of Cardinal *Wolfey* by Name. By this latter they had ample Authority to bind and promise, on the King's Behalf, as well Promotions, as large Sums of Money, to such as they should think convenient. But notwithstanding all his Endeavours, and the gaining of some Cardinals, *De Medices* was made Pope.

His Habit extraordinary  
costly.

And lastly, that outward Appearance that he delighted to shew himself to the World in, bespoke the intolerable Loftiness and Vanity of his Mind. For beside all the State and Magnificence of his House and Officers, which is related at large by *Cavendish*, his Habit was most gorgeous. It was great; that his upper Vesture was all of Scarlet, or else of fine Crimson Taffata or Crimson Satten ingrained; that he wore Red Gloves, as well as a Red Hat; but greater still, that he wore Shoes of Silver and gilt, set with Pearls and precious Stones: Having

\* It is extant, as I find, in the Collection of Records to the *History of the Reformation*, Part II. Book I. Numb. 48. Otherwise I should have placed it in the *Appendix*, as I transcribed it out of the Original MS. in the Library in *Bennet* College Chamber.



Two Crosses of Silver, and Two Poll-Axes, and Pillars of Silver, and Gilt, and Golden Cushions carried before him. Which however the Cardinal prided himself in, the People, it seems, had never the better Opinion of him for. For I find one *Richard Bayfield*, (afterwards a Martyr) about the Year 1527, using these Words to one *Peerson* a Priest, 'My Lord Cardinal is no perfect nor good Man; for Christ never taught him to follow Riches, nor to seek for Promotion; Christ never taught him to wear Shoes of Silver and Gilt', &c. And *Dr. Barnes* took the Confidence, once publickly at *Cambridge*, to preach against all this vain Glory. Which coming to the Cardinal's Ears, he was promoted up to *Westminster* before him. Where the Cardinal himself vouchsafed to talk with him, justifying all this his Grandeur: Asking him, whether he thought it not necessary, that he should have all that *Royalty*, representing the King's Majesties Person in all his high Courts of the Realm, to the Terror and keeping down of all Rebellions and Traytors, and all wicked and corrupt Members of the Common Wealth: Or whether it were more convenient to be as simple as he would have him, and to sell all the aforesaid Things, and give them to the Poor, that will soon piss them out against the Wall? But *Barnes* freely told him again, That he thought it necessary to have them sold and given to the Poor: And that that Glory was not comely for his Calling, nor that the King's Majesty was maintained by his Pomp and Plays, but by God: Who saith, *By me Kings reign*.

If one should now look upon him in his adverse Fortune, there never was a Man of a poorer and more pusillanimous Mind; so disturbed and discomposed, so crouching and meanly submissive to those that had been before his Servants: As appears by his Letters, which he wrote while he was in his Misfortunes, in the Years 1529 and 1530. In which I do not meet with one Word, favouring of a Sense of God or Religion; either acknowledging God's Justice in the Afflictions that beset him, or that his Sins had deserved them; or comforting himself in the Reflection upon his own Integrity, or his past Services to God or his Church; or beseeching God to endue him with a Christian Patience and Resignation unto his Will: Or appealing to his faithful discharge of those many weighty Offices and Trusts committed to him, or any such like Expressions, that might have shewn him to have had some good Thoughts in his Mind. But all that we have of him in his last Letters is, that we see him effeminately whining, and complaining of growing sick under the Burden of his Sorrows, creeping to those that had been his Creatures, excessively and indecently joyful upon a Glimpse of the Kings Favour. And in fine, his End was, as it is well known, that he was overcome with Grief for the loss of his secular Glory and Wealth, that it brake his Heart. So that we may conclude him a mere worldly Man, who had little else of Religion, but the Office and Title.

We cannot omit to observe this Courteily, (shall I call it?) or good Quality in him; that he was courteous and did seem to study to oblige. *Erasmus* therefore commended *Facilitatem & bonitatem*, &c. i.e. his gentle, kind and obliging Behaviour; and that his Manners did not favour of his Fortunes; and that Men loved not less the Goodness of his Nature, than admired the Greatness of his Prosperity. And this quality he would shew

A N N O

1530.

Fox. p. 1022.

The Cardinal's Argument for his Grandeur.

Dr. Barnes's Reply.

Excessively dejected under his Misfortunes.

most just  
greatest  
and yet  
his inward  
satisfactionCourteous, and studious to oblige.  
Ep. 50. L. 29.

Apt to promise Rewards.



A N N O

1530.

His Words to  
Dr. Taylor;

And Gardiner.

The Means of  
advancing  
many, being  
liberal and  
munificent.

particularly, by Commendation of Mens Diligence in his, or the King's Business, and by promising them Rewards; bearing them up likewise in the same Diligence and Dependance upon him, by holding them in Expectation of Favours. After this obliging Manner he wrote to Dr. Taylor, the King's Ambassador, viz. 'That he was right glad, that he did so discretely and substantially conduct and use himself in all his Proceedings; and that the King and he took good Notice thereof, and that it would no doubt turn to his Weal, and Furtherance hereafter'. And so used he was to this Style of making Promises, that even in his Calamity he would use it, when he was less able to perform, and even when he seemed to be disabled from doing little more, than barely to support himself, much less to confer Benefits on others. When he had been intreating Secretary Gardiner to stand his Friend with the King, himself being at that time in a miserable poor Condition, and confined to his House at *Asber*, he promised, 'To requite his Kindness in that Nature, that he should have Cause to think the same to be well employed, and so his trusty Friend *Crumwel* should more amply shew him'. And the Year after, when he was banisht to *York*, and had begged the same Person to be a Mediator for the preserving of his Colleges, he again backed his Desires with Promises; namely, that by his so doing, he, meaning himself, should in such wise deserve his Pains, as he should have Cause to think the same to be well bestowed and employed, as the Bearer should more at large shew him. I am apt to think this Matter, which he hinted more than once to Gardiner, and gave *Crumwel* order to signify more at large to him by Word of Mouth, was the procuring him either the Bishoprick of *Durham*, or *Winchester*, which I believe he did promise to resign up to the King for his Use, upon the Condition he should recover this Fall, and reinvest himself in the King's Favour, and his former Honours. And it may be this very thing might have opened a Door to Gardiner's Preferment to the *Diocese* of *Winchester*, tho' he obtained it not till Three or Four Years after. For without some more than ordinary Means used, he could hardly have arrived to such a high and wealthy Dignity in the Church at one Step.

And indeed in his Prosperity he did not only promise, but perform, being of a liberal and munificent Spirit. I leave it to be judged, whether this proceeded from a Principle of Gratitude and Generosity, or vain Elation of Mind, it looking somewhat Royal to confer Dignities, and raise to Places of Honour. Thus he preferred his Domesticks to the King's Service at Home and Abroad, to be Secretaries of State, Ambassadors and Bishops. And in one Respect he deserved well of the Church, being a great Promoter of Learning, and preferred learned Men and Church-Men into his and the King's Service: Entering them first into Business in his own Family, which served as a Nursery for the Court. Thus, considering, all political Matters were managed by him, and went for many Years thro' his Hands, I am apt to believe, that Dr. Clark, Dr. Knight, both successively Bishops of *Bath* and *Wells*, Dr. Taylor, that was Master of the *Rolls*, and others who in his Time were greatly used by the King in publick Embassies, as well as Dr. Pace, Secretary of State, bred up at first under Cardinal *Bambridge*, and likewise Dr. Gardiner, and *Crumwel*, whose Names and Preferments



ments are well known, were all his Servants, and preferred by him to A N N O  
the King's Service.

But however obliging and kind he was, whereby he gained some  
Friends and Love; yet he would make little Scruple of oppressing  
any that stood in the Way of his Pleasure or Designs. One Instance  
of this, rose up in Judgment against his Memory in the Tenth or Ele-  
venth Year of Queen *Elizabeth*. And thus it was: The Mannor of  
the *More* in *Hertfordshire* once belonged to the Cardinal; and being to  
enlarge the Park there, and to make some Alterations to his Mind, he  
wrongfully seized, and took away from one *William Heydon* of *Britwel*  
in *Hertfordshire*, a Messuage called *Tolpotts*, and One Hundred Three-  
score and Ten Acres of Land pertaining to the same. Out of all  
this he expelled the said *Heydon*. Whereof One Hundred Twenty Nine  
Acres he inclosed and empaled within his Park, and Three Acres more  
he converted into a high Way, leading from *Rickmansworth* to *Wat-*  
*ford*; and so was commonly used; and the rest he tenanted out. But  
the said *Heydon*, after he was put out of this Estate, did surrender it  
into the Hands of the Lord of the said Mannor, to the Use of *Thomas*  
*Heydon*, his younger Son, and of his Heirs and Assigns for ever, ac-  
cording to the Custom of the said Mannor. This Estate after *Wolfey's*  
Fall, devolved to the Dutchy of *Lancaster*. But in Queen *Elizabeth's*  
Reign, the Heires of the said *Heydon* petitioned the Queen for their  
Lands again. Who, out of her gracious and honest Disposition, issued  
out her Letter, in the Year 1568, to Sir *Ambrose Cave*, Chancellor of  
the Dutchy, and to the Counsil of the same, to examine the Truth  
of this Plea; and if they found it, to make Restitution to the said  
Heirs of the Lands, or to make them a reasonable Recompence for the  
same. A Copy of the Original Letter, signed with the Queen's own  
Hand, is to be seen in the *Appendix*.

1530.

Oppressive, to  
make way for  
his own Ends.His Wrong to  
one Heydon.Numb.  
XXXVI.

To raise himself to that Height of Splendor in the Court, and In-  
terest in the King's Affections, and to keep himself at a Stay therein;  
great was the Court-Craft which he used, and some say more than was  
good. Some Description of which take from the Relation of a notable  
Man, who lived in his Time.

The Cardi-  
nal's Court-  
Craft.

‘ He cast the King's Nativity, (a common Practice then among the  
‘ Popish Prelates,) whereby he saw whereunto the King's Grace should  
‘ be inclined all his Life, and what should be like to chance him at  
‘ all Times. It is spoken of divers, that he made by Craft of Necro-  
‘ mancy graven Imagery, to bear upon him, wherewith he bewitched  
‘ the King's Mind, and made the King dote upon him more than  
‘ ever he did on a Lady or Gentlewoman. So that now the King's  
‘ Grace followed him, as he before followed the King. And what he  
‘ said, that was Wisdom, what he praised, that was honourable. Of  
‘ the King's Play-fellows, he chose and joined such to himself as he  
‘ saw fit for his Purpose. To them he swore, and they to him. He  
‘ took an Oath of them, that the one should help the other. For  
‘ without a secret Oath he admitted no Man to any Part of his Privy.  
‘ And ever as he grew in Promotions, he gathered unto himself the  
‘ most subtle-witted, and such as were drunk with the Desire of Ho-  
‘ nour, as like unto himself. And after they were sworn, he promo-  
‘ ted them, and with great Promises made them in Falshood faithful.

Pract. of Pre-  
lates.

A N N O  
1530.

‘ And of them ever presented unto the King’s Grace, and put them  
‘ into his Service, saying, *This is the Man fit for your Grace.* And by  
‘ these Spies, if ought were done, or spoken in Court against the Car-  
‘ dinal, of that he had Word within an Hour or Two. And then came  
‘ the Cardinal to Court with all his Magick to persuade the contrary. If  
‘ any Man in the Court had spoken against the Cardinal, and the same  
‘ not great in the King’s Favour, the Cardinal bad him, walk a Villain,  
‘ and thrust him out of the Court head-long. If he were in Conceit  
‘ with the King’s Grace, then he flattered and persuaded, and corrupt-  
‘ ed, some with Gifts, and sent some Ambassadors, and made some  
‘ Captains at *Calais, Hammes, Gaynes, Jarsey*, or sent them to *Ire-*  
‘ *land*, and into the *North*; and so occupied them, till the King had  
‘ forgot them.

His Craft with  
the Court La-  
dies.

‘ In like Manner he played with the Ladies and Gentlewomen :  
‘ Whosoever of them was great, with her he was familiar, and gave  
‘ her Gifts. If any were subtle-witted, and fit for his Purpose, her  
‘ made he sworn to betray the Queen, and tell him what she said, or  
‘ did. I know one, said this Writer, that departed the Court for no  
‘ other Cause, but for that she would no longer betray her Mistress.

Sends his  
Chaplains to  
the Court.

‘ And after the same Example he furnished the Court with Chaplains  
‘ of his own Sworn Disciples, and Children of his own bringing up,  
‘ to be always present, and to dispute of Vanities, and to water what-  
‘ soever the Cardinal had planted. If among those Cormorants (Chap-  
‘ lains) any began to be much in Favour with the King, and to be  
‘ somewhat busy in the Court, and to draw any other Way, than as my  
‘ Lord Cardinal had appointed that the Plow should go, anon he was  
‘ sent to *Italy* or *Spain*; or some Quarrel was picked against him;  
‘ and so was thrust out of the Court, as *Stokesly* was. He promoted  
‘ the Bishop of *Lincoln* (*Longland*) his most faithful Friend and old  
‘ Companion, and made him the King’s Confessor. To whom of what-  
‘ soever the King’s Grace shrove himself, think ye not that he spake so  
‘ loud, that the Cardinal heard it?

Towards his  
latter End  
morose, and  
severe.

Towards the latter End of his Life he grew more morose; and as  
his Greatness and Wealth increased his Pride, so his Pride made him  
more froward, and uneasy to others, and apt to revenge any supposed  
Neglect, or Want of Respect towards him. This made him procure  
Dr. *Richard Pace*, mentioned before, a very ingenious Man, and dearly  
beloved by *Erasmus*, to be cast into Prison. Whose Afflictions, by the  
Cardinal’s Arts, were so heavy and undeserving, after his great and  
faithful Services done to him and the King in foreign Embassies, that  
they put him out of his Wits; and so he most deplorably ended his  
Days: Tho’ he outlived his great Enemy some Years, and saw his Fall;  
and even under the Cardinal’s Disgrace, was restored to his Liberty and

Dr. *Pace*’s  
Troubles by  
his Means.

L. 26. Ep. 53.

Archbishop  
*Warham*  
threatned.

Dignities: Upon which his Friend *Erasmus* wrote him a congratulatory  
Letter. He also threatned Archbishop *Warham*, an Excellent Man,  
and in all probability had wrought him into some Disgrace with the  
King, had he not soon after been under a Cloud himself. Whereupon  
*Erasmus* applied that of the *Proverbs* to him, *Ante ruinam exaltantur*  
*Spiritus*. In effect, he so play’d his Game, that toward his latter End  
he seemed quite changed as to his Disposition, and brought himself to be



be the general Object of the Nation's Hatred. Which was the fatal Cause of his Downfal. A N N O

For he disoblighed not only the inferior Sort by his Pride and haughty Behaviour, but by laying his Hands upon the Rights, Privileges and Profits of the Gentry and Clergy, he made them his implacable Enemies too. The Cardinal's Ambition, as well as his Injustice and Covetousness appeared, in that as he made himself the great Doer in all the Temporal Affairs of State, so upon Pretence of his Legantine Power, he assumed the Managery of all Ecclesiastical Matters whatsoever. He took upon him to bestow Benefices, tho' the real Right of Partronage lay in others. He called all offending Persons before him whether of the Laity or Clergy, and compelled them to compound, as his Officers thought fit. He swallowed up all Causes, that were wont to be tried in the Bishops Courts: And no Privileges of exempt Jurisdictions could avail against his Court. He also much incroached upon the Prerogatives of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*. He visited all the Bishops, and all the Spiritual Houses in their Dioceses, and all Spiritual Ministers, as Commissaries, Scribes, Apparitors. He summoned Convocations in *Canterbury* Province, as well as in his own of *York*. And for the better bearing out himself in the doing all this, he erected a peculiar Court of his own, call the *Legat's Court*. The Judge whereof he constituted one *John Alan*, LL. D. a very bad Man both in his Morals, and for his male Administration of his Office: Wherein he exercised much Rapine and Extortion. But thereby drew into the Cardinals Coffers an Excess of Treasure. This *Alan* afterwards became Archbishop of *Dublin*, by his Master's Interest, no doubt; but he came to a sad End; being slain about the Year 1535, by *Thomas*, Eldest Son of the Earl of *Kildare*, in an Insurrection. This Court was kept in the Cardinal's Chapel at *York* House. One branch of the Causes belonging to this Court related to Wills and Testaments. And the Cardinal had special Commissaries for these Testamentary Causes; appointing the abovesaid Dr. *Alan*, his Deputy in this Office. This Court extreamly prejudiced the Archbishop's Court of *Prerogative*, and in Effect made it useles: For when the Archbishop's Commissaries summoned Executors into this Court, the Cardinals special Commissaries cited them into his; threatening any that did not appear before them, to annul the Will, and to cut of the Party from being Executor.

But to take our Leave of him under some more favourable Representation. As the Affairs of the Nation were chiefly under his Management, which he conducted with great Wisdom and admirable Dexterity, according to the Character that *Vives* gave of him, so he was a great Instrument of doing much Publick Good, both to the State and to Learning. And here it may not be unworthy to relate, what *Erasmus* once spake of the great and happy Effects of his Counsels: Which, tho' we allowing something for Flattery, will discover not a few Things redounding to his Honour. ' That he was the chief Bringer about ' of a Peace, between the chief Monarchs of the World, when even ' Pope *Leo* X. could only bring to pass a five Years Truce. ' That he had proceeded a fair Way by his Endeavours to render *Britain*, *ex area Auream*, a more glorious Nation than ever it was before. That he had so thoroughly purged this Land of Robbers, Highway-

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His Legantine Court.

Vid. *Antiq. Brit.* p. 310.  
*Hanov. Ed.*  
*Herb. Hist.*  
p. 80. Life of *Wolsey*. Cap. 3

Prejudicial to the Bishop's Prerogative.

Yet an Instrument of much publick Good.  
*D. Cardinalis, magni cum primis Viri, & prudentissimis Viri in gerendis publicis Negotiis exercitissimi.* Epist. 3. 4.  
*Lib. 11. Ep. 1.*

An. 1518.

A N N O

1528.

Highway-Men, and idle Vagrants, that it was now not more free of Poyson, and noxious wild Beasts, than of harmful Men. That by his Authority he cut in sunder many perplex Law Suits, not less happily, than *Alexander* did the *Gordian* Knots. He composed Differences that arose among the great Men; restored the Monasteries to their antient Discipline of Religion; reclaimed the Clergy to a more commendable Form of living; the Study of the liberal Arts, that were decayed and degenerated, he retrieved. As for politer Learning, as yet struggling with the Patrons of the ancient Ignorance, he upheld it by his Favour, and defended by his Authority, and adorned by his Splendor, and cherished by his Kindness. He invited all the most learned Professors by his noble Salaries. In furnishing Libraries with all Kinds of Authors of good Learning, he contended even with *Ptolomeus Philadelphus* himself; who was more famous for this, than for his Kingdom. He recalled the three learned Languages, without which, as he said, all Learning was lame. Which Study of Tongues, it seemed, he had furthered in *Oxon*, where, I think, he was Chancellor. Adding, 'That he hoped by this most fair Example, the Minds of Princes would be awakened, (to do as he had done for Learning;) since he saw a golden Age a coming, as he said, if some Number of Princes were but of the Cardinal's Mind. And that the Learning of future Ages would hereafter speak aloud this new Happiness imparted to the World by him. In a word, that he was so Beneficial a Person, as tho' he were born to succour and help the Affairs of Mankind'. And in another Epistle, he speaks of the Cardinal's Restoration of all Studies for the better, and of his Invitation of all by his Benignity to the Love of Learning. And particularly congratulates the University of *Oxon*, which by the Cardinal's Means flourished in all Kinds of Learning and Languages, and in good Manners too, so well becoming the best Studies. To this I will add what *Caius* mentions concerning him, that he brought *Matthæus Calphurnius*, a *Grecian*, out of *Greece*, to teach *Greek* Learning in that University. And withal bestows this Character upon him, *De bonis literis optime meritis Cardinalis*.

Lib. 6. Ep. 21.

Lib. 6. Ep. 27.

*Caius De Pronunciatione  
Græcæ ac Latinæ  
linguæ.*

His Domesticks Men of  
great Learning.

And if we look again into his Family, we shall find, that as it resembled a Royal Court in regard of those many Noble Men and Persons of Quality that lived in it, so one might esteem it an University, for those many accomplished Men in all Kinds of Knowledge and good Learning, that were his Domesticks. And it is sufficient to conclude them Persons of no slight and trivial Literature, that they were dear to *Erasmus* and *Erasmus* to them. The Names of some of them, were as follow; *Thomas Lovel*, Doctor of the Canon Law, *Dr. Francis* a Physician, *Dr. Samson*, *Richard Pace*, *Cuthbert Tunstall*, *Robert Tonic*, *Francis Philipps*, *Willian Burbank*, *Gonell*, [probably *Trigonwell*] *Clement*. After the naming of whom, the same *Erasmus* breaks out into that *Ecphrasis*\* *O! that magnificent and happy House. O! truly Splendid Cardinal, that bath such Men to consult with, and whose Table is filled with such Luminaries.*

\* *O! Domum illam augustam, ac felicem. O! vere splendidum Cardinalem, qui tales viros habet in consilijs, cujus mensa talibus luminibus cingitur.* Ep. 3. Lib. 16.



And indeed he affected to be Styled a Patron of Learning, as appeared by those most magnificent Colleges he built and endowed; and by that particular Favour he bore to the greatest Scholar upon Earth in his Time, I mean *Erasmus*. Which the same *Erasmus* acknowledged to Pope *Clement*. The Cardinal invited him over into *England* to abide here, promising him Favours and Dignities. And when in the Year 1524, he was minded to take a Journey into *England*, and wanted nothing but an Invitation at that Juncture, *Ludovicus Vives*, who was lately returned out of *England* to *Bruges*, wrote him, that had he known it before, that Ceremony should not have long detained him, intimating that he would soon have procured Letters to him from the Cardinal, to whom he was very dear, if not from the King himself; assuring him that he would have been very Welcome, not to the Cardinal only, but the King and all the Nobility. To the Cardinal he dedicated and presented several of his Books. One was concerning the right Administration of Government: Which was dedicated in the Year 1517. Another was sent him as a New Year's Gift, entituled, *De utilitate capienda ab inimicis*. Which seemed to be a Translation of a Piece of *Plutarch*. Another he presented the Cardinal was entituled, *De discrimine Adulatoris & Amici*. This Book was also, by the Author's Desire, presented by the Cardinal to the King, to whom he had dedicated it. Whether *Erasmus* by this writing intended any Lesson for the Cardinal, or the Cardinal so took it, let others enquire. There was another, *De libero arbitrio* against *Luther*. This was writ by the King's and the Cardinal's Incitement. The composing and publishing which Book the Author styles, *Audax facinus*, A bold Act, as the Affairs in *Germany* then stood; saying, that he expected to be stoned for it, and that some had thrown some Books at his Head already. When he had compiled this Book, he resolved to dedicate it either to Pope *Clement VII.* or the Cardinal of *York*: And having about the same time finished a Paraphrase upon the *Acts* of the Apostles, he thought fit to dedicate that to the Pope, and that of *Free Will* to the Cardinal; reckoning it would be more acceptable to him, both because wrote by his Instigation, and against *Luther*. For the Cardinal was willing upon some politic Ends, that the World might see, what a zealous Patron he was for the *Roman Catholick Religion* against the Gospellers.

The Cardinal, to show a further Token of his Respect to *Erasmus*, took a Scholar and Relation of his, named *Livinius*, into his Family. One whom *Erasmus* had brought up in good Literature, and intended to send him to study at *Lorain*. The Cardinal, in Favour of *Erasmus*, designed him partly for his Secretary, and partly for a Companion and Tutor to his own Kinsman; and after some Time spent in the Cardinal's Service, according to *Erasmus* his Desire, he promised to send him with his said Kinsman, to the University of *Lorain*.

But I shall add no more Observations of him, than that which the afore said *Erasmus* writ in a Letter to *Vergara* concerning him, when the King had confined him to his House, and allowed him but Thirty Servants. *Hic est Fortuna ludus: Ex ludimagistro subvectus est ad regnum. Nam plane regnabat verius, quam ipse Rex. Metuebatur ab omnibus, amabatur a paucis, ne dicam a nemine. He was Fortune's Game, raised from a Schoolmaster to a Kingdom. For he might be said*

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A Patron to  
*Erasmus*.

Quo ego jam-  
pridem aman-  
tissimo Patro-  
no utor.

Ep. Lud. Vives.  
12.

*Erasmus's*  
Character of  
him.

Lib. 26. Ep. 55.

*ANNO* to reign more truly than the King himself. Feared by all, loved by few, or rather none at all.

1530.

The Life of  
this Cardinal  
wrote by Cavendish, his  
Servant.  
Printed.

Cardinal *Wolsey's* Life was long in MS. written by *Cavendish*, his Domestick. Afterwards printed Anno 1667. for *Dorman Newman*, entitled, *The Life and Death of THOMAS WOLSEY, Cardinal, once Archbishop of York, and Lord Chancellor of England. Containing,* I. *The Original of his Promotion, and the Way he took to obtain it.* II. *The Continuance in his Magnificence.* III. *His Negotiations concerning the Peace with France, and the Netherlands.* IV. *His Fall, Death and Burial. Wherein are Things remarkable for these Times. Written by one of his own Servants, being his Gentleman Usher.* An ancient MS. of this Life, which seemed to be an Original, I once bought of Mr. *Woodward*: Which I afterwards parted with to Secretary *Harley*, afterwards Lord High Treasurer, and Earl of *Oxford* and *Mortimer*. The printed Book aforesaid was dedicated to *Henry Lord Marquis of Dorset*. By which Dedication it seems it was now newly reprinted. The Preface is of the Author's own Writing: Having these Expressions: 'The Cardinal was my Lord and Master; whom in his Lifetime I served: And so remained with him in his Fall continually, during the Time of all his Troubles, both in the *South* and *North* Parts, until he died. In all which Time, I punctually observed all his Demeanors, as also his great Triumphs, and glorious Estate, &c. Nevertheless, whatsoever any Man hath conceived of him in his Life, or since his Death, thus much I dare say, without Offence of any, that in my Judgment I never saw this Realm in better Obedience and Quiet, than it was in the Time of his Authority; nor Justice better administered without Partiality: as I could justly prove, if I should not be taxed with too much Affection.

This Book is misprinted very much, as I have given a *Specimen* in my Marginal Notes in the Beginning of the Book. In the Edition of it, An. 1667. I did in the Beginning write, as followeth. This Book was printed again, An. 1706. with another Title, viz. *Memoirs of the Great Favourite Cardinal Wolsey: With Remarks on his Rise and Fall; and other secret Transactions of his Ministry. Together with a Memorial presented to Queen Elizabeth by Will. Cecil Lord Burghley, to prevent her Majesty's being engrossed by any particular Favourite.* But this can be none of the Lord *Burghley's*, as may be concluded by divers Phrases and Manners of Speech, that were not used in those Times. Nor would that Lord have dared to write so plain and bold to the Queen; nor would she have born it. It is plain, this Discourse was levelled at some of the Ministry in that Time of Queen *Anne*, in order to make way for another Ministry. The Original Book is not divided into Chapters, as this is; but is a continued Discourse. It hath the very Faults, and Misprintings of the former Edition: as, p. 2. *Forest* for *Feast*; and *Sir James Pawlet* for *Sir Anyas*. The Preface, which is called the Prologue in the MS. varies and changes Words, and leaves out, to make the Language more suitable to the present Age: But indeed rather marr's, than mends the Style.



## C H A P. XVII.

A N N O

1530.

*A Convocation. The Condition of the Clergy at this Time. Complaints against them in Parliament. Their Justification of themselves. Deliberation concerning retrenching the Church's Power.*

A Convocation of the Clergy was this Year held at *London*, when, *Jan. 24.* was granted to the King out of the Province of *Canterbury*, 100,000 *l.* to be levied within Five Years: Each Year 20,000 *l.* When the Diocese of *Bath and Wells* was taxed at 1037 *l.* 1 *s.* 4 *d.* 9. But farther Accounts of this Convocation shall be given by and by.

A Convocation.  
Regist. Ep.  
*Bath and Wells.*

And now leaving this great Cardinal, let us proceed to other Matters. This Year the King and Parliament, taking Occasion on *Wolfsey's* Fall, began to be busy in correcting and modelling the Clergy, which had disoblged them both: The King, by keeping Courts, and acting by Virtue of a Foreign Authority, distinct from his; and the Commons, by the Exactions lay'd upon them. *November* the 6th, the Parliament met, and *Thomas Andley* (afterwards Lord Chancellor) was chosen Speaker: When the Commons presently began with Complaints of the Clergy, and of their Oppressions of the Laity, in the Probate of Wills, Mortuaries, &c. They complained of them that were Stewards and Officers to Bishops, that they occupied Farms; and that Abbots and Priors traded in Cloth and Wool; that Priests lived in Noblemen's Houses, not residing upon their Livings, and so took from their Parishioners, but spent nothing on them. So that the Poor lacked refreshing, and the Parishioners lacked Preaching and Instruction in God's Word.

The Commons complain against the Clergy;

Upon these Complaints, divers Meetings and Conferences were held between the Commons and the Spirituality: Whereat the Archbishop of *Canterbury* himself was present. Then, besides the former Matters objected to them, they laid to their charge their Laws and Constitutions. To which, nevertheless the Clergy stood tightly, urging for them long Prescription. But the Gentlemen in heat said to the Archbishop, that their Exactions, which they justified by Prescription, were but so many Robberies: However, these their Bills remained unsatisfied for a while; yet not long after, Acts were made about the Probates of Wills, Mortuaries, Pluralities, and Nonresidences: And in the Year 1533, a Law was made for abridging the Power of these provincial Synods, and their Constitutions.

Especially for their Constitutions.

But because this Controversy last spoken of, is not, I think, extant in any of our Historians, I will here be a little more particular. The Commons in this present Parliament put up a Bill against the Clergy, shewing that their Provincial Constitutions made in this his Majesty's Reign, by this present, and other Convocations, were not only against the King's Royal Perogative, but very burthensome to the Commons. The King also took Exceptions at their Presumption in making Orders to bind his Subjects, in the Nature of Laws; but especially, in Executing them without his Assent and Authority. However the Convocation of the Province of *Canterbury*, seeing in what ill Case they were, and some Mischiefs impending over them, thought it their best Course to apply themselves to the King in an humble Declaration. So the upper House

*A N N O* prepared a Paper, being a Form of Submission, to be presented to the King, and sent it down to the lower House for their Concurrence. In which Submission it was promised, for the future, to forbear any more to make Ordinances or Constitutions, or to put them in execution, but with the King's Royal Assent and License. And it ran in this Tenor.

The Convocation's Submission to the King.  
Cleop. F. 1.

First, As concerning such Constitutions, and Ordinances Provincial, as be to be made hereafter by your most humble Subjects, we having our special Trust and Confidence in your most high and excellent Wisdom, your princely Goodness, and fervent Zeal, to the Promotion of God's Honour and Christen Religion, and especially in your incomparable Learning, far exceeding, in our Judgment, the Learning of all other Kings and Princes, that we have read of; and not doubting, but that the same should still continue, and daily encrease in your Majesty; Do offer and promise here unto the same, that from henceforth, † we shall forbear to enact, promulge, or put in Execution any such Constitution or Ordinance, so by us to be made in Time coming; unless your Highness, by your Royal Assent, shall license us to make, promulge and execute such Constitution; And the same so made shall approve by your Highness Authority.

Second, Whereas your Highness honourable Commons do pretend, that diverse of the Constitutions Provincial, which have been heretofore enacted, be not only much prejudicial to your Highness Prerogative Royal, but also overmuch Onerous to your said Commons, as is pretended; We your most humble Subjects, for the Considerations aforesaid, be contented to refer and commit all and singular the said Constitutions to the Examination and Judgment of your Grace only. And whatsoever of the same shall finally be found, thought and judged by your Grace his high Wisdom Prejudicial and overmuch Onerous, as is pretended, we offer and promise your Highness to moderate, or utterly to abrogate and annul the same, according to the Judgment of your Grace. Saving to us always, all such Immunities and Liberties of this Church of *England*, as hath been granted unto the same by the Goodness and Benignity of your Highness, and of others, your most Noble Progenitors, with all such Constitutions Provincial, as do stand with the Laws of Almighty God, and of your Realm, heretofore made. Which we most humbly beseech your Grace to ratify and approve by your Royal Assent, for the better Execution of the same, to Times to come among your Graces People. ||

The Lower House of Convocation demur.

But the lower House was more stout, and could not go so currently through with the laying of their Constitutions at the King's Feet, as the upper House had framed the Writing: And were for putting in some Words to restrain the Sense, and to leave themselves a Latitude; before they would let it pass for them. For under the Writing sent down from the upper House, the lower House wrote these Words:

These Articles above written be agreed in the upper House, and the lower House is agreed to the same: so that in the first Article be added these Words, *viz. during the King's natural Life*: and in the second Article be added these Words, *And holy Church*. With a *Proviso* in the latter End. And so the Articles, as they be agreed by



‘ by the Lower House be of this Tenor following.’ And then follow-  
eth all the aforesaid Writing over again, with this Addition in the First  
Article, ‘ That from henceforth *† during your Highness natural Life, which*  
*we most heartily beseech Almighty God, long to preserve,* We shall for-  
bear to Indict, &c. And this Addition in the Second, ‘ With the Lawes  
of Almighty God *† and Holy Church* and all your Realm, &c. And at  
the end, after the Words, *among your Graces People,* they added *†*  
*Providing also that untill your Highness Pleasure herein be further de-*  
*clared unto us, all manner of Ordinaries may execute their Jurisdictions*  
*according to the said Constitutions in like Manner and Form as they have*  
*used the same in Time past.*

A N N O  
1530.

The Convocation also framed another Writing, by way of Defence to  
what the Commons had so aggravated against the Clergy. But neither  
was the King nor the Commons pleased or satisfied by what they had  
presented to both. But the Synod instead of more Compliance, stood  
stiffly to what they had addressed before : And vindicated themselves,  
and the Authority of the Church and the Prelates of it, in making  
Laws in Faith and Manners, to bind the People in spiritual Matters:  
Boldly asserting their Power immediately from God. And to this  
purpose, they put up a Book to the King. But their Defence, ran to  
this Tenor.

The Synod  
make their  
Defence.

‘ Forasmuch as the Answer lately made by your Clergy unto your Ho-  
nourable Commons, for their Satisfaction in their Bill of Complaint,  
put up unto your Highness, doth not please nor satisfy your Highness  
in some Points, concerning your own particular Interest ; especially in  
that Point, that concerneth Laws, either now to be by us made, or  
else old, to be by us reformed : For your Highness better Contentation  
in that behalf, We, your said most humble Chaplains, doth now more  
especially answer unto those Poynts, as followeth.

‘ First, As touching new Lawes to be by us hereafter made, we say  
that the Lawes and Determinations of Christ’s holy Church throughout  
all Christian Realms received and used, been clear and manifest, that  
the Prelates of the same Church have a Spiritual Jurisdiction, and  
Judicial Power, to rule and govern in Faith and good Manners, necessary  
to the Souls Health, their Flokkys unto their Care committed : And  
that they have Authority to make and ordain Rules and Lawes tending  
to that purpose. Which Rules and Lawes hath and doth take their  
Effect, in binding all Christen Peopull, as of themselves ; so that before  
God there needeth not of necessity any Temporal Power, or consent  
to concur with the same, by the way of Authority.

‘ Item, They say, that this Power and Authority in making Lawes,  
concerning the Faith and good Manners, necessary to the Souls Health,  
all Christen Princes hath hitherto reckoned himself bound to suffer  
the Prelates to use them in their Realmys, and have not claimed of  
the said Prelates, that they should from tyme to tyme require their  
consent or Licence, by way of Authority, more in making of such  
Lawes, then they the said Prelates should from tyme to tyme require their  
Consentis autorysabyll in the giving of Holy Orders to any of their  
Subjects, or in the exercising of any other Spiritual Act, depending  
upon their Spiritual Jurisdiction. The Authority whereof procedeth  
immediately from God, and from no power or consent autorysabyll, of

ANN O 1530. any *Secular Prince*: Except it be the consent of the Prince his own Submission to the Faith Catholick, made not only by their noble Progenitors, when they first admitted Christ's Faith, and the Law of the holy Church, within their Realmys; but also by themselves, first, generally at their Baptism, and after more especially, and most commonly, by their corporal Oaths at their Coronations.

We say also, that this power of making Lawes aforesaid, is right well fondid in many places of holy Scripture: now so much the less necessary to be here reherfed, forasmuch as that Matter is at large set out in a Book, now by us put up unto your Highness. And your Highness your self in your own Book, most excellently written against *Martin Luther*, for the Defence of the Catholick Faith, and Christ's Church; doth not only knowledge and confess, but also with most vehement and inexpugnable Reasons, and Authorities, doth defend the same. Which your Highness Book we reckon, that of your Honour ye cannot, nor of your Goodness ye will not, revoke. Yet these Considerations notwithstanding, we your most humble Chaplains and Bedemen considering your high Wisdome, great Learning, and infinite Goodness towards us and the Church, and having special Trust in the same; Not minding to fall in Contentions or Dispytions [ *Disputations* perhaps ] with your Highness in a [any] manner of Matter what we may do; we be contented to make Promise unto your Highness; that in all such Acts, Lawes and Ordinances, as upon your lay Subjects, we by Reason of our spiritual Jurisdiction, and judicial Power, shall hereafter make, we shall not publish, nor put them forth, except First we require your Highness to give your Consent and Authority unto them: And so shall from tyme to tyme suspend all such our Acts, Ordinances, and Lawes, hereafter to be made, unto such tyme as your Highness by your Consent and Authority, shall have authorise the same. Except they be such as shall concern the Maintenance of the Faith and good Manners in Christ's Church, and such as shall be for the Reformation and Correction of Sin, after the Commandments of Almighty God, according unto such Lawes of the Church and laudable Customes, as hath been heretofore made, and hitherto received, and used within your Realmes.

In which points our Trust is, and in our most humble Manner we desire your Grace, that it may so be, that upon refusal of your Consent, (which we reckon that we need not fear; but yet if any such thing should fall out) your Highness will be then contented that we may exercise our Jurisdiction as far as it shall be thought necessary unto us, for the Maintenance of Christ's Faith, and for the Reformation of Sin, according unto our Offices, and the Vocation, that God hath called us unto.

As for the Second poynt concerning Lawes, which in tyme past hath be made by us, or by our Predecessors, contrary to the Lawes of this your Realm, and to your Prerogative, as it is pretended: To this poynt we, your Highness most humble Chaplaines, answer and say, that such our Lawes by our Predecessors within this Realm made, as contain any Matter contrary to the Lawes or Prerogative, and be not now in Use and do not concern the Faith, nor Reformation of Sin, when we shall be advertised of them, we shall right gladly in that



' Part revoke them, and declare them to be voy'd, and of none Effect. *A N N O*  
 ' So that your said right Honourable Commons shall now dare execute *1530.*  
 ' your Lawes without any Fear, Dread, or Danger of our foresaid Lawes,  
 ' if any such there be.' Thus tightly did the Clergy stand to their Principles, and justify them to the King. This Defence above written is here and there corrected and interlined by the Pen of *Stephen Gardiner*, if I mistake not.

But the King made them buckle at last. It was another high Block *A N N O*  
 and Difficulty for the Clergy to get over, to reject the Pope's Power in *1532.*  
*England*, and to acknowledge the King Supreme Head and Governor in all Causes, Ecclesiastical as well as Civil. But that also at length they unwillingly yielded unto: Styling him in their Submission by the Title of *Protector and Supreme H E A D of the English Church*, and paying a lusty Fine: And then the King granted them a Pardon for their *Premunire*, which was ratified by the Parliament then sitting

Nor was the Province of *York*, in their Convocation, less resty to acknowledge the King Supreme Head, to which they were required; Drawing up their Reasons against it, in a Letter to his Majesty dated *May* the 6th. from *York*: Containing a long Discourse of their Mind and Opinion concerning Words that had past the Clergy of the Province of *Canterbury* in their Synod, in the Proeme of their Grant of Money made to the King; in it inserting words of Submission of their Ordinances to him, and at large to their long Letter. Which is to be seen in the *Cotton Library*, and is printed in the *Cabbala*. The King told them gently, that he could not conceive Displeasure, nor be discontent with them for writing their Mind to him, yet considering what they had said unto him in time past in other Matters, and what they now confest in their Letters, noting also the Effect of the same, he could not he said, but much marvel at sundry Points and Articles, which he promised to open unto them: And indeed did with good Learning and evident Reason: as may appear by what follows, *Viz.*

Whereas the Convocation of *Canterbury* had stiled the King *Caput Ecclesiæ*, the *Church*, they said, according to the notion of the Word was not circumscribed to any place, but meant all *Christendom*. And therefore, that it was absurd for any to give the King that Title, and not fit for him to take it. But the King answered them well, that the Church, in the present Controversy was restrained to that of *England*, and the Clergy of the same. Then they shewed, that Christ was Head of the Church: And he divided his Power after the distinction of Temporals and Spirituals. Whereof the one he committed to Princes, and the other to Priests. But the King shewed them, that the Places of Scripture they used to prove this, served only to prove Obedience due to Princes, by all Men without distinction: whereof are Priests and Bishops, as well as Laymen, who make together the Church. And that altho' they restrained Obedience to Princes in regard of Temporal Thing only; yet *Obey* and *Be Subject* contained no such Matter in them, whereby Spiritual Things should be excluded. Then they proved by certain Places of Scripture, that the Administration of Spiritual Things was communicated by Christ, to Priests, as to preach and administer the Sacraments. Which no Man, the King said, would deny; but that

The Clergy own the King's Supremacy.

The Convocation of the Province of *York* stand out against the Supremacy.

*Cleopa. E. 6. P. 216.*

Their Objection: with the King's Answers.

ANNO 1532. it proved not, their Persons, Acts and Deeds, not to be under the Power of their Prince. Then they alledged, Doctors extolling the Priesthood; and that Princes be, *Filii Ecclesiæ*. And where the Convocation of *Canterbury*, when they stiled the King *Head of the Church*, added, *Quantum per Legem Christi liceat*: The Convocation of *York* made that Sentence to be as superfluous, as to say, *Man is immortal, quantum per Naturæ Legem licet*. But to that the King told them, it was nothing like. For the *Law of Nature* is not to *Immortality*, as the *Law of Christ* is to *Superiority*. In fine, to the Question that was sent to this Synod, whether the King were Head of the Church? they gave in no other Answer but this, that he was Head of the Church in Temporals, but not in Spirituals. But however, at length this Province was also brought, as well as the other, to acknowledge the King's Supremacy, and to yield the King a Sum of Money proportionable to that *Northern* Division of the Clergy.

Further Consultation upon the Clergy.

After the King had gained this Point, and gotten this his Title recognized in the Convocations of *Canterbury* and *York*, some Persons there were hammering out some further Reformation of the Clergy; and the Affairs of the Monks and Friars; that so the Parliament, then at present sitting, might enact them into a Law. One *Richard Bowyer*, some learned Counsellor, I suppose, propounded his Thoughts (to the Council, as it seems) to this purpose:

*Cleopa. Lib. 6. P. 392.*

'Whereas the Synods Provincial of *Canterbury* and *York*, have by their Constitution in the last, and yet continued Convocation, recognized, and doth knowlege, the King our Sovereign Lord, to be singular Protector, Defender, and only Supreme Head and Lord of the Church and Clergy of *England*; That Constitution must be deeply perused: and then by Act of this Parliament approved, accepted, and established by the King, with the Consent and Assent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in the same.

'And then, whereas his Grace, and not alonely his Grace, but also divers others of his Noble Progenitors, have made, in Parliaments and Council, Acts and Provisions for the Common Wealth of this his Realm and Clergy of *England*, as well for the Reformation of them, that have Plurality of Benefices, as others that should in Time to come, obtain to have the like Plurality; and for Reformation and avoiding of Strangers, Visitors, and Reformators of divers Orders of Religion within this Realm, as well Exempts as not Exempts: Which do collect and gather great Sums of Money by that Colour, and it convoy out of this Realm:

'And not alonely do collect and convey such Money, but by semblable Colour of Visitation do undermine, to know the Secrets of the King, and of the Realm: Which disclosed, oftentimes doth great Hurt; and as well to the Merchants of this Realm, as otherwise:

'An Act to be made by the King, &c. that for these Causes and others, no Stranger to be admitted within this Realm, to visit or reform any Order, exempt or not exempt: Nor no Religious Man within this Realm to make any Knowledge of Superiority, or *Paternitas*, to any out-religious Place: But alonely one House in *England* of every Order exempt, to be Head and Mother of all the Rest. And the Abbot of that House, to be their head Visitor and Reformer: As



‘ was at his Graces Contemplation, and is, the Order of *Premonsstratens* A N N Q  
 ‘ in *England* and *Wales*, unto the Abbot of *Welbeck*.

‘ An Act also, that the Pope’s Collector shall be an *English* Man. By 1532.  
 ‘ whom the Pope’s Holiness may be as well answered of all Duties be-  
 ‘ longing to his Chamber, as by an out-born Man.

‘ And whereas all such Acts made for Reformation and Abusion,  
 ‘ to have Plurality, Triality, Unions, Pensions, *Totquot* Portions, &c.  
 ‘ & *ad tantam Summam*, be smally regarded :

‘ And forasmuch, as the Pope doth grant them upon a Suggestion  
 ‘ made unto his Holiness ; and that for Distance of Place, Dangers of  
 ‘ Ways, and Perils by the Sea, his Holiness cannot have due Examina-  
 ‘ tion of such Suggestions ; but his Grants do pass him, *Si ita sit* :  
 ‘ And so the Grants surreptitiously, and direptitiously obtained :

‘ An Act to be made by his Grace, &c. That he intendeth not to  
 ‘ infringe, annul, derogate, defray, or minish any thing, of the Pope’s  
 ‘ Authority : but rather to maintain, add to, uphold, and avaunce the  
 ‘ same.

‘ But forasmuch as the Ordinaries, from one to another, have been  
 ‘ remiss and negligent in examining of his Suggestions and Causes,  
 ‘ deduct in his foresaid Grants, and Pluralities and others his Gifts, as  
 ‘ Supreme Lord Protector, Defender and Head, to supply such negli-  
 ‘ gence of the Ordinaries :

‘ And to make by Act one, two, or more Commissaries, Spiritual  
 ‘ Men : And with them to associate in every Diocess two Learned Men  
 ‘ in the Temporal Law, and a Clark Examiner. And they to make  
 ‘ Inquisition of such Articles, as in this behalf shall be requisite, with-  
 ‘ out Exception of any Person. And that during the tyme of this In-  
 ‘ quisition, no Ordinary to meddle with like Inquisition.

‘ If I should be demanded, I shall devise the Articles.

‘ And this Matter justly and truly execute, his Grace shall find high  
 ‘ Commodity, and nothing do, but Equity and Right.

*Richard Boxer,*  
 otherwise *Stirley*.

Notwithstanding the Convocation, and especially the Lower House, had shewn themselves so loth to comply, and stood so stiffly upon their Spiritual Jurisdiction ; there were others among them of another Mind ; and that strove to reduce the Spiritual Power under the Temporal, and that of the Clergy under that of the King. And I find a Paper directed to some great Lord about the King, that he would instruct that sort of the Clergy, that were of the King’s Part in the Convocation, how far they should go in advancing his Spiritual Authority. It was without any Name or Date. But I think it may belong to this Year, or hereabouts : And it seems to be the Hand of *Stephen Gardiner*, that went along now with the King in his Purposes, and in the fulfilling of his Pleasure. It began thus :

‘ Whether your Lordship think convenient, that we should endeavour  
 ‘ our selves to prove these Articles following ?

‘ *First*, That the Clergy have not Authority, by the Law of God,  
 ‘ to make Laws, ne Excommunication ; but that such Jurisdiction hath  
 ‘ been

Some in Con-  
 vocation of  
 another Mind.

Matters to be  
 proposed in  
 Convocation.  
*Leop. E. 6.*  
*P. 230.*

A N N O 1532. ' been begun, and so continued by the Lenity and Sufferance of  
' Temporal Princes.

' That the King's Majesty in his Parliament hath Authority to determine, what Causes shall be determinable in the Spiritual Courts, and  
' to limit the Manner of the Process, without any Excommunication.  
' Whereby Offenders in the said Causes shall be brought to answer in the  
' said Courts.

' That by reason of Spiritual Jurisdiction in making of Process, the  
' King's Majesty leaseth much Profit that might accrue and grow to  
' him by the Seals at the Common Law.

' That the King's Majesty hath as well the Care of the Souls of his  
' Subjects, as their Bodies: And may, by the Law of God, by his Parliament make Laws touching and concerning as well the one, as the  
' other.

' That this Text, *Mat. 16. Quodcunque ligaveritis, &c.* gave Authority to all the Apostles jointly to make Laws and keep Councils, until such time, as a convenient Number of the Lay People were converted to the Faith: and then the said Text ceased. And the Text of  
' *Mat. 18.* did take that Effect, which, *Quodcunque ligaveritis, &c.*  
' gave the Apostles. And that Text being spoken to all the Church,  
' as well as to the Apostles, gave Power to the whole Church to make  
' Laws, and restrained the peculiar Authority of the Apostles in that  
' behalf.

' That the Successors of the Apostles have not like Authority in all  
' Points as the Apostles had. That to affirm the Bishop of Rome to be  
' Head of the Universal Church; and thereby to have Authority to  
' summon General Councils, is Heresy. And that the Authority of  
' calling General Councils doth belong to Kings and Princes.

' That the King's Majesty may dissolve Holy Days without Parliament; but that he may make no Holy Days without Parliament.

' That this Text of *Actuum xx. Attendite vobis & universo gregi, in quo Spiritus Sanctus vos posuit Episcopos, &c.* was not meant of  
' such Bishops only, as be now of the Clergy; but was as well meant  
' and spoken of every Ruler and Governor of the Christen People.

I leave the Reader at Liberty, (seeing we are left to conjecture) to place this notable Paper here, or to bring it under the Year 1534. when an Act was made, That the King, and his Heirs, should be reputed *Supreme Head of the Church of England*, and enjoy the Stile and Title annexed to the Imperial Crown of this Realm, and should have Power to restrain Errors and Heresies. About which Act the King consulted with his Council, and with his Bishops; and they in their Convocation discussed the Point, and declared, That the Pope had no Jurisdiction warranted by God in this Kingdom.



*New Years Gifts to the King. The Festival. The Church Book;  
Printed for the Use of Curates. What it contained. The Bedes.*

**B**UT the Clergy and Religious, however the King now set upon them, either that they might give the King no new Provocation, or to sweeten him, presented him now, in the Beginning of *January*, with New Years Gifts, and that in a very generous and liberal manner; considering how their Proportions exceeded much the Gifts of the Lay Nobility and Gentry: Some of them giving Fifty Pounds, when even the Duke of *Norfolk's* Gift not much exceeded Thirty Pounds; and the rich Earl of *Oxford* presented but Ten Pounds, Two Shillings and Six Pence. But behold the List, as I transcribed it from the *Burgb-leyan* MSS.

The Clergy  
present the  
King with  
New Years  
Gifts.

*Monies given to the King's Grace for New Years Gifts,  
Anno xxiiij. sui Regni.*

|                                                                                                                                              | <i>l.</i> | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i> |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| By the Busshop of <i>York</i> , —————                                                                                                        | 50        | 00        | 00        |
| By the Busshop of <i>Durisme</i> , —————                                                                                                     | 50        | 00        | 00        |
| By the Busshop of <i>Excestre</i> , —————                                                                                                    | 50        | 00        | 00        |
| By the Busshop of <i>Hereford</i> , —————                                                                                                    | 20        | 00        | 00        |
| By the Busshop of <i>Lincoln</i> , —————                                                                                                     | 40        | 00        | 00        |
| By the Busshop of <i>London</i> , —————                                                                                                      | 22        | 10        | 00        |
| By the Busshop of <i>Landaff</i> , —————                                                                                                     | 13        | 07        | 06        |
| By the Busshop of <i>Clye</i> , —————                                                                                                        | 40        | 02        | 06        |
| By the Busshop of <i>Rocheſtre</i> , —————                                                                                                   | 13        | 06        | 08        |
| By the Busshop of <i>Baithe</i> , —————                                                                                                      | 40        | 00        | 00        |
| By the Duke of <i>Norf.</i> xx Soveraynes, 22 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> }<br>and Five Pieces of Gold, at 40 <i>s.</i> the Piece, 10 <i>l.</i> } | 32        | 10        | 00        |
| By therl of <i>Oxford</i> ix Suffereaynes, —————                                                                                             | 10        | 02        | 06        |
| By therl of <i>Rutland</i> , —————                                                                                                           | 06        | 13        | 04        |
| By the Lord <i>Darcy</i> , —————                                                                                                             | 07        | 10        | 00        |
| By the Lord <i>Lisle</i> , —————                                                                                                             | 20        | 00        | 00        |
| By the Lord <i>Mountjoye</i> , Five Suffereynes, —————                                                                                       | 05        | 12        | 06        |
| By the Lord <i>Husey</i> , —————                                                                                                             | 06        | 13        | 04        |
| By thabbey of <i>Westmynstre</i> , —————                                                                                                     | 60        | 00        | 00        |
| By thabbot of <i>Reading</i> , —————                                                                                                         | 19        | 12        | 06        |
| By thabbot of <i>Petirborough</i> , —————                                                                                                    | 20        | 00        | 00        |
| By thabbot of <i>Saint Albones</i> , xxx Suffereynes, —                                                                                      | 32        | 15        | 00        |
| By thabbot of <i>Ramsay</i> , —————                                                                                                          | 20        | 00        | 00        |
| By thabbot of <i>Abyngdon</i> , —————                                                                                                        | 20        | 00        | 00        |
| By thabbot of <i>Seint Mary Abbey</i> , —————                                                                                                | 20        | 00        | 00        |
| By the Prior of <i>Chriſt Church</i> in <i>Caunterbury</i> , —                                                                               | 20        | 00        | 00        |
| By the Maiſter of the <i>Roolles</i> , —————                                                                                                 | 20        | 02        | 06        |
| By <i>Petir Vane</i> , —————                                                                                                                 | 10        | 00        | 00        |
| By the Dean of the <i>Chapell</i> , —————                                                                                                    | 07        | 10        | 00        |

A N N O

1532.

|                                                       | <i>l.</i> | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i> |
|-------------------------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| By the Dean of Seint <i>Stephens</i> , —————          | 10        | 00        | 00        |
| By Doctour <i>Lupton</i> , —————                      | 10        | 00        | 00        |
| By Doctour <i>Lawson</i> , —————                      | 06        | 13        | 04        |
| By Maister <i>Sydnour</i> , —————                     | 13        | 06        | 08        |
| By Doctour <i>Woolman</i> , —————                     | 11        | 05        | 00        |
| By Sir <i>William Fitzwilliam</i> , —————             | 07        | 10        | 00        |
| By Sir <i>Henry Wiat</i> , —————                      | 11        | 05        | 00        |
| By Sir <i>John Daunce</i> , Five Sufferaynes, —————   | 05        | 12        | 06        |
| By Sir <i>Richard Weflon</i> , —————                  | 07        | 10        | 00        |
| By <i>Hafilwood</i> of the Receipt, iiij Portugues, — | 10        | 00        | 00        |
| Sum Total —————                                       | 792       | 10        | 10        |

The Book of  
the *Festivall*.

This Year was printed, or rather reprinted, the *Festival*, by the old famous Printer *Wynkyn de Worde*. It was a famous Church-Book used in the Churches by the Popish Priests, and read on certain Seasons to their Parishioners: Being taken out of the *Golden Legend*, and giving an Account of all the Festivals of the Year, with a Sermon upon each Festival. It seems to have been first made in King *Henry* the VIIth's Time, as I collect by the Bedes there, where Prayer is bid to be made for the Lord Prince; which must be Prince *Arthur*, or Prince *Henry*. By the Prologue it appears, that it was designed to keep up a superstitious Veneration in the Minds of the People towards the Saints: 'Showing unto them what the Holy Saints suffered and did for Gods Sake, and for his Love. So that they should have the more Devotion in Gods Saints, and with the better Will come to the Church to serve God, and pray his Saints of their Help.' It was written for the Assistance of ignorant Priests, or according to the Phrase of the Prologue-Writer, 'For the Help of such Clerks this Book was drawn, to excuse them for Default of Books, and by Simpleness of Cunning.'

Other Treatises therein.

It begins with the First Sunday in Advent. Besides the Treatise on the Festivals, there be added diverse other Tracts in the Book. As that Sermon for the *Dedication* of the Church, beginning, 'Good Friends, such a Day ye shall have your Dedication Day, that is, your Church Holy Day. Ye shall come to the Church, and hear your Divine Service in the Worship of God; and for Three Causes, the which the Church is hallowed for; that is, for the Church cleansing, for devout praying, and for the dead Bodies burying, &c.'

There is next a Sermon called *Hymus Charitatis*: i. e. the *Hook of Charity*. It runs upon this Subject, *Do to others as thou wouldst be done to*.

Next are *quatuor Sermones*, wherein are shewn, what Things we should know God by; as namely by these that follow: And then follow Expositions upon the *Pater Noster*, upon the Creed, and upon the Ten Commandments, upon the Seven Sacraments, the Seven Deeds of Mercy, the Seven deadly Sins, and the Nine Manners of horrible Pains the Nine Manners of People shall be tormented therewith.

The general Sentence.

Then follows the General Sentence, that is, the Curse against many Sorts of Sinners, used to be said every Quarter of the Year: And lastly the Beads: Wherein the Priest instructed the People, what and whom to pray.



pray for. Which will be found in the *Appendix*, as I drew it out *Verbatim*, and according to the Spelling, in the said *Festval*. And I add it the rather, because it is not so correct set down in the History of the *Reformation*. And withal that we may thence see in Part, how much our Publick Prayers and Devotions differ from them, and from what gross Superstitions the Reformation of Religion hath happily freed the People of this Land.

But to give you a Taste after what Manner the Curates used to entertain their Audience at these Times. In the Sermon of the Dedication of the Church were these Passages against Irreverence in the Church: 'My House is called a House of Prayer, but now it is made a House of rowning, whispering, crying, clattering, scorning Tales and simple Speaking, moving of Vanities, and many simple Words and lewd: That St. *Austin* saw two Women rownyng (that is, prating) together in the Pope's Chappel, and the Fiend sat in their Necks writing a great Roll of what the Women talked. And letting it fall, *Austin* went and took it up. And asking the Women, what they had said in all the Mass Time, they answered, our *Pater Noster*. Then *Austin* read this Bill, and there was never a good Word in it.

Again, in the same Sermon speaking of Church-Yards, he saith, 'They were appointed by the Fathers to bury in, for Two Causes: One to be prayed for, as our Holy Church useth; and another for the Body, to lye there at Rest. For the Fiend hath no Manner of Power within Christen Burials. No burying in the Church, except it be the Patron, that defends it from bodily Enemies; and the Parson, Vicar, Priest or Clark, that defend the Church from ghostly Enemies with their Prayers. Some have been buried there, and cast out again on the Morrow; and all the Cloths left still in the Grave. An Angel came on a Time to a Warden of a Church, and bad him go to the Bishop, to cast out the Body he had buried there, or else he should be dead within Thirty Days. And so he was; for he would not do as he was bidden.

And speaking further of burying the dead, he asserts the Walking of their Ghosts: 'Many walk on Nights, when buried in holy Place. But that is not long of the Fiend, but the Grace of God, to get them Help. And some be guilty, and have no Rest. Four Men stole an Abbot's Ox to their Larder. The Abbot did a Sentence and cursed them. So Three of them were shriven and asked Mercy. The Fourth died, and was not assoiled, and had not Forgiveness. So when he was dead, the Spirit went by Night, and feared all the People about, that none durst walk after Sun down. Then as the Parish-Priest went on a Night with God's Body to *Housel* a sick Man, this Spirit went with him, and told him what he was, and why he went [walked,] and prayed the Priest to go to his Wife, that they should go both to the Abbot, and make him Amends for his Trespas; and so to assoil him: For he might have no Rest. And anon the Abbot assoiled him; and he went to Rest and Joy for evermore.' These trifling Tales and insipid Stories were the People detained with, (instead of preaching to them Christ and the Doctrine of his Gospel;) to keep them in profound Ignorance, and in a due Fear and Dependance upon their Priests, and their Pardons.

A N N O  
1532.

Numb.  
XXXVII.  
The Bedes.  
Vol. II. p. 104.  
Colled. Numb.  
VIII.  
Irreverence in  
the Church:

Church-  
Yards.

The walking  
of Spirits.

A N N O

1532.

Images, why  
set up.

In the *Quatuor Sermones*, where he is explaining the Second Commandment concerning Images there forbidden, thus we read: ‘Men should learn by Images, whom they should worship and follow in Living. To do God’s Worship to Images every Man is forbidden. Therefore when thou comest to the Church, First, behold God’s Body under the Form of Bread upon the Altar; and thank him, that he vouchsafe every Day to come from the Holy Heaven above, for the Health of thy Soul. Look thou upon the Cross, and thereby have Mind of the Passion he suffered for thee. Then on the Images of the holy Saints: Not believing on them, but that by the Sight of them thou mayest have Mind on them, that be in Heaven: And so to follow their Life as much as thou mayest.’ Where we may observe with some Wonder, how no Countenance is here given to worship Images, the great Practice of the Popish Church: But the clear Evidence of the Second Commandment struck some Awe on the Writer’s Mind, that he dared not in the Face of the Commandment exhort to that which was so plain a Breach of it.

Women’s Behaviour.

In the said *Four Sermons*, speaking concerning the Modesty of Women, we may there gather what their Pride and Fashions were in those Days. ‘Neither by Countenance, saith he, ne Array, stee [stir] ye no Man to Sin. Ne have not your Visage pomped, ne your Heers [Hairs] pull’d or crouled, ne your Faces coloured, ne your Head high, or wide, layd with costly Kevercheves, ne your Body too curious in Clothing, ne nice in Shape: But after the Counsil of St. Paul, let your Array be Shamefastness, helling your Heads with your Heer, or with a Kercher, to cover your Shame.’

Hearing Mass.

Once more, concerning the Benefit of Hearing Mass, the People were taught to believe strange Things. ‘That Day thou hearest thy Mass, God granteth thee needful and lawful Things. That Day idle Oaths and forgotten Sins been forgiven. That Day thou shalt not leese thine Eye-Sight, ne Dy no sudden Death: Ne in the Time of the Mass, thou shalt not wax aged.’ Every Step thitherward and homeward an Angel shall reckon. And then to make all the Absurdities of the Mass go down the better, the People are told, ‘That leud Men and Women to dispute of this Sacrament are utterly forbidden. For it is enough for them to believe as holy Church teacheth them.’ But enough of the *Festival*. Which tho’ in some Parts of it, as in the General Sentence and the Beads, it underwent some Corrections, yet I think it was not laid aside wholly till the Reign of King Edward.

## C H A P. XIX.

*King Henry’s Matrimonial Cause. Books written of this Argument. A monstrous Fish. Annates. Act against them. Address of the Convocation to the King.*

Much preaching  
concerning the King’s  
Marriage.

**T**HIS Year also there was much preaching in the Realm by the Priests and Friars one against another, for and against the Lawfulness of the King’s Marriage with Queen *Katherine*.

The



The Judgments of the Universities of *Flanders, France and Italy*, A N N O (that I may go a little back) to the Number of Nineteen, were current, that it was unlawful for a Man to marry his Brother's Wife, for so the Case was propounded in general; and that the Pope, could not Dispense in Matters against the Law of God and Nature, as he had done in this Marriage. These Censures of the Foreign Universities were presented by the Lord Chancellor and other Lords to the House of Commons in *January 1530*. And afterwards being compiled into a Book were printed, intituled;

1532.  
The Judgments of Universities concerning it.

*Gravissima atque exactissima illustrissimarum totius Italiae & Galliae Academicarum Censura, efficacissimis etiam quorundam Doctissimorum Virorum argumentationibus explicata, de Veritate illius Propositionis, Videlicet, Quod ducere Relictam Fratris mortui sine liberis; ita sit de jure divino & naturali prohibitum; ut nullus Pontifex super hujusmodi Matrimoniiis contractis, sive contrahendis, dispensare possit.*

Then followed the Judgments of the Universities in this Order in the said Book:

*Censura Almae Universitatis Aurelianensis.  
Censura facultatis Decretorum almae Universitatis Parisiensis.  
Censura facultatum juris Pontificii & Legum almae Universitatis Andegarenensis.  
Censura facultatis Sacrae Theologiae almae Universitatis Parisiensis.  
Censura almae Universitatis Bituricensis.  
Censura facultatis Sacrae Theologiae almae Universitatis Bononiensis.  
Censura facultatis Sacrae Theologiae Universitatis Patariensis.  
Censura almae Universitatis Tholosanae, &c.*

Then under each ensue the Censures of the respective Universities at length, with the date of the Day and Years (*viz. 1530.*) under their common Seals, hanging to the authentic Instruments. These Censures may be read at large, in the History of the Reformation, and in *Holinshead's Chronicle*.

Vol. I. Collect. p. 89. p. 231

Next after these Censures of the Universities, followed in this Book the Judgment of divers learned Men. For abundance of learned Men had now employed their Pens in this Argument, to the Number of above an Hundred: Whereof Dr. Cranmer was one. These with the said Censures of the Universities, were all brought down to the House of Commons to be perused by them.

And of learned Men.

Herl. Hist p. 352.

I met with two Discourses of this sort among the *Burghleian MSS.* which may deserve to be mentioned: to shew how this Question was managed, and what Arguments were made use of therein. The one was writ in 21. of the King, about the Year 1529. And bare this Title, *An liceat cuiquam ducere uxorem fratris sui defuncti absque liberis.* And in the End it is said to be written Per I. P<sup>i</sup>. M. Who he was I cannot tell, unless it were *John Prior of Merton*, whose Name I find subscribed in the famous Convocation, Anno 1536. When those remarkable Articles of Religion were set forth, mentioned in the *Memo-*

Two Books of this Argument particularly mentioned.

*A N N O* 1532. *Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer.* The other Paper is a Confutation of a Book writ by one *Abel*, a hot Man, the Lady *Marie's* Chaplain: And who about the Year 1534. with several others was found guilty of Misprision of Treason about the Nun of *Kent*; and in the Year 1540. was executed for Treason in denying the Supremacy. Both these Treatises are in the Appendix.

*Numb.*  
XXXVIII,  
XXXIX.

A Third writ  
by a Venetian  
Divine.

To which I will make mention of a Third, upon the same Argument, being a just and large Discourse, and writ with good Learning by a *Venetian* Doctor in Divinity. And this is the more to be marked, because the *Venetians* declined having any Thing to do in this Matter, and had menaced the University of *Padua* for meddling. The Book bare this Title :

IS. IS

*For. MSS.*

*Fratri Marci Genoa Veneti Minorista, Artium & Sacrae Theologiae Professoris, Tractatus de Matrimonio, quinque Questionibus partitus : Cujus summa est ; An liceat Christianorum cuippiam ducere Relictam Fratris in Uxorem. In quo quidem Tractatu protestatur se nihil dicturum, quod Sanctae Matri Ecclesiae repugnat ; quinimo ejus Auctoritati & Correctioni quicquid dixerit submittit.*

In the End it is allowed and approved by Four other Doctors of Divinity in *Venice*, together with the Author's own Subscription thus :

*Tractatum istum de Matrimonio — ego Fr. Marcus Genoa Venetus Minorista Sacrae Theologiae Professor, Manu propria scripsi & confeci. Quod siquid in eo dixerim, quod repugnet Auctoritati Sacrae Matris Ecclesiae, casto, revoco, & annullo : Cujus Correctioni, volo & intendendo subjectum esse.*

This Treatise I suppose was one of those procured by Doctor *Croke* or *Stokesly*; who were sent to *Venice* to get the Judgments of Learned Men in this Case. I will but name the Five Questions treated of in this Work, and so pass to other Matters.

I. *Utrum Affinitas impedit Matrimonium.*

II. *Viso, quod Affinitas impedit Matrimonium, nunc quaero, utrum impediat ex Lege divina, vel ex statuto Ecclesiae.*

III. *Viso, quod Affinitas in aliquibus Gradibus impedit Matrimonium ex Lege divina, nunc specialiter quaero, in quibus Gradibus Affinitas Lege divina impediat Matrimonium*

IV. *Utrum Christianorum cuippiam liceat relictam Fratris ( quae sibi primo Affinitatis Gradu attinet ) quacunque interveniente Causa, accipere in Uxorem.*

V. *Quinto & ultimo, quaero, utrum Pontifex Maximus, i. Papa, possit dispensare, ut Christianorum quispiam ducat Relictam Fratris in Uxorem ob quamcunque Causam.*

*Hist. of King  
Henry, p. 319.*

For it was the King's Wisdom, as the Lord *Herbert* observes, not to prevail himself of his own Power among his Clergy, or of the Council the Pope had formerly given him of taking another Wife, till he had first:



first discovered what the learnedest Men in *Christendom* held in that Point. Therefore Two or Three Years now past, the King employed divers Agents abroad, for the gaining of the Opinions of foreign Universities and Doctors of Divinity concerning his Marriage. As at *Paris*, *Reginald Pole* his Kinsman, (who yet did him small Service that Way) *Sir Francis Brian*, and *Edward Fox*: At *Orleans* and *Tbolouse*, *William Paget*: *Thomas Cranmer*, *Andreas*, and *Joannis Casalis*, and *Previedellus* in *Germany*: At *Padua*, *Richard Croke*: At *Rome*, *Hierom de Gbinucci*, Bishop of *Worcester*, and *Grogory de Cassalis*: At *Venice*, the foresaid *Croke* and *Stokesly*. And besides these mentioned by the Lord *Herbert*, there were employed in *Italy*, to procure Subscriptions, one Friar *Thomas*, and another Friar of *Florence*: Friar *Ambrose*; *Franciscus*; *Dionysius*; *Leonius*, and others: And some of these seemed to be too mercenary. For there was one *Raphael* wrote one Book to prove the Unlawfulness of the King's Marriage: and afterwards wrote another Book to prove the Lawfulness thereof: Which last came out publickly in Print. And when this Fickleness was laid to his Charge, he excused himself, that what he wrote before, he wrote *ex aliorum Mente*, and *ad ingenii Exercitationem*. But these Matters may be seen more at large, in a Letter to the King from *Croke*, who was the King's chiefest Agent in those Quarters. Which I transcribe into the *Appendix* from the Original.

This Doctor *Croke*, to give here a short Character of a great learned Country-Man of ours, and that deserves to be remembred to Posterity, was born in the City of *London*; admitted a Student of *King's College* in *Cambridge*, 1506. went away being Scholar: and afterward followed the Study of the *Greek Tongue*. Wherein he so excelled, that going beyond Sea, he became Publick Reader thereof at *Leipswich* in *Germany*. He excelled also in *Latin Oratory*: and at his Return into *England* was in great Favour with King *Henry VIII.* and with most of the Nobility, that were learned. He was the first *Greek Professor* in *Cambridge*, (after *Erasmus*,) who came hither by the Persuasion of Doctor *Fisher*, then Bishop of *Rocheſter*: and for the Love he bare to *King's College*, whence he had his Beginning, in the first Oration he made, he confessed it. In short Space after, the University of *Oxford*, by great Means of honourable Friends, and fair Promises of large Allowance, invited him thither, to be their Reader. *Camerarius* confessed himself to be his Scholar in his Narration of *Hessus*. He was the first Publick Orator of the University of *Cambridge*, and commenced Doctor of Divinity in the Year 1523. And he after lived in *Oxford* to his Death; and wrote there diverse Things against *John Leland* the Antiquary. For which *Leland* hath a Copy of Verses against him in Print. But I return from this Digression.

It hath been an old Observation in this Kingdom, that near upon the Death of Kings, or some great Personages of this Land, Whales and such like huge Fish have come on our Coasts, and into our Rivers. Certain it is, that in the Month of *August*, when Archbishop *Warham* died, at *Tinmouth* the Sea cast up a Fish of a monstrous Bigness: Which because our Historians, I think, speak nothing of, I will here describe. It was Ninety Foot long. From the Belly to the Back, it was about Eight or Nine Ells. The Length of the Mouth Six Ells and an Half. The Jaw Bone Seven Ells and an Half; the Circuit thereof

A N N O  
1532.The King's  
Agents for  
Subscriptions  
of Foreign  
Doctors.Numb.  
XL.A Character  
of Doctor  
*Croke*.  
Fox: MSS:A monstrous  
Fish.Olaus Mag.  
Hist. Septent.  
Lib. 21.

One

*A N N O* 1533. One Ell and an Half. It had Thirty Ribs, of the Length of One and Twenty Foot; each in Circuit a Foot and an Half. It had Three Bellies, resembling vast Caverns, and Thirty Throats, Five whereof were vastly great. Two Finns; each Fifteen Foot in Length. One whereof Ten Oxen could scarcely draw. To the Palate stuck as it were Plates of Horn, on One Part hairy. The Length of his Head, to that Part where the Mouth openeth, Seven Ells: The Tongue about Seven Ells. The Space between the Eyes Six Ells. The Eyes and Nose altogether unequal to so great a Body; being such as belong to an Ox: The Tayl was forked and rugged like a Saw, Seven Ells long. Two great Holes in his Head: through which the great Creature was thought to cast forth Water, as through Pipes. No Teeth: whence it was esteemed to be no Whale (for, they say, they have huge Teeth,) but instead thereof he had Things resembling Plates of Horn. This Account a Gentleman of *England*, that saw it, wrote in a Letter to his Friend: And is set down by *Olaus Magnus*.

Three great Instruments of the Reformation raised.

This Year Three Personages were preferred: Who proved great and happy Instruments for the reforming of the Abuses of Religion, and amending of many Things amiss in the *English Church*; viz. The Lady *Ann Bolen* Marchioness of *Pembroke*, advanced to be Queen: *Thomas Cromwel*, Master of the Jewel House, now made one of the Privy Council, and grown in great Favour with the King, and soon after this made Secretary of State. The Third was Doctor *Cranmer*; nominated (while abroad in the King's Service) and elected to the Archiepiscopal See of *Canterbury*. To which I may add a Fourth, Sir *Thomas Audley*, a great Lawyer, now made Lord Keeper.

The Act against *Annates*.

Vol. I. p. 117.

Numb. XLI.

Now past the famous Act against *Annates*: Whereby Archbishops and Bishops were forbidden to pay the First Fruits to the See of *Rome*, and other Payments for the obtaining of their Palls, Bulls, &c. And that henceforth they should cease, upon Pain that whosoever paid them should forfeit his Lands, Goods, and Chattels. The Act is set down in the History of the Reformation. This proceeded regularly from the Convocation first, which sued to the King, that these *Annates* might cease: And that if the Pope made Process hereupon, the King and People might withdraw their Obedience from him: This Suit sets forth the Abuses of *Annates*, and was drawn by some good Hand. I think it worth transcribing, and placing in the *Appendix*, for the Reader to peruse; to shew upon what good Reasons these Dealings of the Nation against the Bishop of *Rome* proceeded. It set forth, 'How the Court of *Rome* had executed these First Fruits before  
' the Bishops could obtain their Bulls out of the said Court. The Mis-  
' chief the Payment thereof did to the Treasure of the Realm; to  
' the Decay of the Land, and the great impoverishing of the Bishops,  
' and of their Friends and Relations, if they should chance to dye with-  
' in Two or Three Years next after their Promotions. And that the  
' Bishops by these Exactions were not of Ability to repair their Churches,  
' Houses and Mannors, in a great Part of their Lives. And that is  
' to be assigned the Reason of their Falling into such Decay. And  
' that hence it came to pass, that they could not bestow the Goods of  
' the Church in Hospitality and Charity: Which they ought to have  
' done by the Law, and the Mind of the Donors of their Churches  
' Possessi-



‘ Possessions.’ And many Reasons more were given in this Draught. *ANN O*  
But these Reasons do make against paying First Fruits to the King, as *1532.*  
well as to the Pope. And therefore, I suppose, these were not thought  
fit to be inserted into the Act, it being intended not wholly to take away  
the Payment of them, but to divert them into another Channel, to wit,  
from the Pope to the King.

By this Time the Creatures of the Papacy grew very jealous of the  
King, and feared their Superstitions and Corruptions might come un-  
der a further Inspection. For the King had already done several Things,  
that that Party did not at all like of: As the sifting of the Pope’s Pow-  
er of Dispensation, and disallowing it in some Cases: The Clergy  
of *England* put under a *Premunire*, for breaking the Statutes against  
Provisors and Provisions; and the bringing them to submit unto, and  
acknowledge the King as Supreme Head of the Church: To which  
we must add, the Act last mentioned, of stopping the *Annates*; and  
lastly, nominating *Cranmer* for Bishop of *Canterbury*. Therefore the  
Popish Party used their Arts to keep the King from Apostacy from them.  
I find about this Time, a Book of *Dionysius Carthusianus*, being his  
Exposition of the Gospel of St. *Matthew*, dedicated to the King by  
the Monastery of the *Carthusians* of *Colen*. Which I believe, was the  
First Edition of that Book, printed from some of their MSS. The  
Epistle was composed by *Theodoric Loer*, Vicar of that House, but by  
the Order of *Peter Blomevenna*, the Prior, and the principal Visitor  
of his Province of the *Rhine*, and of the whole Society: Chiefly, by  
the Instigation, as it seems, of *John Batmansen*, Prior of the Mona-  
stery of the *Annunciation* of the Blessed Virgin near *London*; who  
had written to *Colen*, that *Dionysius*, one of their Fraternity, his Works  
would be acceptable in *England*. And under that Pretence they chose  
the rather to dedicate this Work unto the King. In this Epistle they  
flattered him for his high Learning, and Zeal for Religion: And  
‘ that by his Writings concerning the Sacraments, he had displayed  
‘ his Glory over his People. That he had put on the Harness of Ca-  
‘ tholick Doctrine, like a Giant, and girt his Loins with the warlike  
‘ Arms of Scriptures in his Battels of Disputations against Hereticks,  
‘ and defended Christ’s Camp, with the Sword of his Learning: That  
‘ he was like to an Evangelical Lion, and a mystical Lion’s Whelp,  
‘ sent down from Heaven to hunt the Hereticks: Extolling him much  
‘ for persecuting those that disturbed his faithful Subjects by their He-  
‘ resies.’ They knew, it seems, the King’s Mind, how he loved to be  
flattered and admired. But these fair Words would not divert the  
King’s Purposes.

*The Carthu-  
sians dedicate  
a Book to the  
King.*

## C H A P. XX.

A N N O  
1533.*The Princess Mary. The King's Appeal against the Pope. The Supremacy. Books writ against the Pope's Usurpations.*A Message to  
the Princess  
Mary, to lay  
aside that Ti-  
tle.

AS after the pronouncing of the Sentence of Divorce, the King commanded Queen *Katharine* should no more be called Queen, but Princess *Dowager*, and Widow of Prince *Arthur*: So, soon after the Birth of the Lady *Elizabeth*, which was, according to the Lord *Herbert*, Sept. 6. 1533. the Counsil sent the Princess *Mary* Word, by the King's Order, that she should lay aside the Name and Dignity of Princess; and commanded her Servants no longer to acknowledge her such. This Message was carried to her to *Beaulieu*, by one *Huse*, a Promoter, formerly employed by the King in his Matter with the Queen. He came privately without any Privy Counsellor, or Person of Honour accompanying, and without any Commission, or other Writing from the King. Which gave her Occasion to refuse to obey the Message, as not giving Credit thereunto: Telling the Messenger boldly, that she was the King's true and lawful Daughter and Heir. Her Servants also would not take Notice of this Order upon the same Reason: But hear the Letter of *Huse* to the Council concerning the Delivery and Success of his Journey.

Which she re-  
fuseth to do.  
Fox MSS.

' Please your good Lordships to be advertised, that according to the King's high Commandment, lately shewed unto me by your Lordships at *Greenwich* upon Sunday last, I have signified unto the Princess his most gracious Pleasure, concerning the diminishing of her high Estate of the Name and Dignity of *Princess*. Wherein her Grace coulde not a little marvaile, that I being alone, and not associate with sum other the Kinges most Honourable Counsaile, ne yet sufficientlie aucto- rised, nethre by Commission, ne also any othre Writing from the Kinges Highness, wolde attempte to declare suche an high Inter- prise and Matier of no litle Weight and Importaunce unto hir Grace, in depeyring and diminishing hir said Astate and Name: Hir Grace not doubting, but that she is the Kinges true and legitimate Doughter and Heyr, procreate in good and lawful Matrimonie: And ferther adding, said, that unless she were advertised from his Highness by his Writing, that his Grace was so mynded to diminishe hir said Astate, Name and Dignity, which she trusteth his Highness will never do, hir Grace will not believe it. And ferther, I have declared your said Commandment unto all the Princeesse Servants concernyng the Pre- misses: Who have made me answere, that they in most humble wise shal alweys obey the Kinges high Commandements, in al Things which his Highness shal commaunde them to do, saving there Con- science. Notwithstanding they think, that this Commaundment, being so high and weighty, geven by me only without Writing from the Kinges Highness, and othre his Counsaile Associate with me, is in there Judgements not sufficient.

' Wherefore, my Lords, I committe this Matier unto your Lord- ships to be fertherly wiede, as shall stand with your high and moost discrete discrete



‘ discrete Wifdomes. Which I pray God may be to his high Pleasure, and to the Honour of the King’s Grace, and to the Welth of his Realme.’ And thus the holy Gooft have your good Lordships in his most merciful Tuition. At *Beaulieu* the Twenty Daye of *Septembre*. By me the King’s subgiēt.

ANN O  
1533.

*John Huse.*

And in this Persuasion she stood obstinately for Three Years, till the King was very angry with her. But then about the Year 1536. she acknowledged her self a Bastard.

Upon the Quarrel between the King and the Pope, arisen by the Divorce, the Pope being almost ready now to denounce his Fulmination against the King and Kingdom, his Majesty by his Ambassador *Boner* declared to the Pope, that he appealed from him to the next Lawful General Council. This Appeal the Pope rejected. Upon this Breach, the Pope also being strengthened by a League both with the Emperor and the French King, the King was under great Fears and Apprehensions of some *Interdict* of the Realm soon to follow; and upon that an Invasion or Insurrection of the People, or both. Wherefore a Discourse was now framed and published, or designed to be published, in the King’s Name, to justify his Appeal from the Pope, and to vindicate himself to his People: in these Words:

A Book published upon the Pope’s Rejection of the King’s Appeal.

‘ If mortal Creatures to their Heads Sovereigns, and natural Princes, be chiefly bound next unto God; especially where they, as careful Fathers and Tutors, prudently and rightly rule and govern the great Numbers and Multitudes of Men by God committed to their Obedience; and where they in their Royal Persons often forgetting the Regard of their princely Majesties, valiantly withstand, abide and resist whatsoever Troubles, Dangers, Perils, Assaults, Wrongs, Injuries, or Displeasures soever, at any Time happen, chance, threaten, or be incident unto their People or Countries: besides many and innumerable other Displeasures and Troubles, which daily and hourly, for the Defence, Maintenance, and Supportation of their Realms, People and Countries, secretly happen, and chance them, their People seldome or at no Time privy thereunto; whereby of good Congruence all Subjects become most bound to their Sovereigns and Princes, and them ought most faithfully to love, honour, obey, serve and dread, and their Majesties to maintain, support and defend with all their Power, Might, Strength and Ability;

*Cleopa. E. 6.*  
p. 326.

‘ Then let no *English* Man forget the most noble and loving Prince of this Realm: who for the godly Example of his People, the Love and Dread he hath to God, and Observance of his most Reverend Lawes, hath, to the evident Knowledge of all his well beloved Subjects, long endured and abidden, to his inestimable Cost, Charges, Trouble, Vexation, and Inquietude, the Trial of his great Cause: And at the last, after innumerable most famous learned Men’s Judgments, on his Side therein given; yet for all that most wrongfully judged by the great Idol, and most cruel Enemy to Christ’s Law and his Religion, which calleth himself *Pope*, and his most just and lawful Provocation and Appellation from the said Enemy of Christ’s Law to the general Council made, also refused, denied and forsaken.

A N N O

1533.

Wherefore, and to the Intent that all Men may know the abominable Wrongs, which our most noble and gracious Prince doth sustain, by so unlawful Entreatings; therefore these few Articles, hereafter following, are presented unto those that shall both desire to know the Truth, and in Truth shall thirst and covet feithfully to assist, maintain, support, defend and stand by their Prince and Sovereign in his most just, lawful and rightwise Cause.

I. That the general Council lawfully gathered is, and ought to be superiour to all Jurisdictions, either usurped and suffered, as the Papal; or justly holden, as [that of] Kings, in all Matters concerning the Faith, and direction of the whole Church of Christ: And also ought to be judged thereby, and by the Decrees of the same only, and by none others; they being consonant to the Law of Christ.

II. That Princes have Two Wayes principally, when none other can prevail, to attain Right. Th'one against the other. That is to say, in Cases concerning the Soul, being mere spiritual, *Appellation* to the general Council: In temporal Causes, the *Sword* only, (except by Mediation of Friends the Matters may be compounded.) So that whosoever would go about to take away these natural Defences from Princes, is to be manly withstand, both by the Princes and their Subjects. And thereto all Christen Men should be animate by the Words of our Lord Jesus Christ: Which are, *Obey ye Princes above all, and then their Deputies, or Ministers*: Not giving Power to Foreignes within their Rules and Dominions.

III. That divers general Councils have determined, that Causes of strife or controversy, being once began in any Region, shall there, and in the same Region be finished and determined, and not elsewhere. Upon which ground the King's Highness, his Nobles, both Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, by one whole consent, upon divers most prudent, wise and politic Reasons and weighty Considerations, agreeable to the same general Councils, have made a Law: by the which good People, living within the Limits of true and lawful Matrimony, shall not by Malice or ill Will, be so long detained and interrupted from their Right, as in times past they have been: Neither unjust Matrimony shall have his unjust and incestuous demour and continuance, as by delays to *Rome* it is wont to have. Which now may evidently appear by that that our Princes weighty and long protracted Cause of Matrimony, hath his final and prosperous End, according to the Lawes of God, with brief success of Issue already had, and other like to follow. Lauds be to God, the only worker of the same.

IV. That our said Prince and Sovereigne, according unto the Liberty and Lawes of Nature, and Constitution of general Councils, as afore hath been, provoked and appealed from the most unjust and unlawful Sentence, wrongfully given against him by the Bushop of *Rome*, to the general Council next ensuing, and lawfully congregated: That is to say, from the Sentence of the Usurper of God's Lawes, and Infringer of general Councils, which calleth himself POPE. In the which our said Prince's Doings all just and true Christen Men, especially his most loving Subjects, I doubt not, will support and maintain him. Which Provocations and Appellations also standing in Force,



‘ and being intimate to the Person of the said Usurper, (as indeed they  
‘ be,) and by him be denied and refused, sequestreth him wrongfully.  
‘ from all Manner of Processses, belonging, or in any wise appertain-  
‘ ing to the said Fact or Matter, other diabolick Arts and Statutes by  
‘ some of his Predecessors to the contrary notwithstanding.

Wherefore what Censures, Interdictions, or other his cursed Inventions soever they be, fulminate or set forth by the said Usurper, the same ought not only to be abhorred and despised, but manfully be withstood and defended. And whoso doen shall have for their Buckler, the latter and better Part of this Verse ensuing, and the Maligners the first Part. Which is, *Quoniam qui malignant exterminabuntur, sustinentes autem Dominum, ipsi heritabunt Terram.*

V. ' That where indeed by Holy Scripture, and Christ's Law, there is none Authority nor Jurisdiction granted more to the Bushop of Rome, then to any other Bushop *extra Provinciam*: yet because that Sufferance of People, and Blindness of Princes, with their Supportation hitherto, hath susteined the same, doing themselves thereby too great Injury and Wrong; it is now thought therefore not only convenient, but also much more then necessary, to open the same unto the People: To the Intent they should from henceforth, no longer be disseyved, in honoring him as an Idol, which is but a Man, usurping Gods Power and Authority: And a Man, neither in Life, Learning nor Conversation, like Christ's Minister or Disciple: yea, a Man also, though the See Apostolic were never of so high Authority, yet most unworthy, and unlawful, by their own Decrees and Laws, to occupy and enjoy that usurped Place. For First, he is both Bastie, [Bastard,] and also come into that Dignity by Symony. And now Ly denying the Kings lawful Provocation and Appeal, and in supporting the diabolick Decrees of his Predecessor *Pius*, is determined, by a general Councel, a very Heretick.

Wherefore all true Christen People, except he amend, ought to dis-  
pise both him, and all his Facts, and be no longer blinded by him :  
But give themselves intyrelly to the Observance of Christ's Lawes, in  
which is all Sweetness and Truth : And in the other nothing else, but  
Pomp, Pride, Ambition, and Wayes to make himself rich, which is  
much contrarious to their Profession. The Lord amend them.

The Pope's Authority here in *England*, was now more and more agitated and lifted: and it was thought highly necessary to vindicate the King's *Supremacy* against the Pope's Usurpations. And the King drove it on vigorously. State-Books for this End were written about it: and as many Treatises were composed for the King's Supremacy, so some against it too. The King himself this Year wrote one. Which, together with his Divorce, did extremely irritate and provoke the *Roman* Bishop: But the Book most of all. It was a large and ample Treatise of the Tyranny and Usurpation of the Bishop of *Rome*: and bore this Title,

*De Potestate Christianorum Regum in suis Ecclesiis, contra Pontificis tyrannidem, & horribilem Impietatem.*

This Book, mentioned in *Beutberns* his History, because the Lord *Herbert* had not seen, he supposed that Author might mistake it for another Book, intituled,

*De vera Differentia Regiæ Potestatis & Ecclesiæ.*

But

A N N O

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Hist. Reform.  
P. II. Append.  
p. 413.

Becon's Re-  
ports.

But this must be a Book different from that before mentioned : This being writ by *Fox* Bishop of *Hereford*, and came not forth till the Year after, viz. 1534. if we may believe the late Reverend Mr. *Fulman*, well skilled in these Antiquities : Who also distinguishes these Books, and saith, there was such a Book intitled, *De Potestate Christianorum Regum*, &c. The Book of the true Difference between the King's Power, and that of the Church, was so well thought of in King *Edward's* Reign, and esteemed so seasonable in those Days, that it was then reprinted, having been turned into *English* by *Henry Lord Stafford*, and recommended by an Epistle before the Book, wrote by him.

To which let me add another Book, viz. *Beckenshaw's Commentary of the Sovereign and Absolute Power of Kings*: cited by King *James* in his *Triplici Nodo triplex Cuneus*.

## C H A P. XXI.

*Deliberation at the Councel Board about casting off the Pope's Authority. Resolutions taken. Doctor Sampson's Book for the King's Supremacy.*

The Councel  
in deep De-  
bate.

Sovereign  
Princes.

FOR the concerting of these Affairs, let us see what was privately transacting within the Walls of the King's Court, among the Privy Counsellors. Who were minded first, to see how the Bishops stood affected towards the Pope and his Authority in this Kingdom, and what their Judgments were of General Councils. They propounded that the common People of the Land, should be better instructed concerning the Pope's Power, and his Encroachments upon Sovereign Princes. They saw it needful, that all Friars and Religious Persons, belonging to the Monasteries which were addicted to the Pope, should be brought over. And so in like Manner all the inferior Clergy. They thought it convenient, that the King's Appellation from the Pope, and the Reasons of it, might be every where publickly known. They deliberated about securing the Kingdom against any foreign Attempts, by making, and keeping a good Understanding with *Scotland*, and *Germany*, both the Princes and Hanse Towns thereof. And lastly, for settling the Princess *Dowager's* Household, and her Daughters, and the Family of the Lady Princess *Elizabeth*, who was now scarce Three Months old.

All these Matters were, about the very Beginning of *December* propounded in the King's Council, under Nineteen Articles. Which I shall first set down: and then shew the Resolutions taken by the said Council hereupon.



PROPOSITIONS for the King's Council.

A N N O

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I. ' To send for all the Bishops of this Realm; and especially for such as be nearest unto the Court, and to examine them apart, whether they by the Law of God can prove, and justly, that he that is now called the Pope of *Rome* is above the general Council, or the general Council above him: Or whether he hath given unto him by the Law of God, any more Authority within the Realm, than any other foreign Bishop.

The Result of a Deliberation at the Council Board concerning the Pope's Authority, and how to deal with the Bishops, and Orders in Relation to this. *Accep. E. 6. page 319.*

II. ' *Item*, To devise with all the Bishops of this Realm to set forth, preach, and cause to be preached to the King's People, that the said Bishop of *Rome*, called the Pope, is not in Authority above the general Council, but the general Council is above him and all Bishops; and that he hath not, by God's Law, any more Jurisdiction within this Realm, then any other foreign Bishop, being of any other Realm, hath. And that such Authority, as he before this hath usurped within this Realm, is both against God's Law, and also against the general Council. Which Usurpation of Authority only hath grown to him by the Sufferance of Princes of this Realm, and by none Authority from God.

III. ' *Item*, Therefore that Order be taken that such as shall preach at *Paul's Cross* from henceforth, shall continually from Sunday to Sunday preach there, and also teach and declare to the People, that he that now calleth himself Pope, ne any of his Predecessors, is and were but only the Bishops of *Rome*, and hath no more Authority and Jurisdiction by God's Laws within this Realm, then any other foreign Bishop hath; which is nothing at all: And that such Authority as he hath claimed heretofore, hath been only by Usurpation and Sufferance of Princes of this Realm. And that the Bishop of *London* may be bound to suffer none others to preach at *St. Paul's Cross*, as he will answer, but such as will preach and set forth the same.

IV. ' *Item*, That all the Bishops within this Realm be bound, and ordered in the same wise; and to cause the same to be preached throughout all their Dioceses.

V. ' *Item*, That a special Practice be made, and a streight Commandment given to all Provincials, Ministers, and Rulers of all the Four Orders of Friars within this Realm; Commanding them to cause the same to be preached by all the Preachers of their Religious, in and through the whole Realm,

VI. ' *Item*, To practise with all the Friars *Observants* of this Realm; and to command them to preach in like wise: Or else that they may be stayed, and not suffered to preach in no Place of the Realm.

VII. ' *Item*, That every Abbot, Prior, and other Heads of Religious Houses within this Realm, shall in like Manner, teach their Convents and Brethren, to teach and declare the same.

VIII. ' *Item*, That every Bishop shall make special Commandment to every Parson, Vicar and Curate within his Diocese, to preach and declare to their Parochians in like wise.

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[Marg. of the MS.]

IX. ' *Item*, Proclamations to be made throughout the Realm, containing the whole Act of Appeals. And that the same Act may be impressed, transsumed, and set up on every Church Door in *England*: To the Intent, that no Parson, Vicar, Curate, nor any other of the King's Subjects shall make themselves ignorant thereof.

X. ' *Item*, The King's Provocations and Appellations, made from the Bishop of *Rome* unto the General Council, may also be transsumed, imprest, published and set up on every Church in *England*: To the Intent, that if any Censures should be fulminate against the King, or his Realm, that then it may appear to all the World, that the Censures be of none Effect: Considering, that the King hath already, and also before any Censures promulged, both provoked and appealed.

XI. ' *Item*, Like Transsumpts to be made, and sent into all other Realmes and Dominions, and especially into *Flaunders*, concerning the King's said Provocations and Appellations: To the Intent the Falshood, Iniquity, Malice and Injustice of the Bishop of *Rome*, may thereby appear to all the World: And also to the Intent that all the World may know, that the King's Highness standing under those Appeals, no Censures can prevail, ne take any Effect agenst him and the Realm.

XII. ' *Item*, A Letter to be conceived from all the Nobles, as well Spiritual as Temporal, of this Realme, unto the Bishop of *Rome*; Declaring the Wrongs, Injuries and Usurpations, used agenst the King's Highness and this Realm.

XIII. ' *Item*, To send Explorators and Espies into *Scotland*; and to see and perceive their Practises, and what they intend there; and whether they will confedre themselves with any other outward Princes.

XIV. ' *Item*, Certain discret and grave Persons to be appointed to repair into the Parties of *Germany*: To practise or conclude some League, or Amitie, with the Princes and Potentates of *Germany*: that is to say, the King of *Pole*, King *John* of *Hungary*, the Duke of *Saxony*, the Dukes of *Baviere*, Duke *Frederic*, the Landgrave of *Van Hesse*, the Bishop of *Magons*, (*Moguntium*) the Bishop of *Friers*, the Bishop of *Colen*, and other the Potentates of *Germany*. And also to ensearch of what Inclination the said Princes and Potentates be of towards the King, and this Realm.

XV. ' *Item*, Like Practise to be made and practised with the Cities of *Lubeck*, *Danske*, *Hamburgh*, *Bromeswick*, and all other the Stedds of the *Hause Teutonic*. And to ensearch of what Inclinations they be towards the King and this Realm.

XVI. ' *Item*, Like Practise to be made, and practised, with the Cities of *Norimberg* and *Augsbourgh*.

XVII. ' *Item*, To remember the Merchant Adventurers, haunting the Dominions of *Brabant*, and to speak with them.

XVII. ' *Item*, To set Order and Establishment of the Princess Dowager's House, with all Celerity, and also of my Lady *Mary's* House.

XIX. ' *Item*, A full Conclusion and Determination to be taken for my Lady Princess [ *Elizabeth's* ] House.

[Noryerdone, ne can well be done before the Parliament.]

[Marg. of the MS.]

[Send Letters to my Lord

*Darces*, my Lord of *Nor-*

*thumberland*, and Sir *C-*

*Clifford*.]

[Marg. of the MS.]

[In the King's Arbitrement.]

[Marg. of the MS.]

[To know whom of the

King.]

[Marg. of the MS.]

[This is already done.]

[Marg. of the MS.]

[The Order is taken.]

[Marg. of the MS.]

[The Orders taken.]

[Marg. of the MS.]

[Marg. of the MS.]

[Marg. of the MS.]



The Resolutions that were taken by the Privy Council upon these Propositions abovesaid were these, as I extract them from the same MS. in the Cotton Library :

A N N O

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*Acta in Concilio Domini Regis 2do Decembr.*

‘ First, That the Conclusions mentioned in the First Article of this Book, with the Circumstances thereof, be committed to Mr. Dean, [Doctor Sampson, Dean of the King’s Chapel] and the Almoner [Doctor Fox,] and other Doctors; to search their Books, and to make an Answer again thereupon to the Lords of the Council by Friday and Saturday next.

The Resolutions taken hereupon.

‘ The Bishops of London, Lincoln and Bath, to be warned to be here afore the Council.’ [These Bishops being nearest the Court: The Archbishop of Canterbury is not mentioned, either because he was one of the Privy Council, or was now down in his Diocese.]

This added by another Hand

‘ And as to the other Seven Articles, depending upon the said First, the Council will be advised thereof, until the Return of the said Answer.

‘ And as to the Ninth, Tenth and Eleventh Articles, it is committed to my Lord Chancellor [Sir Thomas Audley] and Master Cromewel, to put in Execution with all Speed, according to the Effect of the same.

‘ And as to the Twelfth Article, it is ordered, a Minute of a Letter shall be drawn and conceived by Mr. Almoner according to the Purport thereof. And that first of all there shall be exhibited to the Council, the Copy of an old Letter, sent unto the Pope by the Nobles in King Edward the Ist. his Reign; and all the Letter; which we last sent unto the Pope.

‘ And as touching the Thirteenth Article, it is committed to my Lord of Norfolk and Mr. Cromewel.

‘ And as unto the Fourteenth, Fifteenth and Sixteenth Articles, it is ordered that Letters shall be with all Speed devised and sent unto Mr. Wallop, to advertise the French King thereof, before any of them shall be put in Execution.

‘ Item, For the diminishing the House and Order of the Princess Dowager, the King’s Highness hath appointed, that the Duke of Suffolk, the Earl of Suffex, Master Controuler, and Master Den [Denny, I suppose] shall repair thither, and to use themselves according to such Instructions, as shall be devised for the same.

‘ Item, For the diminishing of the House and Ordering of the Lady Mary, the King’s Highness hath appointed, that the Duke of Norfolk, the Lord Marinex [Marnix,] the Earl of Oxford, and Mr. Almoner, shall repair thither, and use themselves according to such Instructions, as shall be devised for the same.

‘ Item, The King’s Highness hath appointed, that the Lady Princess [Elizabeth,] \* shall be conveyed from hence towards Hatfield, † upon Wednesday the next Week: and that Wednesday Night to repose, and lye at the House of the Earl of Rutland in Enfield; and the next Day to be conveyed to Hertford [Hatfield,] and there to remain

\* Who was now near a Quarter Old.  
† It was first writt the Castle of Hertford, but that was dashed out, and Hatfield put in.

**A N N O** 1533. with such formerly in Household, as the King's Highness hath assigned, and established for the same.

*Sampson, Dean of the Chapel, his Book for the King's Supremacy.*

*Richard Sampson* LL. D. Dean of the Chapel, mentioned a little above, this Year wrote and published a certain *Latin* Oration, for the vindicating the King in taking the Supremacy into his own Hand, and for confuting the Doctrine of the Papal Power in this Kingdom. It was printed by *Thomas Barthelet, cum Privilegio*. And the King sent it abroad, and dispersed it among Foreigners for the Vindication of his Doings : And among the rest, appointed it to be sent to *Pole*, as shall be seen hereafter.

**Numb.**  
**XLII.**

This Book I have seen in Vellum in an exquisite Collection of curious Books; and which I exactly transcribed: and have now put into our *Appendix*. *Qua docet, hortatur, admonet, &c.* as it stands in the Title, giving the Purport of the said Oration, *i. e.* 'That it taught, 'exhorted and admonished all Persons, and particularly the *English* Nation, that above all they were bound to obey Kingly Dignity; 'because the Law of God commaunded it: And that they should not 'listen to the Bishop of *Rome*; who had no Power by any Divine 'Right over them; after that the King had so commanded to obey 'him only, &c.

*Rom. xii.*  
*1 Pet. ii.*

In this Book he grounded the King's Power over all Persons, Ecclesiastical, as well as Lay, upon these Scriptures, *Let every Soul be subject to the higher Powers; and, Submit your selves to every Ordinance of Man, for the Lord's Sake*. He asserted hence, that Kings are God's Vicars, or Substitutes; because they have their Power of God himself. And that the Bishop of *Rome* hath nothing to do without his Province. That in *England* he had no more Power than the Archbishop of *Canterbury* had at *Rome*. And that there was no Word in Scripture, that attributed Power to him out of the *Roman* Province: Nor no more Mention of the Bishop of *Rome* in the Holy Scripture, than of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*. But however it was thought necessary that this Book of *Sampson's* should be answered: And so it was afterward by *Cochleus*, a violent Papist.

And yet this Writer, who hath shewn such Loyalty to the King by this State Book of his against any Foreign Power, to be superior to that of the King, we shall hear in the Progress of these *Memorials*, what a secret Favourer he was of the Pope, and of such as would not renounce his Authority in this Kingdom.

This Oration of *Sampson's* was some Years after put into *English* by a Learned Divine, and Writer, with a Freedom of Paraphrase sometimes. Which, for the Benefit of *English* Readers, is, as followeth.

*Dr. Sampson's Oration. Becon's Reports.*

'A KING is appointed of God for the Punishment of evil Doers, 'and for the Prayse of the Good: Whom he regardeth, defendeth, 'advanceth. And as it apperteineth unto his Office to save and to 'defend the good and honest People, so is it his Duty to punish the 'wicked and disobedient. This Power hath he of God. The Matter 'is playne ynough. The Scriptures are evident. For it is the Word 'of God which teacheth us to obey this Power. It excepteth no Man 'in the World. Neither is there found in Holy Scripture one Jote or 'Tittle that maketh free any disobedient and wicked Person from the 'Power of the King.

'Marvel



‘ Marvel not thou therefore, if thou see either Priest or Monk or A N N O  
 ‘ Byshop punished, if he do offend, no more than thou dost wonder at 1533.  
 ‘ the Punishment of a Lay Person. *If thou do evil*, saith the Apostle, *Rom. xiii.*  
 ‘ then *fear the Power of the Sword*. For he speaketh this to all Men,  
 ‘ and every one of them. *What Matter thankworthy is this*, saith  
 ‘ St. Peter, *if ye do amiss, ye take it patiently, when ye are buffeted* 1 Pet. ii.  
 ‘ *and beaten*. Have therefore, saith he, *a good Conversation; that*  
 ‘ *Men speak not evil of you as Malefactors*. Therefore be yee subject to  
 ‘ *all humane Ordinance for the Lord's Sake; Whether it be to the King,*  
 ‘ *as Supreme Head, &c.* God himself therefore commaundeth that  
 ‘ we should obey the King, his Power and his Laws, in all Things that  
 ‘ belong to the Princes of this World. Seeing then that the King hath  
 ‘ his Supreme Power of God, it is to be wondred, that such foolish  
 ‘ Men are found, which cannot abyde (so much as in them is) that  
 ‘ the King should be adorned with the Name of *Supreme Head*. But  
 ‘ either imprudently or impudently, and ambitiously labour also, that Supreme  
 ‘ other may not agree thereunto. Is not he worth the Name of Su- Head.  
 ‘ preme Head, to whom alone in Earth the Supreme and most high  
 ‘ Power is given by the Word of God? I would that they which  
 ‘ think themselves Learned, should bring forth out of the Holy  
 ‘ Scripture any one Power, which may be compared unto this Regal  
 ‘ Power.

‘ This Power therefore have the Kings of God himself. His Mini- The King is  
 ‘ sters they are. Of him are they sent, as St. Peter saith: And his God's Vicar.  
 ‘ *Vicars* are they. All therefore must needs obey this Power, that will  
 ‘ be subject unto God. He that receiveth not him, and obeyeth not  
 ‘ him, whom God sendeth, and to whom God hath given this expresse  
 ‘ and manifest Power, doth utterly cast away God, or rather despiseth  
 ‘ him. Let the King therefore be called *Supreme Head*: For the same  
 ‘ is he indeed; confirmed with the Word of God, &c.

‘ What other Thing then is it, to contemne and despise the Word of  
 ‘ God, not to obey the King, which is God's Minister and God's Vi-  
 ‘ car? I mean not, by this Vicar of God, that Byshop of Rome, which The Bishop  
 ‘ by his proper Ryght hath Nothing to do without his Province. He of Rome hath  
 ‘ is the Byshop of Rome: Let him play the Byshop of Rome. For in no Power, but  
 ‘ *England* he hath no more Power, then the Arlbishop of *Canterbury* in his own  
 ‘ hath at *Rome*. There is not one Word in the Holy Scripture, which Province.  
 ‘ attributeth any Power unto him without the *Roman* Province. Which  
 ‘ Thing I will make most evident and playne unto thee. If he hath that  
 ‘ Power by the Law of God, which he so greatly seeketh after, he must  
 ‘ prove it by the Word of God. But of the Byshop of *Rome* there is  
 ‘ no more mention, then of the Archbyshop of *Canterbury*. Therefore  
 ‘ out of this Fountain he cannot draw thys Water, where none at all is.  
 ‘ Whereas he saith, that he is the Successour of *Peter*, and that by this  
 ‘ Succession he hath received this Power, if *Peter* himself were here pre- The Words of  
 ‘ sent, he would utterly deny it, and without all doubt cry out against St. Peter con-  
 ‘ this Lyar, and say, O Impostor, and Deceaver, O Ambitious, proud, cerning the  
 ‘ and arrogant Man! My Master Christ taught me Humility, the deny- Pope.  
 ‘ ing of my self, the dyspying of this World, and of all the Pomp there-  
 ‘ of. Peace &c. But how far estranged from Humilitie he is, which  
 ‘ in my Name chalengeth unto him the Primacy and highest Authoritie,  
 ‘ his

*A N N O* 1533. 'his outward Manners do evidently declare. The Tree is known by the  
'Frutes. For the denying himself, he goeth about to do all Things  
'after his own Will and Pleasure. For the Contempt and Despying of  
'this World, He loveth Nothing so derely, as the Things which be-  
'long to this World. In Pride and Pomp he passeth the Princes of the  
'Heathen. For Peace, he rayseth up Battel in every Place; yea, and  
'that for none other Cause, then that he may live and do all Things ac-  
'cording to hys own Wil and Pleasure. These Things, I say, and ma-  
'ny more, would St. *Peter* speak of the Bishop of *Rome*; if he were  
'here.

The Manners  
of *Rome* cor-  
rupt.

*Psal.* 119.

*Peter* had not  
the Superiori-  
ty.

*Act.* viii.

*1 Tim.* i.  
*Tit.* i.

*Gal.* ii.

*Peter's* Au-  
thority ex-  
tended but to  
*Jewry*.

'But as touching the most corrupt and abominable Manners of *Rome*,  
'I say nothing. For I should almost as easily draw out all the Water of  
'the Ocean Sea, as rehearse those Manners, and set them forth in their  
'right Colours. I beseech God, for Christen Charity, that he may  
'learn to know God; and that when he once know him, he may love  
'him: And that he, that is to say, the Bishop of *Rome*, may at the  
'last begynne more studiously and diligently to practyse and follow those  
'Things, which Christ commaundeth. That as he now, a great Number  
'of Yeres, hath been the Parent and Father of al Abominations (as I  
'may with one Word comprehend al Evils) setting forth the Works,  
'not of Christ, but of the Devil; so likewise now at the last he may  
'repent and amend. That many Christen Men, that now hate him,  
'yea, and that both worthily and justly, may rejoyce at the Conversion  
'of one so famous a Synner. I have hated, saith the Prophet, *the*  
'wicked. And let the Byshop of *Rome* above al Things, learne to  
'contain and hold himself within his own Bounds and Limits. For he  
'doth foolishly to challenge that by that Right of Succession, or by the  
'Law of Inheritance, which the Holy Fathers never had, nor yet would  
'they have. For St. *Peter* did nothing less then arrogate and challenge  
'unto himself such Primacy and Superiority. He did never exercise it,  
'because he never had it. For thou shalt find in no Place, that he at  
'any Time did send any of the Apostles, or that he commaunded any  
'of them to do any Thing. But we read, that he was sent of the  
'Apostles.

'If that *Peter* alone had the absolute Power, whereof they so greatly  
'boast, what shall we then say of *Paul*? Which without his Counsil or  
'Licence did found and stablyshe, with his Doctrine, the *Corinthians*,  
'*Galathians*, yea and the very *Romans* also. He appointed *Timothy* to  
'be Bishop in *Ephesus*, *Titus* in *Creta*, and that they should appoint  
'Priests, or Seniors in every Citie, and set the Things in Order, &c.  
'But as touching *Peter*, he openly reprov'd him unto hys Face: Nether  
'did he confer his Gospel with *Peter* alone, but with the Apostles. If  
'we wil ascribe and attribute the chief Authority to St. *Peter*, then must  
'we provide, that we stretch it not out beyond *Jewry*, nor further then  
'the Coasts of the *Jewish* Country: Yea, and that by the Testimony of  
'*Paul*, which saith, that he was appointed to be the Preacher and Teacher  
'of the *Gentiles*: And that the Gospel of Uncircumcision was no less  
'committed unto him, then the Gospel of Circumcision was committed  
'unto *Peter*. He saith also, that neither *Peter*, nor any other of the  
'Apostles, did help him any Thing at all. Neither doth he attribute to  
'*Peter* any Superiority above the other Apostles; For he saith, *James*,  
'*Cephas*,



'Cephas, and John, which seemed to be the chief Pyllars, gave to me *A N N O*  
'and Barnabas the Right Hands, and agreed with us. In the which *1533.*  
'Place he doth not only make the other equal with Peter, but also he  
'giveth him not so much Honour, as to name him first. For he first *Gal. ii.*  
'nameth James, &c.

'Peter was the first of the Apostles, but he was not the first and *Peter the first,*  
'chief in Power and Authority. For they were al equal in Power, &c. *how.*

'If St. Peter were present, without al doubt he would take Nothing  
'more heavily, then that the Byshop of Rome doth challenge unto him  
'thys more then Secular Power, under his Title and Name. For if St.  
'Peter had receaved thys Power of Christ, with this Commaundment,  
'that he alone should exercise it, and that all other should take their  
'Power of him, (as the Byshop of Rome doth now challenge unto hym)  
'Then should both Peter grievously have offended, which did not obey  
'thys Commaundment, and they also should most fowly have erred,  
'which without his Authority took upon them to minister in the Church  
'of Christ. Neither would Luke have silenced this Matter in the *Acts*  
'of the Apostles, which after Christ's Ascension wrote the Things, which  
'the Apostles did. But how far this is from the Apostles Dedes, we  
'have already declared evidently ynough.

'Seeing then that St. Peter had not this Power, by what Authoritie *How the Pope*  
'hath the Byshop of Rome challenged and taken it unto him? Verily, *came by his*  
'by the too much Sufferance of the Princes and of the People, and *Superiority.*  
'thorow the filthy Ambition and Pride of the Bishops of that Place.  
'Which Thing I will make unto thee more open and clear than the very  
'Sunne, yea, and that in few Words.

'First of al, there is nothing more certain under Heaven, than that  
'unto the Bishop of Rome, there is no more either Primacy or Power  
'attributed and geven by the Law of God, than unto any other Byshop  
'eyther in England, or in Fraunce, or in Italy; seeing that St. Peter  
'himself had it not. It must needs therefore follow, that the Power,  
'which he chalengeeth, he hath it by Man's Law. Therefore many of  
'the auntient Byshops of Rome did neyther covet, nor yet at any Tyme  
'went about to exercise any such Authoritie: neyther did other Men  
'geve it unto them, or to any of them such Power.

'There are certain familiar Epistles of Cyprian, Byshop of Carthage,  
'unto Cornelius Byshop of Rome, written about CC and L. Years after  
'Christ. How much Primacy he geveth unto him, the Superscription of  
'those Letters declareth evidently. Cyprian, saith he, *sendeth gretyng*  
'to his Brother Cornelius. Neither do the Words of the Epistle geve  
'unto him any more Power. The Faith of God's Word, which both  
'the Apostles Peter and Paul, as well with their Doctrine, as also at the  
'last with their Martyrdome, left sound and perfect, before other Pla-  
'ces, at Rome, both those Old Fathers had in great Reverence; and also  
'the good Byshops of Rome kept whole and safe stil, even in the Time  
'of Cyprian. Neither doth St. Hierom attribute and gyve to Damasus,  
'Bishop of Rome, which lived about CCCLXVIII Years after Christ's  
'Ascension unto his Father, any other Primacy in his Epistles, which he  
'wrote unto him, then that he should follow the Faith of that See of  
'Rome, and advaunce that to the uttermost of his Power. And as con-  
'cerning that St. Hierom saith, *Extra hanc Domum qui Agnum commo-*  
*derit*

*A N N O* *derit profanus est*: That is to say, *He that eateth the Lamb without this*  
*1533.* *House, is profane*, and an unholy Person, in a certain Epistle, which  
 The Primacy of the Pope was not known in St. Hieron's Time. *beginneth Quoniam vetusto. tom. 3. p. 59. he meaneth undoubtedly*  
*'without this Faith*: Although *Erasmus* in that Place chiefly do not  
 seeme so syncerely to speak, as he doth in many other Places, which  
 very uncircumspectly interpreteth that *House* the Primacy of the Church  
 of *Rome*. For such Primacy was not known in that Age, &c.

The Pope with his Canons are to be refused. *'Seeing then that the Byshop of Rome hath so greatly degenerated*  
*'from the Word of God, what is more right and lawful, then to cast away;*  
*'and utterly to refuse him, and all his ambitious Canons or Laws? For*  
*'they are not the Canons and Rules of Christ, but rather of this World;*  
*'Seying they teach none other Thing, than Pomp, Ambition, Pride;*  
*'Covetousness, &c. Hereof cometh this Noble Primacy. Hereof spring-*  
*'eth the Dominion far passing the Dominion of Heathen Kings. Hereof*  
*'also riseth that abominable kyssing of Feet. Paul and Barnabas rann*  
*'out into the Multitude, rentyng their Garments for Sorrow, when the*  
*'People began to worship them, crying out on this Manner, We also*  
*'are mortal Men like unto you. And when Cornelius fell down at Peter's*  
*'Feet, Peter lifted hym up straightwayes and said, Ryse, for I also am a*  
*'Man. How then doth the Byshop of Rome wish, that Christen Men*  
*'should obey hym, Seyng al that he teacheth or doth, is so contrary to*  
 No Man can serve both Christ and the Pope. *'Christ? Eyther must we forsake Christ, or the Byshop of Rome with*  
*'these Manners. For no Man can serve these Two Maysters. So long*  
*'as the Byshops of Rome followed Christ, there was no Nation among*  
*'all the Christians, so subject unto him, and so obedient (not in Respect*  
*'of any Supreme Power, but even of their own free Will) as the*  
*'English Nation was.*

King Henry enacted no Obedience to the Pope. *'The Common Weal of England, long and many a Day hath sustained*  
*'of this See of Rome intolerable Burdens and Injuries. But after that;*  
*'neither Measure nor End could be found, our most prudent King [ Henry*  
*'VIII. ] as it was his Duty, although long first, at the last provided for*  
*'his Common-Weal. He hath enacted (whom all we are bound to obey*  
*'by the Word of God) that we should shew no Obedience to the By-*  
*'shop of Rome, which requireth Obedience at our Hands without any*  
*'Warrant of God's Word.*

*'He therefore that will both be counted, and also be a true Christian,*  
*'must nedes obey the Word of Christ. Thou art bound by the Word of*  
*'God to obey the King, as we have playnly proved and taught: But so*  
*'art thou not the Byshop of Rome. The King commaundeth thee to*  
*'obey him. The Byshop of Rome commaundeth thee to be subject*  
*'unto him. The King commaundeth by the Word of God. But the*  
*'Byshop of Rome chalengeth Obedience by the Law of Man. If thou*  
 John xiv. *'be a Christian, thou wilt obey the Word of God. If thou love me, saith*  
*'Christ, kepe my Commaundments. He that loveth me not, kepeth not*  
*'my Commaundments, He that is not with me is against me, saith he.*  
*'That thou therefore mayest be of Gods Part, thou must nedes do that*  
*'which God commaundeth. Otherwise shalt thou undoubtedly be of*  
*'those Enemies, which would not have the King to reign over them,*  
 Luke xix. *'as Luke saith. Ye shall dy in your Sinns, bycause ye do not only not*  
*'love God, but ye seme also to hate hym, seying ye refuse and utterly*  
*'despise his Word, after that ye be taught it, ye contemn and set at*  
*'Nought*



‘ Nought al humane usurped Power, and obey the Word of God. The Word of God is, that ye should obey the King, and not the Byshop of Rome. With a certain secret or still Consent of Men, the Byshop of Rome crept into this Realm. But now for many, yea, and those most just Causes, as we have tofore partly touched, is it enacted with an open and universal Consent, that ye should no more be subject to this foraign Power of the Byshop of Rome. Thys doth God commaund, bycause the King, God’s Minister in Earth, doth commaund it, to whom by the Word of God, the supreme, or most high Power, is geven. He useth his Right. He will no longer suffer, that he; which hath too long usurped a Power here after a thevysh Sort, should thrust hym out of his Right. Every true *Englisch* hearted Man is bound to obey this Law and Ordinance, that ye may specially love the King, Supreme Head: Again, that ye all which are Members of this Head, may heartily love one another, as I, faith Christ, have loved you, &c.

A N N O  
1533.

The Pope’s  
usurped Power  
justly banished out of  
England.

C H A P. XXII.

*Struggling for the Pope. Wilson. Hubbardin. Powel. Latimer. Antichrist.*

**T**HIS Time the Bishops generally and most of the Clergy were great *Papalins*: and seeing how the King’s Proceedings tended not only to the abating, but destroying the Pope’s Authority and Sway here in *England*, it sore grieved them; and they did what they could to keep it up among the People: Hoping, that when the King saw, how tightly the Subjects every where stood for the Pope, he might be the more tender, how he went on infringing his Power. For this purpose they now privately procured several Doctors of the Universities, such as were the most popular and ready Preachers, to be in the nature of the *Itineraries*, to ride about the Countries, and to preach up, from Place to Place, the Pope’s Power over Kings; extolling the Bishop of Rome, and diminishing the Power of Secular Princes. One of these was Dr. *Wilson* of *Cambridge*, a *North Country* Man. About this Time he travelled into the Countries about *Beverley* in *Holderness*. And from thence he went a Progress, by some private Appointment, through *Yorkshire*, *Lancashire*, *Cheshire*, and so toward the *West* Parts, to *Bristow*. Another was an old Divine of *Oxford*, named *Hubbardin*, a great Strayer about the Realm in all Quarters, to deface and impeach the springing of Christ’s Gospel. He was employed in the *West* Country, and was wholly at the Devotion of the Bishops, doing whatsoever they bad him. He magnified the Pope above measure, to the Derogation of the Temporal Princes. But his Behaviour, and Life, and Manner of Preaching, was most indecent, and a Sort of Interlude: and so the more taking among the vulgar Sort. He would rail in all Places against *Luther*, *Melancthon*, *Zuinglius*, *Frith*, *Tyndal*, *Latimer*, and such like eminent Professors of the Gospel. He would, for his better

The Popish  
Clergy’s  
Practice.

*Latimer’s Letter to Morice,*  
in *Fox*, p. 1581.  
Dr. *Wilson*.

*Hubbardin*.

A N N O

1533.

better Reception among the People, openly and ostentatiously give such Alms as he had received out of other Mens Purfes. He used long Prayers, pretended Devotion, and great Fasting. He ordinarily rode in a long Gown down to the Horfe's Heels, all bedirted like a Sloven, as tho' he were a Man of Contemplation, little regarding the Things belonging to the Body. His Sermons consisted of Tales and Fables, Dialogues and Dreams. He would dance and hop and leap, and use histrionical Gestures in the Pulpit. At which he was once so violent, stamping so much, that the Pulpit, wherein he was, brake, and he fell down, and brake his Legs, whereof he died. This Man once made an Oration in the Praise of Thieves and Thievery. Which he did at the Command of some Highway-Men that robbed him. And they liking it so well; returned him his Money again, and Two Shillings more to drink their Health. The MS. whereof is still extant, and was once sold at the Auction of Mr. Smith's Books. I have a grave monitory Letter written to this Man by *Latimer*, advising him to leave off his Blasphemies, and confuting some Passages by him uttered in a Sermon. This Letter you shall have in the *Appendix*.

Numb.

XLIII.

Dr. Powel.

Another of these Emissaries was Dr. *Powel*. Who once preached before the Maier of *Bristol*, extolling the Pope with Abundance of Zeal: little regarding in the mean Time the Power of the Secular Sword. He preached also much for Pilgrimages; proving them from that Scripture in the Gospel, *Whosoever leaveth not Father and Mother and Houses and Lands, &c.* By which may be perceived what hard Shifts they made, to make the Scripture speak for them. For, together with the Pope's Supremacy, they were instructed to do their utmost to defend and maintain the Superstitions of the Church: and especially such as were gainful to the Priests; such as Pilgrimages to Saints, Shrines, and Purgatory were.

Hunting the  
Rom. Fox, p. 4.

There is a Letter of Friar *Thomas Powel* from *Paris*, a saleable Letter against the King, Anno 1536. Which began thus: 'We behold, how the King is chaunged from a Christian to a Heretic, &c.

I find *Nicolas Wylson* and *Edward Powel*, (who, I suppose, were the *Wylson* and *Powel* before named) attainted with *John Bishop of Rochester*, for refusing the Oaths of Supremacy and Succession in the Year 1534; and their Benefices declared void. *Wylson* was Parson of *St. Thomas Apostles, London*: And by the Archbishop of *Canterbury's* Persuasion, he was at length brought to swear, and so escaped for that time; but it was but a dissembling the matter.

The People's  
Opinion of  
the Pope.

As to the Supremacy, they had the King against them, who had resolved now to abolish the Pope's Power in *England*. Which he saw there was great Necessity to do, in order to the Vindication of his own Regal Authority. And therefore he ordered the Point to be much disputed. And it was argued of thoroughly both in Parliament and Convocation: and the Reasons on both Sides well considered. And all this the more gently to bring off the Generality of the Nation, which was bred up in an Awe of the Pope, and had a mighty inveterate Opinion of the Papal Jurisdiction, even to the making it equal with Christ's. Take the Opinion of the common People from one, who lived and conversed long among them: I mean *Hugh Latimer*, afterwards Bishop of *Worcester*, and lastly a Martyr. He in a Letter to  
Sir



Sir Edward Bainton, tells him, ' That the Pope, Christ's Vicar, had been Lord of all the World, as Christ is. So that if he should have deprived the King of his Crown, or you, saith he to the Knight, of the Lordship of *Bromeham*, it had been enough. For he could do no Wrong. That he himself thought in Time past, that the Pope's Dispen-  
A N N O 1533.  
Fox's Acts. p. 1586.  
 sations of Pluralities of Benefices, and of Absence from the same, had discharged Consciences before God. Forasmuch as he had heard, *Ecce vobiscum sum, & qui vos audit, audit me*, tended to corroborate the same.' And there was an *Italian* this Year in *England*, named *Raphael Marulphus*, formerly a Merchant of the Pope's Dispensations, who had such an Opinion of the Pope's high Dominion over all, that *Latimer* verily believed, he would dare to dye in his Quarrel, and look upon himself in so doing, God's true Knight, and true Martyr.

I have made some Mention of *Latimer*, whom Bishop *Ridley* called *Nostræ gentis Anglicanæ verum Apostolum*, The very Apostle of *England*. He was now Parson of *West Kington* in the County of *Wilts*: A great and useful Preacher in those Parts, and who took frequent Occasion to de-  
Latimer at Bristol.  
 claim against the Superstitions of the Church. Sometimes he was procured to preach in the Populous City of *Bristol*. Whose Sermons, as they gave great Satisfaction unto many good People there, so no little Disgust to the Papists. Insomuch, that the Priests bent themselves against him, and created him much Trouble. And one *Richard Brown*, a Priest, wrote, as it seems from *Worcester*, to some eminent Person in the Convocation at *London*; which I do verily think was *Peter Vannes*, Archdeacon of *Worcester*; informing him against *Latimer* for a Sermon preached at *Bristol*: and that he being to preach at *Bristol* at *Easter*, might be forbid so to do by the Dean of *Bristol*, by the said Archdeacon's Interest with the said Dean. The Letter is as follows: Whereby will appear what *Latimer's* Crimes were.

' Right Worshipful Master, my Duty unto you remembered: Esteemes it may like you to be advertised, that upon the Second Sunday this Lent at *Bristol*, there preached one *Latimer*. And, as it is reported, he hath done much Hurt among the People by his said preaching, and soweth Errors. His Fame is there, and in most Parts of the Diocese. He said, that our Lady was a Sinner, and that she ought not to be worshipped of the People, ne any of the Saints. Exclaimeth upon Pilgrimage. And also where the Gospel, the said Sunday specifying of the Woman of *Canaan's* calling upon Christ to help her; and how the Disciples prayed for her, saying, *dimittite eam, quia clamat post nos*: the same *Latimer* declared in his said preaching, that the Woman of *Canaan* by the Desire and Prayer of the Disciples to Christ for her, she rather fared the worse then the better by the Prayer of them. And diverse other Opinions vented in his preaching, fully against the Determinations of the Church. Whereby he hath very fore infected the said Town of *Bristol*, as it is reported. The same *Latimer* is assigned for to preach again at *Bristol* the *Wednesday* in *Easter* Week, except by your Commandment unto the Dean there, he be denied and forbid to preach. The good Catholick People in the said Town do abhor all such his preaching. The Fellow dwelleth within the Diocese of *Bath*: and, certain Times cometh into my Lords Diocese of *Worcester*. This doing such Hurt, I am required

A Priest complains of his Preaching at *Bristol*.  
*Cleop. E. 5.*

*A N N O* 1533. to certify your Mastership of this wretched his Abusions:  
 and that ye would write unto the Dean of *Brislow*, to forbid and  
 deny the said *Latimer* to preach there, or within any Part of my  
 said Lord's Diocese. It is reported, that he is commanded not to  
 preach within the Diocese of *Bath*. This ye know, now what is to  
 be done, as it shall be your Pleasure; and our Lord God send you  
 good Speed in the Convocation, and send you merry Home to *Wor-*  
*ceter*. This xviii. Day of *March*.

By your true Obedient Servant;  
 RICHARD BROWN, Priest.

Their Affronts  
 and Abuses  
 of him.

Fox. p. 1580.

Numb.  
 XLIV.

His Apology  
 for himself,  
 and his Ser-  
 mon.

And indeed such Effect had this Letter, that they procured him to be inhibited to preach at *Easter*, tho' he were appointed thereto by the Maior; under Pretence, that none might preach in the Bishop of *Worcester's* Diocese, that had not his License. Of these their Doings and untrue Accusations, *Latimer* complained to Mr. *Merice*, the Archbishop of *Canterbury's* Secretary, a good Friend of his; who became a Patron to the Preachers of the Gospel. For, as he related his own Case, the Priests at first invited him to preach at *Brislow*, welcomed him, and made much of him, and allowed all that he said, while he was with them. But after he was gone, they perceiving how the People favoured him, became his Enemies, and procured some Priests to preach against him. And some, that had a Faculty that Way, to make him the more both odious and ridiculous, were employed to make Ballads upon him. One of which, for a Taste of the Poetry of those Days, and the Anger of the Priests against him, may be read in the *Appendix*. The Burden of the Song was, that, *It was pity he should dye for Cold*: meaning, that he deserved to be burnt for an Heretick. But both the Ballad-mongers and the Preachers belyed him, as he affirmed to his Friend *Morice*.

For as to what they laid to his Charge, that he should say our Lady was a Sinner, *Latimer* said for himself, that he said no such Thing; but reprov'd certain Priests, which gave so much to our Lady, as tho' she had not been saved by Christ: Asserting, whether she were a Sinner or no Sinner, she must be saved by Christ, either by delivering her from, or preserving her from Sin. And then as to the Second Accusation, that he should say, neither she nor any other Saint, was to be worshipped: therein they belyed him too. For that, as he said, he distinguished between the Images of Saints, and the Saints themselves, inhabiting Heaven. The former he said were not to be worshipped; taking worshipping them for praying to them: and yet that they might be well used, to be Laymen's Books, for Remembrance of heavenly Things. But taking Saints in the latter Sense, he denied not praying to them, but that they might be worshipped, and be our Mediators to God, tho' not by Way of Redemption, yet by Way of Intercession. And as to the Third Accusation, his exclaiming against Pilgrimages, he said, 'He never denied Pilgrimages, but that much Scurff must be pared away, ere it could be well done: As Superstition, Idolatry, false Faith and Trust in the Image traveled unto, unjust Estimation of the Thing, setting aside God's Ordinance for doing of the Thing. For Debts must be paid, Restitution made, Wife and Children be pro-  
 vided



vided for, Duties to our poor Neighbours discharged. And when it is at the best, before Pilgrimage be vowed, it need not to be done. And Counsel is to be taken with Curates before it be vowed to be done. After this wary Manner did this good Father preach in these dark Times; and so unwillingly could the Priests and Friars bear to have their old profitable superstitious Practices shaken. And therefore there were many procured to preach against him, and publickly to confute whatsoever he said: And not only so, but they disparaged him to the King, as an ignorant unlearned Man. Which last Accusation made him wish, that the King would command him to preach before him a whole Year together every Sunday, that he might perceive, how they belyed him, saying, that he had neither Learning nor Utterance.

Nor was this the first Time he felt the Rancor and ill Will of the Priests: For about Two Years before, *viz.* 1531. he fell into much Trouble, having been informed against by such Sort of Men: So that he was cited up to *London*, and made his Appearance before Five or Six Bishops, Archbishop *Warham* and Bishop *Stokesly* being Two of them: When he was examin'd thrice a Week for divers Weeks, as he tells his own Story in one of his Sermons; and many Snares and Traps were laid to get something out of his own Mouth against him. At last he was brought forth to be examined into a Chamber hung with *Arras*, where he had before been wont to be examined. But now at this Time the Chamber was altered. For whereas before there was wont ever to be a Fire in the Chimney, now the Fire was taken away, and an *Arras* Hanging hanged over the Chimney, and the Table was placed near the Chimney's End. So that he stood between the Table and the Chimney. Which was so ordered out of Design, as shall be seen by and by, among the Bishops that examined him. One of them, with whom he had been formerly very familiar, whom he took for his great Friend; and very aged, was the Person especially, of all the rest, that was to lay the Snare for him. He that sat next the Table's End, among other Questions put forth one very subtle and crafty one: Bidding him withal speak out, because he was thick of hearing, and there were many that sat at a Distance. *Latimer* began now to suspect, marvelling, that in that Chamber he was bid to speak loud, and giving an Ear to the Chimney, he heard a Pen Writing there behind the Hangings. Where indeed they had appointed one to write all his Answers: Thinking to make sure Work, that he should not start from them. And had not God assisted him in the Answers he made, he could never have escaped. Now the Question was this, 'Master *Latimer*, Do you not think in your Conscience, that you have been suspected of Heresy? A subtle Question, To hold his Peace had been to grant himself faulty. And to answer, was every Way full of Danger. But in this Extremity, God gave him a Mouth and Wisdom to make so prudent and wary a Reply, that tho' they were upon the Catch, they could take no Advantage against him. And so he was delivered that Time out of their Hands.

The *Pope* was now reckoned among many as the *Antichrist*, for the Opposition he made by his Creatures to the Gospel, and for his overthrowing the Laws of it by his Dispensations and Traditions; and for his Pride and Affectation of Superiority over all Princes and Bishops

A N N O

1533.

Former Troubles of *Latimer*.Sermon at *Stamford*, p. 96. b.The *Pope* called *Antichrist*.

*A N N O* throughout the World. And the King was the more willing to allow  
 1533. People to lay that severe Charge upon him, that he might the better  
 vindicate his own Supremacy in his own Dominions. But the Favour-  
 ers of the Pope were much concerned at it, and endeavoured to lay  
 that Name of *Antichrist* somewhere else. I met with a *MS.* writ by  
 some Papist, (about this Time as I guess) treating about *Antichrist*.  
 Wherein the Author undertakes to tell us by diligent reading of Books,  
 as he pretends, that *Antichrist* should be born of the *Jews*, and of the  
 Tribe of *Dan*. Because in *Gen.* Chap. XLIX., it is said, *Dan shall be a*  
*Serpent in the Way*. That in his Conception, the Devil shall enter into  
 the Womb of his Mother: and that he shall hold her altogether, both  
 inwardly and outwardly; that that which is born may be altogether  
 wicked, and the Son of Perdition. That he shall be born in *Babylon*,  
 and brought up in *Bethsaida* and *Chorazin*: because the Lord cursed  
 those Places, *Luke X.* That he should come to *Jerusalem*; and that all  
 such Christians as will not turn to him, he shall slay by divers Tor-  
 ments, and place his Seat in the holy Temple, and shall call himself  
*the Son of God*. That there shall be sad Tribulation for Three Years  
 and an Half. That he shall come at the Consummation of *Rome's*  
 Empire. Because it is said, there shall come a *Departing* first, *i Thessal.*  
 ii. that *Departing* he makes to refer to a certain *French King*, that shall  
 hold the *Roman Empire*, and at last shall come to *Jerusalem*, and there  
 lay down his Scepter and Crown in Mount *Olivet*. That this *Anti-*  
*christ* shall circumcise himself, and then call himself *Christ*. And then  
 all the *Jews* shall flee unto him. But after Three Years and an Half;  
 in which Time he shall make all this Havock, and Stir in the World,  
 God shall destroy him with the Breath of his Mouth. But I refer the  
 Reader for the whole Comment, to the Paper in the *Appendix*. The  
 Papists by these fabulous and ridiculous Stories of *Antichrist*, endeavour-  
 ed to cast a Mist before Men's Eyes, that they should the less believe  
 and understand the Pope to be him.

Numb.  
XLV.

### C H A P. XXIII.

*The General Sentence. Books prohibited. Proclamations and*  
*Acts against the Pope. The Friars Inclinations. Orders*  
*sent to the Bishops. Latimer made the King's Chaplain.*

*A N N O* IN the Year 1534. when Orders came forth for the regulating of  
 1534. preaching and bidding of the Beades, the *General Sentence*, as it  
 was called, was also forbidden to be used any more. This *General*  
*Sentence* was a solemn Curse, to be denounced by the Curates to their  
 Parishes once a Quarter: Wherein a great Number of Persons were  
 wont to be accursed; and a large Share of these Execrations were  
 framed to fall upon those that infringed the Privileges and Immunities  
 of Holy Church, or that deprived it of any of its Rights and Dues.  
 This may be read in the *Appendix*, as I took it out of the *Festival*,  
 printed by *Wynkyn de Worde*, 1532. together with the Manner of a  
 Pre-

Numb.  
XLVI.

The General  
Curse forbid  
to be used.



Prelate's fulminating the Sentence, in his Albe, accompanied with other *A N N O*  
Priests, the Cross erected, and Candles burning.

Much Light was let in among the common People by the New Testament; and other good Books, in *English*; which, for the most part, being printed beyond Sea, were by Stealth brought into *England*, and dispersed here by well disposed Men. For the preventing the Importation and using of these Books, the King this Year issued out a strict Proclamation, by the Petition of the Clergy now met in Convocation, in the Month of *December*.

Nor was this the first time such Books were prohibited to be brought in. For no small Quantities of them were secretly conveyed into these Parts from time to time, for the discovering, in that dark Age, the gross Papal Innovations, as well in the Doctrine of the Sacrament, as in Image-Worship, addressing to Saints, Purgatory, Pilgrimages, and the like. In the Year 1526, *October 23*. *Cuthbert* Bishop of *London*, by the Instigation of Cardinal *Wolsey*, sent forth an Order directed to the Archdeacons of his Diocese, for the calling in all *English* Translations of the Scripture. Other Books of this Nature were then forbid. Which, I think, may not be unacceptable to enumerate by their Titles; that tho' the Books themselves are almost perished, the Memory of them may remain with some of their Authors.

1534.  
*English* Books  
forbidden.

A Catalogue  
of Books pro-  
hibited;

An. 1526.

The first was, *The New Testament*,  
translated by Tyndal.

*The Supplication of Beggars.*

*The Revelation of Antichrist*, writ-  
ten by Luther.

*The Wicked Mammon.*

*The Obedience of a Christian Man.*

*An Introduction to Paul's Epistle to*  
*the Romans.*

*A Dialogue between the Father*  
*and the Son.*

*Oeconomica Christiana.*

*Unio Dissidentium.*

*Pia Precationes.*

*Captivitas Babylonica.*

*Joannis Hussi in Oseam.*

*Zuinglius in Catabaptistas.*

*De Pueris instituendis.*

*Brentius de admiranda Republica.*

*Lutherus ad Galatas.*

*De Libertate Christiana.*

*Luther's Exposition upon the Pater*  
*noster.*

Three Years after, *viz.* 1529. by the Bishops Instigation, the King issued out a Proclamation against a great Sort of *Latin* Books, in Number about Eighty Five. A Catalogue whereof, containing the Titles and Authors, *Fox*, the Martyrologist, took out of the Register of the Bishop of *London*, and may be seen in his *Acts and Monuments*. The Names of the Writers were, *Wickliff*, *Luther*, *Oecolampadius*, *Zuinglius*, *Pomeranus*, *Pellicanus*, *Bucer*, *Melancthon*, *Brentius*, *Fr. Lambertus*, *Wesselus*, *Gocchius*, *Faventinus*, *Carlostadius*, and others; generally German Divines: Having this Title, *Libri sectæ sive Factionis Lutherianæ, importati ad Civitatem, London.* By this Proclamation, a Mark of Disallowance also was set upon these Books following:

*A Book of the Old God and New.*

*Godly Prayers.*

*The Christian State of Matrimony.*

*The burying of the Mass.* A Book  
made by *Barlow*.

*The Sum of the Scripture.*

*Mattins and Evensong, Seven*

*Psalms, and other heavenly*

*Psalms, with the Commendations.*

An

A N N O 1534. *An Exposition on the Seventh Chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians.*

*The Chapters of the Book of Moses, called Genesis.*

*The Chapters of the Book of Deuteronomy.*

*The Matrimony of Tyndal.*

*David's Psalter in English.*

*The Practice of Prelates.*

*Hortulus Animæ. In English.*

*A. B. C. for the Clergy.*

*The Examination of William Thorp.*

To these we may add some others that were of the same Nature with the former, and privately dispersed and greedily read about this Time :

*Tyndal's Answer to Sir Thomas More.*

*The Prologue of the Five Books of Moses.*

*A Dialogue between the Plowman and the Gentleman.* This was composed by *Barlow.*

*The Primer in English.*

*The Process Consistorial of the Martyrdom of John Hus.*

*Catalogue of Famous Men.*

*A Disputation concerning Purgatory, by John Frith.*

The Dispersers.

*Bayfield.*

*Garret.*

*Constantine.*

And many there were that ventured their Lives in bringing in, and conveying abroad these Books in *London*, and other Places of the Nation. Among these, *Richard Bayfield* was one, once a Monk of *St. Edmund's Bury*. Who twice in the Year 1530, and once in the Year after, imported his Books : Which he landed, for the more Privacy, in different Places ; as once at *Colchester*, the next time at *St. Katharines, London*, and the last in some Port in *Norfolk* : Whence he brought them to *London* in a Mail. At last he was taken at his Bookbinders in *Mark Lane* ; and finally burnt at *Smithfield*, in *November 1531*. Another of these was *Thomas Garret*, Curate of *Honey Lane*, who in the Year 1526, dispersed Books of this Sort in *Oxford*, whereby many in that University were enlightned in the Truth of Religion. He also suffered Martyrdom about the Year 1540. A third was *George Constantine*, who about the Time of *Bayfield* passed and repassed the Seas upon the same Errand. He also was at last taken and put in Custody. But he disingenuously confessed to *Sir Thomas More*, Lord Chancellor, several of his Companions and Fellows, and disclosed the Shipmen, who brought over many of these Books, and the Marks of the Fardles. By the which means the Books were afterwards taken and burnt. By this his Confession and Compliance he escaped : and was afterward Register to *Farrar*, the Bishop of *St. David's*, and one of his ungrateful Accusers.

Proclamations and Acts against the Pope.

Besides the Proclamation aforesaid, divers others this Year were issued out, and Acts of Parliament made against the Pope, and for restoring to the Crown its ancient Privileges and Prerogatives. Among the rest, one was, that no Bishops should be henceforth commended, presented or nominated to the Bishop of *Rome*, or should send for Bulls or Palls from thence. But that at the Vacation of any Bishoprick, the Bishop Elect should be presented to the Archbishop of the Province to be invested and Consecrated.

How-



However, great were the Strugglings of the Clergy in the Pope's Behalf; to whom they stood so marvellously well affected, especially the Monkish Sort of them. I shall give one Instance, which I meet with, this Year, as I conjecture. It was a Sermon preached by some Monk or Friar in the Cathedral Church of *Exeter*. For some Expressions wherein, that looked askew upon the King's Supremacy, but clothed in very crafty Words, he was laid in Hold, and demanded by the Provincial an Account of the said Sermon. The Passages, that gave him his Troubles were these, as he related himself. 'I asked, where *Peter* denied Christ? And I said, *In Domo Principis*. Have not we served him well, or be not we Christ's Friends, taking his Part against *Peter*? In that we consider, that *St. Peter* denied Christ, therefore like loving People we deny *Peter*, and take Christ's Part.' And in another Sermon preached at *Exeter*, 'Masters, I fear me, that the Mystical Body of Christ is made a Monster. For that is called a Monster after the Mind of the Philosopher, when there lacketh a Part of the natural Body, or else, when there be too many Parts, as Two Heads, or Four Legs of a Man; or else when the Parts stand out of Order. And so the mystical Body of Christ is, or may be called, a Monster: And why? For because whereas the Eyes should stand, there stand the Hands. And thus all the other Parts stand out of Order.' But for these Words he was fain to submit himself, and writ a Letter mentioning at large what he had said, and acknowledging his Fault.

A N N O  
1534.

A Friar  
preacheth at  
*Exeter*, in Fa-  
vour of the  
Pope's Su-  
premacie.

Cleop. E. 6.  
p. 202.

But before this Year went out, whatever Averseness was shewn by the Clergy and the Religious, the King had so dealt with them, or so convinced them, that now at a Convocation it was declared, That the Pope had no Jurisdiction in this Kingdom; as the Parliament had enacted, That the King should be reputed and accepted the Supreme Head of the Church of *England*, and to have Authority to visit and reform all Errors, Heresies, &c.

The Convoca-  
tion own the  
King's Supre-  
macie.

But to say a little more of the Friars. They of the Order of *St. Francis* especially stuck to Queen *Katharine*, and particularly they of the Monastery at *Greenwich*. One of them, *Peto* by Name, who was afterwards Queen *Mary's* Confessor, and sent by the Pope to be his Legate in the room of Cardinal *Pole*, had the Confidence, as our Historian relates, to preach to the King's own Face, in his own Chapel, That many lying Prophets had deceived him: And he denounced the same Judgment against him, that God's Prophet did against *Abab*. And that it was the King's Misery, that he was so flattered. And when by the King's Appointment, another was put up the next Sunday to confute *Peto*, another Observant Friar, named *Elston*, of the same House, interrupted him boldly in the King's Presence, and told him, he was a lying Prophet.

The Friars  
are for Q. *Ka-  
tharine*.  
In the King's  
Chappel.

Another of these Friars of *Greenwich*, as I find by an Original Letter in my Custody, named Father *Robinson*, did offer to dispute the Queen's Cause publickly with an Abbot, who had preached at *Paul's Cross* in Favour of the King's Cause. And it seems, he did this openly to the Abbot's Face, while he was preaching. Whereupon was a Report given out, that the Friars of *Greenwich*, if they might be suffered to tell the Truth, would put to Silence all, that had or should preach in Favour of the King's Matter, and prove all false that they had preach-

At *Pauls Cross*.

ed.



*A N N O* ed. And the said Father *Robinson* did intend, with all his Wit and Learning, to preach on the Queen's Part, the next Sunday after at *Pauls Cross*, that he might have the greater Audience.

1534.  
In a Conventual Church.

The King was somewhat moved at this Convent, so near his Court, and no better affected towards him : As he was also at other Convents in the Parts in and about *London*. And therefore some of his learned Chaplains were appointed to preach sometimes among them, to state and explain more truly the King's Cause. But while one of them was thus preaching in a Conventual Church of the *Franciscans* in *London*, the Warden thereof stoutly stood up, and reprov'd him, and that, as it seems, in an undecent Way. The doing of which was by the Vicar of the same Convent, told to some of the Friars of *Richmond* with great Commendation ; saying, *That it was not the Warden that spake, but the Holy Ghost spake in him.* These Friars fed themselves with a Conceit, that by these their Oppositions, they should bring the King at last to acquiesce with his Queen *Katharine*. For they gave it out, they should prevail at last against all those that favoured the King's Cause.

Some Friars  
secret Informers  
against  
the rest.

Yet the King had commonly some in these Houses that were otherwise minded, and discovered the Treachery and Disaffectedness of the rest. Such an one was one *Laurence*, of the same Convent with the Warden and Vicar afore said ; who by Way of Letter, wrote an Information of these false Practices to a certain Nobleman unnamed ; ( the Earl of *Wiltshire*, as I suppose ) and offered to discover more by Word of Mouth to the King, which he dared not do either by Letter or Messenger. He that is minded to read Friar *Laurence* his Letter, must betake himself to the *Appendix*. Where it may be found.

Numb.

XLVII.

Orders to the  
Bishops concerning the  
Supremacy.

In Pursuance of the Act, wherein the Parliament had given the King the *Supremacy*, he first took the corporal Oaths, Subscriptions and Seals of the Bishops of the Realm, unto the said Supremacy. Next, he address'd Letters to every Bishop in his respective Diocese, requiring them to do these Things following :

First, In their proper Persons, every *Sunday* and high Festival throughout the Year, to preach the sincere Word of God ; and to declare, that this Stile and Title of *Supreme Head* belonged to the Crown and Dignity of this Realm.

Secondly, That they should give Monition to all Abbots, Priors, Deans, Archdeacons, Provosts, Parsons, Vicars, Curates, and all other Ecclesiastical Persons, to teach and publish the said Stile and Title every *Sunday* and high Festival, in their respective Houses, Churches and Parishes.

Thirdly, To command all Schoolmasters to instruct and teach the same unto the Children committed to them.

Fourthly, To cause all Prayers, Rubricks, Canons of Mass Books, &c. wherein the Bishop of *Rome* is named, or his presumptuous and proud Pomp mentioned, to be utterly abolished and razed out ; and his very Name and Memory to be never more remembred, except to his Contumely and Reproach. For in those Words the King's Letter runs.

Fifthly, To leave out in the General Sentence all such Articles, as tend to the Glory and Advancement of the Bishop of *Rome*. Upon which Order it soon was laid wholly aside.

And



And lest any Bishop or Ecclesiastical Man, after these Commands, should not do his Office, or leave undone any Part or Parcel of the Premises, or do it coldly, or use any Manner of sinister Interpretation; the King therefore set the Sheriffs of each County as Monitors over them. For by a Letter also to them, the King required them to admonish him thereof with all Speed. Threatning them, with great Severity, upon their Neglect, or halting and stumbling in any Part thereof. This was given at *Westminster*, June the 9th.

A N N O

1534.

And to the  
Sheriffs.  
*Fox's Acts*,  
p. 963.

And somewhat before this, a remarkable Order hinted before, was given out for preaching and bidding the Beads in all Sermons to be made within the Realm. Wherein, as to the Prayers, it was commanded to pray for the King, and Queen *Anne*, and the Lady *Elizabeth*, Daughter and Heir to them both: and to add no more. As for preaching, that the Preacher was to preach once against the usurped Power of the Bishop of *Rome*. That there should be no open Contention in Pulpits. Several Doctrines not to be touched at in Sermons for a Year. That Preachers should preach the Word of God sincerely, without mixing it with human Inventions: And diverse other Injunctions. And particularly there was to be a large Declaration made, concerning the King's great Cause of Matrimony. The specifical Order I omit, since it is exemplified in Bishop *Burnet's History of the Reformation*, Vol. III.

Orders for  
preaching, and  
the Beads.

*Collect. p. 58.*

And for Vindication of the King's Supreme Authority in his own Dominions against the Pope's pretended Power and Jurisdiction, were sent to the University of *Cambridge*, Two very Learned and Eminent Men from the Court, viz. Dr. *Heines* and Dr. *Skip*; who, both by publick Preaching and Disputation, should debate the same. And this occasioned great Disputes and Arguings among the Scholars there. Whereby it appeared, how earnestly they generally stood affected to the Pope, and were prejudiced against acknowledging the King, in Derogation to the Papal See. Insomuch as to speak or think otherwise, was enough to disappoint any Preferment hoped for there. Such a Case happened at this Time towards *Roger Ascham*, that exquisite Scholar, then of *St. John's College*, as he tells us the Story himself, who being now Batchelor of Arts, stood for a Fellowship of that House. And chancing among his Company to speak against the Pope, was in all Likelihood to be put by his Election. For this coming to the Ears of Dr. *Metcalf*, the Master, *Ascham* was called before him, and the *Seniors*. And after grievous Rebuke, yea, and some Punishment, open Warning was given to all the Fellows, none to be so hardy as to give him his Voice at that Election. But notwithstanding, he had the good Fortune to be elected by the Master's Means, privately favouring him, as it seems, for his Learning and Hopefulness. Which himself relates after this Manner, 'Yet for all these open Threats, the good Father himself privily procured, that I should even then be chosen Fellow. But the Election being done, he made Countenance of great Discontentation thereat.' And then he goes on, to express his Gratitude in these Words: Which I must take Leave to subjoyn, in Memory of that useful Man, and excellent Scholar; 'This good Man's Goodness, and fatherly Discretion used towards me on that Day, shall never out of my Remembrance all the Days of my Life, &c. Next to God's Providence, surely that Day was, by that good Father's Means, my *Dies Natalis* to me, for the whole Founda-

*Heines and  
Skip, sent to  
Cambridge to  
preach the  
King's Supre-  
macy.*

*Asch. School-  
mast.*



ANNO<sup>6</sup> tion of the poor Learning I have; and for all the Furtherance that  
 1534. hitherto elsewhere I have obtained.

*Latimer made  
the King's  
Chaplain.*

About this Time, the King by the Means of *Crummel* and *Dr. Butts*, his Physician, had made *Latimer* his Chaplain. Thus after all his former Troubles, he became advanced to Honour, and brought into Favour with the King; being much employed in the Court in Consultations about Matters of Religion, wherein the King was now very busy. And among the rest of the learned Clerks, *Latimer* always made one. He was then esteemed a Man of excellent Elocution, and so was often put up to preach before the King. And being a bold Man, would speak his Mind with great Freedom. His Practice was, in his Sermons at Court, to declaim against the Vices there. And against the Vices of the common People, when he happened to preach before them in *London*, and elsewhere. And against the Vices of the Ecclesiastics, when he came up before them. Which honest Freedom created him much Trouble.

Accused before the King of Seditious Doctrine.

He had lately in a Sermon before the King, spoke his Mind very plain. Which some of his Enemies thought to make their Advantage of, and thence to take their Opportunity to complain of him to the King; that so they might get him out of the Way. Soon after his Sermon, he and diverse others, being called before the King, to say their Minds in certain Matters; while they were thus before him, one kneeled down to his Majesty, and accused *Latimer* of Sedition before his Face, and that he had preached seditious Doctrine. The King turned him to *Latimer*, and said, What say you to that, Sir? *Latimer* kneeled down, and turning him first to his Accuser, asked him thus, 'What Form of preaching, would you appoint me to preach before a King? Would you have me to preach nothing concerning a King, in the King's Sermon? Have you any Commission to appoint me, what I shall preach?' He asked him diverse other Questions, but he would answer none at all. Nor had he any Thing to say. Then he turned to the King, and submitting himself to his Grace, said, 'I never thought my self worthy, nor ever sued to be a Preacher before your Grace. But I was called to it: and would be willing, if you mislike me, to give Place to my Betters. But if your Grace allow me for a Preacher, I would desire your Grace, to discharge my Conscience, give me Leave to frame my Discourse, according to mine Audience. I had been a very Dolt to have preached so at the Borders of your Realm, as I preach before your Grace.' These Words were well accepted of the King, as *Latimer* concluded, because the King presently turned to another Communication. At that Time, certain of his Friends came to him with Tears in their Eyes, and told him, they looked for Nothing, but that he should have been sent to the Tower the same Night.

*Latimer's  
Third Sermon  
before  
the King.*

*Latimer  
blames the  
King in his  
Sermon.*

The Matter I suppose was this. Before the Abbies were dissolved, the King had charged certain of them, with the Maintenance and Care of some of his Houses. The Inconvenience whereof was, that Hospitality and feeding the Poor became hereby much hindred; the King's Houses being maintained out of the Revenue. For this, did *Latimer*, in a Sermon at the Court, take the Confidence to blame the King. For Abbies, he said, were ordained for the Comfort of the Poor. Wherefore

I . . . fore



fore it was not decent the King's Horses should be kept in them : as many were at that Time ; the living of poor Men thereby minished and taken away. Afterward a Noble Man said to him, What hast thou to do with the King's Horses ? He answered, he spake his Conscience, as God's Word directed him. The Noble Man said, Horses were the Maintainers and Parts of a King's Honour, and of the Realm also. Wherefore, in speaking against them, ye speak against the King's Honour. Latimer replied, ' God teacheth what Honour is decent for a King. And said moreover, that God hath appointed a sufficient living for his State and Degree, both by Lands and other Customes. But to extort and take away the Right of the Poor, is against the Honour of the King. ' A N N O 1534.

And thus we have found out his seditious preaching. It was indeed an ordinary Charge, to charge him and other Gospel Preachers, with Sedition. So one said, of a Sermon he preached before King Edward, when one asked him, how he liked Latimer's Sermon before King Edward ; Even as I liked him always. *A seditious Fellow.*

First Sermon.  
before K. Edward.

## CHAP. XXIV.

### *Books and Discourses about this Time. Bishop Fisher's Troubles.*

**T**HIS Year (if not before,) came forth the famous Book, *De vera Differentia Regiæ Potestatis, & Ecclesiasticæ.* The Author of this Book, was mentioned before. It was published by the Advice and Consent of that memorable Convocation, which assured the King, that the Authority and Government in all Matters and Causes Ecclesiastical belonged unto his Estate, both by the Word of God, and the antient Laws of the Church. And therefore promised him, in *Verbo Sacerdotij*, by their Priesthood, not to do any Thing in their Counsils without his Assent. And this Clergy consisted not only of Divines, but of the wisest and most expert and best learned in the Civil and Canon Laws, that was then, or hath been since : as particularly, Dr. Tonstal Bishop of Durham, Dr. Stokesly Bishop of London, Dr. Gardyner Bishop of Winton, Dr. Thirlby, afterwards Bishop of Westminster, and Dr. Boner, and many others. By the Advice and Consent of these, and the rest of that learned Convocation, was that Book made and published : as we are told by Dr. Horn Bishop of Winchester, in a certain Book of his. ' Neither was this a new Device, said that Bishop, to please the King withal, or their Opinion only ; but it was, and is the Judgment of the most learned Civilians and Canonists, that when the Clergy are faulty and negligent, it appertaineth to the Emperor, to call General Councils, for the Reformation of the Church. ' A Book comes out, of the Difference of Kingly and Ecclesiastical Power. Chap. xx.

Another Book appeared this Twenty Sixth Year of the King, entitled *De Potestate Regis*, as I find by the same Bishop Horn. It treated

Answer to Feckenham.  
fol. 85. b.  
Print. 1565.

Another Book comes forth of the King's Power.  
*Ubi supr. fol. 75. b.*



A. N. N. O of the Doings of the Kings of this Realm before the Conquest, in Matters Ecclesiastical.

1534.

Gardiner's  
Book of Obe-  
dience.

Becon's Re-  
ports. p. 270.

This Year also *Stephen Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*, put forth his Book, *De vera Obedientia: Of true Obedience*. Which he wrote to justify the Parliament in giving the King the Title of *Supreme Head* of this Church. In which Discourse were these Words: 'I think it necessary for me, to touch the Cause which is commonly in Use, and spoken of at this Day almost in all Men's Hands, and in all Men's Mouths; Whether the whole Consent of *English* Men be grounded upon God's Law, in that they declare and honour the most victorious and most noble Prince, King *Henry* the VIIIth. King of *England* and of *France*, Defender of the Faith, and Lord of *Ireland*, to be in Earth the *superior Head* of the Church of *England*; and is granted unto him by Authority thereof in open Court of Parliament, freely to use his Right, and to call himself, *Supreme Head of the Church of England*, as well in Name as Deed. Wherein there is no newly invented Matter wrought: only their Will was to have the Power pertaining to a Prince by God's Law, to be the more clearly expressed, with a more fit Term to express it by: namely, for this Purpose, to withdraw that counterfeit vain Opinion out of the common People's Minds, which the false pretended Power of the Bishop of *Rome* for the Space of certain Years, had blinded them withal, to the great Impeachment of the King's Authority. Which all Men are bound to wish, and to their utmost Power see kept safe, restored and defended from Wrongs.

Boner's Pre-  
face thereto.  
Becon's Rep.  
p. 269. b.

This Book was reprinted in the Year 1536. and a Preface added of *Boner*, Archdeacon of *Leicester*. Wherein he accused the Bishop of *Rome* of many grievous and horrible Wickednesses and Sins, meaning the Pope then living. He said, 'He had made many Laws to the Contumely and Reproach of the Majesty of God, under the Title of *Catholick Church*, and the Authorities of the Apostles, *Peter* and *Paul*. When notwithstanding, he is a very ravening Wolf, drest in Sheep's Cloathing; calling himself *Servant of Servants*, to the Damage of the Christian Commonwealth. Thus did these Two Divines write and think now of the Pope, who afterwards became his chief Champions.

Simon Mat-  
thew's Ser-  
mon.

That I may here bring Matters of the same Subject together, tho' belonging to another Year, *Simon Matthew*, who was a learned and good Man, and Prebendary of *St. Pauls London*, and had about the Year 1537, or 38. preached and printed a Sermon at *Pauls Cross* upon this Text, *By this Cognizance, saith Christ, all the World shall know that ye are my Disciples, if ye have Unity among you*. On which, (to give the Reader a Taste of the Man) he thus descanted: 'Unity, I say, of Faith and Spirit, fixed and stedfast in God, and not in any mortal Creature, as many have thought necessary: that, if a Man should be of the Church of Christ, he must be of the holy Church of *Rome*, and take the holy Father thereof for the supreme Head, and for the Vicar of Christ, yea for Christ himself: and to be divided from him were even to be divided from Christ. Such damnable Teachyngs have there been, which have caused Men to leave the Commandments of God undone, for humane Traditions. But whatsoever hath



been done by Ignorance, let us reform it, and not be ashamed to profess the Truth. Which is, that next unto God, the Prince is to be honoured, and that the Bishop of *Rome* hath no more Power by the Laws of God in this Realm, than any other foreign Bishop. And again: The Bishop of *Rome* shall never prove by Scriptures such Preeminence to be due to him, as he challengeth. But he defraudeth Temporal Princes of the Honour that God gave them, and causeth their Subjects damnably to disobey the Ordinance of God. As of late you have had Experience of some, whom neither Friends nor Kinsfolks; neither the Judgment of both Universities, *Cambridge* and *Oxford*, nor the universal Consent of all the Clergy of this Realm, nor the Laws of the Parliament, nor their most natural and loving Prince, could, by any gentle Ways, revoke from their Disobedience; but would needs persist therein: Giving pernicious Occasion to the Multitude to murmur and grudge at the King's Laws.

Not far wide of this Time also, *Thomas Starkey*, a very learned Man, the King's Chaplain, as it seems, (who was a great Acquaintance with *Pole* in *Italy*, and afterwards wrote diverse Letters to him from *England*, to reclaim him to that King's Part) wrote a Book intituled, *An Exhortation to the People, instructing them to Unity and Obedience*. Printed by *Berthelet*. It runs upon the Point of the Superiority of the Pope, in Confutation of it, and of Dependence thereupon. Wherein, after he had shewed, 'How the Pope for Maintenance of his Authority, under Colour of Religion, had brought in among Christians much false Superstition, and for the Maintenance of his Pride, set great Divisions among Christian Princes: What insolent Pride and Arrogance it was in the Pope to affirm a Superiority among Christ's Disciples, making *Peter* Chief Head, and so the Bishop of *Rome* He that must be chief Judge over all *Christendom*, and over all Princes and Laws, with Interdicts and Dispensations to rule them at his Pleasure: That the Pope's Prerogative could not be shewn from any Ground of Scripture. That until the Time of Pope *Sylvester*, about the Space of Four Hundred Years, there was no mention at all made of this Head: That all the antient and good Interpreters of Christ's Gospel among the *Greeks*, kept Silence concerning this Authority, in all their Books never making any Mention of it: And that if this were true, then should all the *Indians* these Thousand Years have run Headlong to Damnation, who never took the Bishop of *Rome* to be Head of Christ's Church: The same might be said of the *Greek* Nation, and of the *Armenians*: Who would never own that Bishop for their Head; He concluded thus, Wherefore, dear Brethren, let us not, blinded with foolish Superstition, by Process of Time crept into our Hearts, bind our own Conscience with scrupulous Necessity of such a Thing. Which undoubtedly grew in among us only as a Thing of Convenience, and as a Thing of great Help and Succour to the Maintenance of a certain Unity in Christ's Church, and not as a Thing of Necessity.

Therefore, as it is in the Politic Life and Civil, nothing convenient to have one Emperor, by whose Judgment all other Causes, worldly and politic, in all Nations should be defined: forasmuch as thereby all Princely Authority should be derogate, and be in Subjection:

So



A N N O

1534.

So it is, in the spiritual Policy of Christ's Church, one Head to be with such Authority, as of many Years hath been used, a Thing most inconvenient, and to all Christen Nations plain Injury, yea, and plainly to say, to the Doctrine of Christ notling agreeable. Wherefore, dear Friends, seeing that this Superiority, given to the Bishop of *Rome*, is neither by God's Word in his Scripture granted, nor by the Practice thereof by his Apostles, inspired with his Spirit, confirmed and founded, as a Thing to the Salvation of Man requisite and necessary: I see no Cause, why we should so stiffly maintain the same, and so stubbornly repugn to such good and common Policy; whereby is plucked away from our Nation such a cloked Tyranny, which under the Pretext of Religion hath stabled among us much Superstition, to the great Ruin and Decay of the sincere, simple and pure Doctrine of Christ.

A Book proving the King's Supremacy by Law.

Besides these Books beforementioned, written by Divines, to overthrow the Pope's Authority by Arguments taken from Scripture, and Ecclesiastical History, another notable State Book came out about these Times, viz. in the Year 1538. printed also by *Bethel*; written against him by some learned Lawyer. Intitled, *A Treatise, proving by the King's Laws, that the Bishops of Rome, had never Right to any Supremacy within this Realm.* The Design of which Book was to shew, (as it is in the Preface,) 'That notwithstanding the Bishops of *Rome* in many Realms, and especially in those where the Law Civil is used; have of long Time had Possession of their said usurped Powers, yet the same never could take the full and perfect Effect in this Realm: But the King and his most noble Progenitors, always justly resisting and repugning the same, have been continually supreme Judges here under God. So that all Laws, Powers and Jurisdictions, pretended by the Bishops of *Rome* and the Clergy within this Realm, have been under the Correction and Orders of the Kings and their Laws: As appeared by diverse Reasons, Laws, Statutes and Customs of this Realm contained in the said Treatise. And thereby it was made appear to all Men, 'That the King's Majesty's being recognized to be supreme Head under God, of the Church of *England*, had thereby no new Power given unto him: but that the self same Power and Supremacy had always been in his most noble Progenitors, Kings of this Realm, and united and knitted to the Imperial Crown of the same, tho' they had not used to write the same in their Styles.

Ep. Fisher's Troubles.

But now return we to our Year, 1534. In which happened the Troubles of *John Fisher*, Bishop of *Rocheſter*, and Sir *Thomas More*, late Lord Chancellor. Who were put into the *Tower* upon the Business of *Elizabeth Barton*, the Nun, and the Acts of Succession, lately made in Parliament: Wherein it was enacted, that the Issue of Queen *Katharine* should be cut off from succeeding to the Crown; and that of Queen *Anne* should have the Right of Succession invested in them. To which the Subjects were to swear. And that this Act might take the more Effect, Commissioners were sent abroad to require the Oath. These Two, before mentioned, refused it. Yet were content to swear to the Succession it self, but not to the whole Act, some by Things in it not agreeing to their Judgments. Which undoubtedly were either, because it was suggested in that Act, that the Marriage with Queen

*Katha-*



*Katharine* was not dispensible by the Pope, as being against the Law of God; or somewhat relating to the Mention in that Act made of the legal Proceedings in the Divorce by *Cranmer*, or some Touches against the Pope's Authority. But which of these Particulars offended them, they would not discover. They had also given Credit and Countenance to *Elizabeth Barton* the Nun, called the holy Maid of *Kent*: Who proved an Impostor, and was executed with several of her Accomplices.

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There were great Means used for the reducing of *Fisher* to Compliance, in respect of the great Reputation he bare for Learning and Piety. *Crumwel* had been with him in the *Tower* to perswade and convince him. And soon after he sent *Roland Lee*, elect of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*. That which stuck with *Fisher* was, that the Marriage was to be reckoned contrary to the Law of God, because of a Prohibition in the *Levitical* Law. About this, *Lee* was sent to discourse with him. The Issue was, *Fisher* declared that he would take an Oath to the Succession, that he would swear never to meddle more in Disputation of the Matrimony, and promised Allegiance to the King. But his Conscience could not be convinced, that the Marriage was against the Law of God. But the Event shewed, the King would make no Abatement of his Act. The Bishop was now reduced in the *Tower* to a very low Condition, both as to Body and Purse. His Body could not bear the Cloaths on his Back; he was nigh going, and could not continue unless the King were merciful to him, as *Lee* wrote to *Crumwel*, after the Visit he had made him.

Endeavours  
used to reduce  
him.

His piteous  
Condition.

*Crumwel* advised him to write unto the King, (probably) to declare his Mind to him in Swearing to the Succession, and to petition him to let that suffice, because his Conscience could not serve him to consent to the rest of the Act. *Fisher* knew well the jealous Temper of the King: Which made him tell *Crumwel*, that he feared to write to him, because he feared the King might take something amiss. But because it was the Secretaries Mind, he set himself to do it. He was now reduced to a Want of Cloaths; those he had being ragged, and not sufficient to defend him from the Cold in that Winter. And his Food also was very Course and Scanty. He requested of the Secretary to let him have Necessaries in his old Age; and to obtain of the King his Liberty, and some other Requests he made. But take his own Words:

His Necessity.

Furthermore, I beseech you be good Master unto me in my Necessity. For I have neither Shirt nor Sute, nor yet other Cloaths, that are necessary for me to wear, but that be ragged and rent too shamefully: Notwithstanding, I might easily suffer that, if that would keep my Body warm. But my Diet also God knoweth how slender it is at many Times. And now in my Age my Stomach may no way, but with a few Kind of Meats: Which if I want, I decay forthwith, and fall into Crases and Diseases of my Body, and cannot keep myself in Health. And, as our Lord knoweth, I have nothing left unto me, for to provide any better, but as my Brother, of his own Purse, layeth out for me, to his great Hindrance. Wherefore, good Master Secretary, eftsones I beseech you, to have some Pity upon me, and let me have such Things as are necessary for

His Letter to  
the Secretary.  
Cleop E. 6.

*A N N O* 1534. for me in mine Age, and especially for my Health. And also that it may please you, by your high Wisdom, to move the King's Highness to take me unto his gracious Favour again, and to restore me to my Liberty, out of this cold and painful Imprisonment. Whereby ye shall bind me to be your poor Bedesman for ever unto Almighty God. Who ever have you in his Protection and Custody.

Other twain Things I must desire upon you. The Toon is, it may please you, that I may take some Priest with me in the *Tower*, by the Assignment of Master Lievtenant, to hear my Confession against this holy Time. That other is, that I may borrow some Books, to say my Devotion more effectually these holy Days, for the Comfort of my Soul. This I beseech you to grant me of your Charity. And this our Lord God send you a mery *Christmas*, and a comfortable, to your Heart's Desire. At the *Tower*, the xxii. Day of *December*.

Your poor Bedesman,  
JOHN ROFF.

An Apparition concerning Fisher. *Cleop. E. 4. p. 128.*

After the Bishop's Execution, the Papists Business was to extol him and make him a Saint; And a *Charter House* Monk feigned an Apparition appearing to him, and assuring him, that *Fisher* was a Martyr; a Letter whereof was sent to *Crumwel*, and may be seen in the *Cotton Library*.

## C H A P. XXV.

*The holy Maid of Kent. Confessions brought in to Crumwel concerning her. Matters of Sir Thomas More: With Respect to this Nun. Gives the King Occasion of Displeasure against him.*

A Friar's Relation of the Nun.

**C**RUMWEL, on whom lay the Care of searching into the Sayings and Doings of the pretended holy inspired Nun, and her Accomplices, had at length diverse Confessions brought in unto him from those that were concerned with her. And among the rest, one, unnamed, was required to confess and relate what he had heard one *Rich*, a Friar *Observant*, tell him of her. With which *Rich* he had much Conversation: and from whom he had heard many of her Speeches and pretended Converse with Angels. This Man, who himself was obnoxious, as it seems, freely sent in a large Account of what he had heard from the said Friar. And because I know none of our Historians have related these Things so much at large concerning her, I shall here transcribe the very Letter sent to *Crumwel* from this Person: taken, as I did transcribe it from the Original.

SIR,



S I R,

IT may please you to be advertised, that according to your Commandment, I have put the Articles of the Communication betwixt me and Mr. *Rich* in Writing, ( and as he saith you have them in Writing before, ) even as I heard Things worthy to be noted upon the Margin of my Book in the *Dutch* and *French* Tongue, to the Intent he should not understand my Purpose, why I did write them. Yet did I not believe such Tales, which he calleth *Revelations*. For I have learned the Gospel, *Attendite a falsis Prophetis*; if I had remembered another Commandment, as well as I did that, *non concupisces Rem propinqui tui*, I should not have fallen into this Misery. I have in Remembrance XXX or XXXI. of these Tales: Which are not possible so to be set forth in Writings, that their Intent should be known. And I suppose that XX Sheets of Paper will not write them at length in Order. Wherefore I have written the Name of the Story, whereupon it doth treat: So that then if it be, as he saith, the whole Story will be in his Remembrance.

*Rich a Frier,  
his Confession  
concerning  
the Nun.  
Cleopatra E. 4.*

I. Of an Angel that appeared, and bade the Nun go unto the King, that Infidel Prince of *England*, and say, that I command him to amend his Life.; and that he leave Three Things which he loveth, and purposeth upon, that is, that he take off the Pope's Right and Patrimony from him. The Second, that he destroy all these new Folks of Opinion, and the Works of their *new Learning*. The Third, that if he married and took *Anne* to Wife, the Vengeance of God plague him. And, as he saith, she shewed this unto the King, &c.

II. *Item*, After this Two or Three Months, the Angel appeared, and bade her go again unto the King, and say, that since her last being with his Grace, he hath more highlier studied to bring his Purpose to pass: And that she saw in Spirit the King, the Queen, and the Earl of *Wiltshire*, standing in a Garden together; and that they did devise, how to bring the Matter to pass. And by no Means it would not be. But at last a little Devil stood beside the Queen; and put it in her Mind to say thus: You shall send my Father unto the Emperor, and let him shew your Mind and Conscience; and give him those many Thousand Duckets to have his good Will. And that it will be brought to pass. Go, and fear not to shew the King this Tale and privy Token, and bid him take his old Wife again, or else, &c. It is so naughty a Matter, that my Hand shaketh to write it: And something better unwritten than written.

III. *Item*, That when the King's Highness was over at *Calais*, she saw the Host taken from the Priest, with the Blessed Blood: And that Angel brought it her for to receive, saying, &c. Two Sheets will scant write this Story.

IV. *Item*, That she was charged to go unto the Cardinal, when he was most in his Prosperity, and shew him of Three Swords, that he had in his Hand: One of the Spirituality, another of the Temporality; and the other of the King's Marriage. A long Matter. The Bishop of *Canterbury* and *Becking* to be remembered.

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V. ' *Item*, Another Season after, the Angel commaunded her to go unto the said Cardinal, and shew him of his Fall; and that he had not done as she had commaunded him, by the Will of God.

VI. ' *Item*, That since he dyed, she saw the Disputations of the Devils for his Soul; and how she was Three Times lift up, and could not see him, neither in Heaven, Hell, nor Purgatory: And at the last, where she saw him; and how by her Penance he was brought unto Heaven; and what Souls she saw fly through Purgatory.

VII. ' *Item*, More, the Angel warned her, that she should go unto a Abbot, and warn him to take Three of his Brethren by Name. For they were purposed to have run away the Night with Three Men's Wives: and that God would they should have better Grace, &c.

VIII. ' *Item*, Of another, that had beaten himself so with Rods, that the Staniel was bloody: Which he thought to have buried in the Garderi. And she by the Commandment of the Angel met him, &c. A high Matter for Penance.

XI. ' *Item*, Of Two other Monks which had taken shipping to go unto Tytealle. Which by her Prayer was turned. And the Ship had no Power to depart from the Haven, &c.

X. ' *Item*, That the Angel commanded her to go to another Monk, and bid him burn the *New Testament*, that he had in *English*, and of great Visions seen of the same, in Token of Grace.

XI. ' *Item*, Of the Warning that the Angel gave her of a Woman that came unto *S. Thomas of Canterbury*: A Mervailous Matter, and a long.

XII. ' *Item*, The Angel shewed her, that the Ambassador of the Pope should be at *Canterbury*: And how she sent by him the Message of God unto the Pope.

XIII. ' *Item*, That she spake by the Commandment of God at *London* with one other; and bade him write the Message of God unto the Pope. To the which she did set her Hand, &c.

XIV. *Item*, Of the old Bishop of *Canterbury*. How he had promised to marry the King; and of his Warnings by the Angel of God, &c.

XV. ' *Item*, That she did shew unto Dr. *Bocking* the Hour of his Death, &c. That she heard the Disputation between the Angels and the Devils for his Soul.

XVI. ' *Item*, She did see him, when he went into Heaven, with his Words that he spoke. And how *S. Thomas* was there present, and accompanied him, &c.

XVII. ' *Item*. Of the Going, and Return of the Earl of *Wiltshire* into *Spain*; with the Receiving of the King's Letters there; And the Answer of the Emperor, &c.

XVIII. ' *Item*, Of the Vision which he had, if the King should have married at *Calais*: Of the great Shame that the Queen should have had, &c.

XIX. ' *Item*, Of such Persons as the Angel of God hath appointed to be at her Death; when she shall receive the Crown of Martyrdom; and the Time, with the Place.

XX. ' *Item*, How diverse Times the Devil hath appeared unto her. One Time he came in the Likeness of a good Man, and brought with him



him a Lady; and before her Face had to do with her upon her Bed; *ANNO*  
with other Matters, too abominable.

XXI. *Item*, Of a certain Vision that *Gold's* Wife had upon Saint  
*Katharine's* Day; which the Angel of God did shew by her Prayers,  
*&c.*

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XXII. *Item*, How at *Courtupstreet*, when Mr. *Gold* went unto  
Mass, the other *Gold's* Wife desired her to make her Prayers unto  
God, to know the State of Princess Dowager. Of two other Women,  
and of two Friars, which was *Rich* and *Risby*. As soon as the Priest  
began *Confiteor*, she fell in a Trance; and of her wonderful Answer.

XXIII. *Item*, Of a certain Gentleman dwelling about *Canterbury*,  
that had long time been tempted to drowne himself by the Spryt of a  
Woman, that he had kept by his Wife's Days; which was demanded,  
*&c.* A long matter and a strange.

XXIV. *Item*, Of the Visions seen by her Sister, mervailous. And  
how she took the Bloud of our Lord's Side in a Chalice. And how  
she saw the Plague for the City of *London*, *&c.*

XXV. *Item*, Of the Words that the Nun spake unto Mr. *Richards*.  
How the Angel of God asked for his Faith; with certain privy To-  
kens that she shewed him, that he had in his *Memento*; with divers  
other Things in their House: which causeth them all to muse, *&c.*

XXVI. *Item*, How the Angel of God hath commanded her to say;  
that all are but Illusions. For the Time is not come that God wol  
put forth your Work.

XXVII. *Item*, Of 1919 the Reign of the King, how long he shall  
Reign; as saith a Prophecy. Which agreeth with her saying, *&c.*

XXVIII. *Item*, Of three Letters, A. F. G. by a Prophecy, that is  
in the Hand of holy *Richard*. If you send to me *John Godolphin*,  
your servant, I can cause him to find him by Enquiry at the Temple.

XXIX. *Item*, More a great deal of a golden Letter that *Mary Mag-  
dalen* did send. And how the Angel commanded her to counterfeit  
another. Because the People should have power upon her Body, *&c.*  
What Money that was hid, *&c.*

XXX. *Item*, That six Days before the said *Richard* was taken, he  
went to a Man that hath a Prophecy: And with him *Nesfyrwick*, the  
*Observant*. Who shewed unto them wondrous Things, Pens and  
Inkhorns: Letters of Prophecies, and of all their Troubles at *Paul's  
Cross*. This Man dwells two Miles from *Bugden*. His name is *Han-  
ford*, *&c.*

All this was the Confession of one concerned with *Elizabeth Barton*,  
the pretended Holy Maid.

As for *More* who underwent the same Fate with *Fisher*, and for the  
same Offence; before he was committed he was under a Cloud, the  
King having been offended with him about three Things, *Viz.* The  
Nun of *Kent*; the King's great Matter, that is, his Business of the  
Divorce; and the Pope's Supremacy, which *More* called his Primacy.  
Concerning each of these, in a long Letter to *Crumwell* from *Chelsey*,  
where he dwelt, he frankly and plainly set down his own Confession.  
For having solicited *Crumwell*, that he would do what he could in his  
favour to the King, *Crumwell* sent this Message back again to *More* by  
his Son *Rooper*, That he should give him an account of himself, whereby

The King  
offended with  
*More* for three  
Things

**A N N O** 1534. he might be the better enabled to represent *More's* Love and sincere Loyalty to the King. For which *More* thanked him; and proceeded to give an account of those three Matters distinctly. Excusing his Letter; which he had writ to the Nun, and his Communication with her, and the Friars her Complices; and his Words against the King's Supremacy, and what he had said of the Marriage.

The holy  
Maid of Kent.

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*More's* Con-  
cerns with  
her.

Concerning his Dealings with the Nun, he referred himself to a former Letter written to him, wherein he gave a full Account of that. This Letter is recorded in the History of the Reformation. In short, he confessed he had Discourse with her: and by the great shews of Holiness she made, and the good Words she spoke; he once reputed her a Virtuous Woman, and one inspired: But was now fully convinced she was an Impostor: Calling her in this Letter *That Housewife*, and the *Lewd Nun of Canterbury*. He highly commended *Crumwel* for the Detection he had made of her, in bringing to Light such detestable Hypocrisy, whereby other Wretches might take warning, and be feared to set forth their own devilish dissembled falsehood, under the manner and colour of the wonderful Work of God. He acknowledged, it was an evil Spirit that inspired her. And so indeed she confessed her self at *Paul's Cross*. And he sent word to her Admirers, the Prior of the *Charter House*, that she was undoubtedly a false dissembling Hypocrite. But before this, he treated her in another Manner, that is, with the highest Honour and Deference: And in a Letter, which he wrote to her, he gave her the Title of *Madam and Your Ladiship*, and *His right dearly beloved Sister in our Lord God*. And being minded to advise her not to talk with any Person in Matters relating to the Prince's Affairs, or the State of the Realm, he prefaced it with an Apology, How God sometimes suffereth such as are far inferior, to give Advertisement to such as are much above them; as *Moses*, God's high Prophet, was counselled by *Jethro*.

Meets her at  
Sion.

At the Monastery of *Sion*, *More* saw her, and spake with her in a little Chapel: Where were present but they two only. He told her, it was the Report of her Virtues made him desirous both to see and hear her; that she might remember him to God in her Devotions. She answered him, that God did of his Goodness far better for her a poor Wretch, then she deserved; and that many, of their favourable Minds, reported of her far above the Truth: And that she had heard so much of him, that she had already prayed for him, and ever would. At parting he gave her a double Duccat, and begged her Prayers. At this Meeting she told *More*, what Care people ought to have, that they take not Diabolical Delusions for heavenly Visions: And acknowledged, that she had sometimes the former, as well as the latter: And that lately the Devil in the Shape of a Bird flew and fluttered about her in a Chamber, and suffered himself to be taken; and being in Hand suddenly changed in their sight that were present, into an ugly fashioned Bird; that they were all afraid, and threw him out of the Window..

Some Account  
of, her.

I will take leave here to give some further Account of this Nun of *Canterbury*, professed of the Priory of *St. Sepulchres* there. Her Name was *Elizabeth Barton*, commonly called the holy Maid of Kent. That which gave the first Occasion of this Imposture was: This Maid, living in the Parish of *Aldington*, before she was professed, was visited with  
Sickness;



Sickness; and in the Violence thereof, she would fall into Fits, wherein she uttered many foolish and idle Words. *Richard Master*, Parson of the said Parish, made use of this for some Ends of his own: and thenceforth gave out, that these Fits were Divine Trances, and what she spake in them she spake from God; and instructed her to say and affirm so, (tho' she knew not what she had said, when she came to her self) and often upon Occasion to feign Fits. And to serve himself of this Woman, and her Fits, for his own Benefit, he with one *Dr. Bocking*, a Monk of *Canterbury*, directed her to say in one of her pretended Trances, that she should never be well, til she visited the Image of our Lady in a certain Chapel in the said *Master's* Parish, called the Chapel in *Court at Street*; and that our Lady had appeared to her, and told her so, and that if she came on a certain Day thither she should be restored to Health by Miracle. This Story, and the Day of her Resort unto the Chapel, was studiously given out by the said Parson and Monk; so that at the appointed Day there met Two Thousand Persons to see this Maid, and the Miracle to be wrought on her. Thither on the set Time she came, and there before them all disfigured her self, and pretended her Extasies. All this was the Invention of *Master* for his own Lucre, to bring the People afterwards in greater Plenty to the Chapel in Pilgrimage. In her Trance in this Chapel she gave out that our Lady had become a Nun, and that *Dr. Bocking* should be her Ghostly Father. And so she was, and hereby that Monk (whose Invention this was) had Opportunity of going to her frequently. At which Times he and she consulted together concerning the Tricks she should play, and the Words she should use; which generally were very sanctimonious, inveighing much against the new Opinions lately sprung up, and against the King and Queen, and the late Marriage.

At length many Books were written and printed of her Revelations, made and composed by the said *Bocking* and *Master*, and one *Dering*, another Monk of *Canterbury*. And one *Thwaites*, a Gentleman, wrote a great Book of her feigned Miracles, for a Copy to the Printer to be printed off. At Two several Times she declared her false Revelations to Two of the Pope's Orators. One *Gold* took upon him to be the Interpreter between her and one of these Orators, named *Anthony Pulleyn*, at *London*; and one *Laurence* a Monk had the same Office between her and the other called *Sylvester*, at another Time at *Canterbury*. She began her Pranks about Eight or Nine Years before her Execution. She travelled about from Place to Place: and had the Confidence to come before the King, and Cardinal *Wolsey*, and Archbp. *Warham*, and Bp. *Fisher*. To all whom she talked very much of her Visions, and Revelations and Inspirations. She told the Cardinal, that she had a Revelation concerning him, of Three Swords that God had put into his Hand. The one was the ordering of the Spirituality under the Pope, as Legate: another, the ordering of the Temporality under the King, as Chancellor: The Third was the Business he was engaged in concerning the King's Marriage. And she told him, that unless he used all these well, God would lay it sore to his Charge.

Archbp. *Warham*, having a Roll of many Sayings which she spake in her pretended Trances, some whereof were in very rude Rhimes, sent them up to the King. Which, however revered by others, he made

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Books of her  
Revelations.

A List of her  
Sayings sent  
to the King.

*A N N O* 1534. but light of, and shewed them to *More*, bidding him shew his Thoughts thereof. Which after he had perused, he told the King, that in good Faith (for that Oath he used) he found nothing in them, that he could either esteem or regard. For a simple Woman in his Mind of her own Wit might have spoken them.

The Observants admire her.

She would ramble about the Countries unto Gentlemen's Houses, and especially to Houses of Religion; chiefly those of the *Observants*. She would seem to be sometimes in Trances; and then after them fall to her Discourses and Speeches. Whereat some of the Friars and others would seem to take great Comfort. Of these, were Father *Risby*, an *Observant* of *Canterbury*, and *Rich*, late Warden of the Friars *Observants* there; and the Prior of the *Charter-House* at *Skene*. These had a mighty Opinion of her, and talked much of her to *More*. Some of her Revelations were no better than silly Tales: Such was a certain Tale of *Mary Magdalen*, delivering her a Letter from Heaven, that was limned with golden Letters: which indeed was written by a Monk of *St. Augustines, Canterbury*: and another at *Calais*. For being there invisible in our Ladies Church, the Host was brought to her by an Angel: who took it away from the Priest while he was officiating at Mass, that so King *Henry* then present might now see; in Token of God's Displeasure: And then on a sudden was rapt away over Sea into her Nunnery again: which made *More* think the worse of her, and of those Friars that believed them. She was once at a Knight's House in *Kent*, that was sore troubled with Temptations to destroy himself. Of which one Friar *Williams* of *Skene* told *More* a long Tale. When some came to her, it was said, she would tell them the Causes of their coming; before themselves spake thereof; as though she had the Gift of knowing Men's Thoughts: But this might be done easily by Combination.

Hellen of Totnam.

At this Time there was one *Hellen*, a Maid dwelling about *Totnam*, that had Visions and Trances also. She came to this holy Maid, and told her of them. But she assured her; (it may be, because she had a Mind to have the sole Glory of such Visions her self) that hers were but Delusions of the Devil: and advised her from henceforth not to entertain them, but to cast them out of her Mind. And ever after, as that Maid of *Totnam* told *More*, giving Credence unto the Nun, she was the less visited with such Things, as she was wont to be before.

The Cause of the Nun's Death.

As this Woman went on a great while in these her Impostures, so had she not meddled with Matters of State, and those which the King now was so earnestly concerned about, she might, for ought I know, have gone on still without Danger: but framing Revelations against the King's Matrimonial Matter, and pretending to prophesy, that if he did proceed in his Divorce from Queen *Katharine*, he should not be a King a Month longer, this made the King jealous of some Insurrection by her Means. And hereupon he resolved to have her examined. And by the Industry of Archbishop *Cranmer*, Secretary *Crumwel*, and *Hugh Latimer*, it was found, that all her Inspirations and Extasies were merely Juggle and Deceit, as she was instructed to do by certain Friars and Priests; And so she her self voluntarily and publicly confessed at *Paul's Cross*: And in the Year 1533. was attainted by Parliament, and executed, with Six others, (whereof the Friars *Risby* and *Rich*, before mentioned were Two) at *Tyburn* for Treason. And

Six



Six more found guilty of Misprision of Treason concerning her; where-  
of Bp. Fisher was one. A N N O

A Second Cause, that threw *More* under the King's Displeasure, was  
his Marriage with the Lady *Anne*, and his Divorce from his former  
Queen. Which *More* could not be brought to meddle in, or like of.  
Concerning which he made this Apology for himself to *Crumwel*, as I  
take it from his own Letter in the *Cotton Library*. 'That when he

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II.

The King's  
Marriage.  
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'came from beyond Sea, he repaired to the King at *Hampton Court*:  
'When the King suddenly in his Gallery brake with him his great Mat-  
'ter: Shewing him, that it was then perceived his Marriage was not  
'only against the positive Laws of the Church, and the written Law  
'of God, but against the Law of Nature: and that so it could not  
'be dispensible by the Church. Then the King himself laid open  
'the Bible before him, and read him the Words, that moved his  
'Highness and diverse others erudite Persons to think, that it was against  
'the Law of Nature. And then asked him what he thought thereon.  
'Whereupon *More* discovered his Thoughts to the King, as a Man  
'in Doubt. Then the King bad him commune farther with *Fox* his  
'Graces Almoner; and to read a Book with him, that then was in  
'making for that Matter. This Book *More* read, and gave the King  
'his Opinion thereupon. At another Time the King assembled a great  
'Number of learned Men at *Hampton Court*: When tho' there were  
'diverse Opinions among them; yet, as he said, he never heard other-  
'wise, but that they all then agreed upon a certain Form, in which the  
'said Book should be made. The Book was afterwards, at *Tork Place*  
'in my Lord Cardinal's Chamber, read in the Presence of diverse  
'Bishops and many other learned Men. Still they all thought that there  
'appeared in the Book good and reasonable Causes, that might move  
'the King's Highness to conceive a Scruple against his Marriage.  
'Which, while he could not otherwise avoid, he did well and virtu-  
'ously, for the acquiescing of his Conscience, to sue and procure to  
'have his Doubts decided by Judgment of the Church. And so his  
'Suit began, and the Legates sat upon the Matter.

'While this Business was sat upon by the Legates, the King sent him,  
'with *Timstal* Bishop of *Durham*, Ambassador to *Cambray*. Where a  
'Peace was made with the Emperour, and Kings of *England* and *France*.  
'Upon his Return he was made Lord Chancellor: [Which was in the  
'Year 1529. upon *Wolsey's* Fall.] Then the King told him, that if  
'he should see such Things in this Marriage, as should persuade him  
'unto this Part, he would gladly use him, among other his Councel-  
'lors, in that Matter. And the King then assigned unto him, as most  
'studied in the Point, the Two Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *Tork*,  
'Dr. *Fox*, and one Dr. *Nicolas*, an *Italian* Friar. But all these, with  
'all their Readings beside, could not persuade *More*. So the King  
'made use of him and others in his other Business only: and in this,  
'such whose Consciences his Grace perceived were well persuaded on  
'that Part.

But however this gave the King a secret Displeasure against him: Con-  
cerning the Third, the *Primacy*, he confessed, 'That once he was not  
'of that mind, that the *Primacy* was of divine Institution: But that  
'the King's Book against *Luther* convinced him in it. And that he

III.

The Pope's  
Supremacy.

had

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Numb.  
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had then advised the King to leave out that Point, or to touch it more slenderly. Because afterwards there might hap to follow Questions between the Pope and the King. And since that time for Ten Years, he had found in the Fathers, from *Ignatius* to our Times, a Consent in this Doctrine: and that it was confirmed by General Councils too. In fine, he modestly excused himself in these his Opinions, that it was not out of an obstinate Mind, or misaffected Appetite, but of a timorous Conscience. The whole Letter, tho' it be long, I have transcribed from the Original, and put into the *Appendix*. His Conscience, thus hampered with the Papal Power Universal, brought him to his unfortunate End. Which we shall hear of the ensuing Year.

## C H A P. XXVI.

*The Authority of the Kings of England in Spirituals.*

UPON the great Work now on Foot, of reducing the Bishop of Rome's Power, and that of the Bishops in the *English* Church, and restoring the King his Authority in his own Realms and Dominions, some learned Divines and Lawyers were employed to search the Scriptures, and Catholick Authors, and good Histories, for the more right stating this Matter, and proceeding the surer herein. There is, in a Volume of the *Cotton* Library, a very large Collection of Authorities, and Places of Scripture; under these various Heads or Titles presently following: But by whom, it appears not. I should be apt to guess it to be Archbp. *Cranmer*, who was a great Collector of Writings upon such Arguments.

Collections  
out of Authors  
concerning  
Kingly Power.  
*Cott. Libr.*

*Regia Institutio, Officium & Potestas, ex veteri Testamento.*

*In Clerum Regia Potestas.*

*Regia Institutio, Officium & Potestas, ex N. Testamento. Item ex Autho. Regia Potestas in Ecclesiam, seu Concilium.*

*Regia Potestas in Personas Ecclesiasticas.*

*Regia Potestas in Res Ecclesiasticas.*

*Regi Angliæ Legem petenti jubet S. Pontifex, ut relictis Romanorum Legibus, lege Dei se, ac Populum, Dei regat.*

*Regis Angliæ Officium & Potestas.*

*Regis Angliæ in Concilium, in Personas & Res Ecclesiasticas Potestas.*

*Regis Angliæ in Gualliam, Hiberniam & Scotiam Potestas.*

*Regis Angliæ in summum Pontificem Liberalitas.*

*Regia in investiendis Episcopis Potestas.*

*Regum Angliæ in investiendis Episcopis Potestas.*

*Fundatio monasterii Sancti Albani.*

*Episcoporum iuramentum duplex.*

*Concilii Potestas & Pontificis.*

*Regia & Ecclesiastica Potestas simul, tam quoad Personas quam Res: seu Gladij duo.*

*Regia & Ecclesiastica Potestas simul, seu Gladij duo, in Anglia, tam quoad Personas, quam Res.*

*Episcopale Officium, & Sacerdotale.*

*Episcopi, vel Sacerdotis Potestas.*

*Terrenarium, Temporalium, vel Secularium rerum fuga, Ecclesiasticis præscripta. Domini-*



*Dominium, Imperium, Potentia terrena Ecclesiasticorum.*

*Judicia } Ecclesiasticorum.*

*Leges }*

*Negotia }*

*Prædia, Possessiones Ecclesiasticæ.*

*Bona Ecclesiastica cur, & a quibus*

*donata.*

*Bonorum Ecclesiasticorum per Avaritiam, vel ambitum, effrænis cupid.*

*Bona Ecclesiastica cur queruntur.*

*Honores & bona Ecclesiastica, quibus acquirantur Artibus.*

*Bonorum Ecclesiasticorum usus, & ad quos ea pertineant.*

*Abusus bonorum Ecclesiasticorum per Avaritiam, luxum, fastum, in victu, veste, supellectile Domestica, Edificijs, nobilitando Genere, per Libidinem, perq; Otium, seu fugam Laboris.*

*Luxus & fastus in victu, veste, ac edificijs.*

*Convivia.*

*Libido.*

*Nobilitatio Generis, seu Cognatorum.*

*Otium, fuga Laboris, & Periculi.*

*Periculum.*

*Honor & Gloria.*

*Ecclesiæ primitivæ Idea.*

*Pontificis summi Potestas & Officium.*

*Pontifex de sua ipsius Potestate.*

*Pontificis Potestas in Electionibus & Confirmationibus Episcoporum.*

*Excommunicandi Potestas.*

*Onera & Injurie Apostolicæ sedis, A N N O vel Dominium Romanæ sedis.*

*Onera a Romana sede Anglis im-*

*posita.*

*Annatarum Origo.*

*Annatæ ex Anglia.*

*Anglorum de non solvendis Anna-*

*tibus decretum.*

*Angli in Comitijs, seu Parlamento,*

*Annatarum Solutionem daminant.*

*De Annatis & similibus, ex Con-*

*cilio Constan.*

*De Annatis, ex Concil. Basiliens.*

*De Annatis, ex Glossa pragmatica Sanctionis.*

*Bulla Nicolai Papæ de Approbatione Concil. Basiliens.*

*Concilij Basiliensis Narratio.*

*Concilij Basiliens. Confirmatio ex Pannormitano.*

*Annatas Romanæ sedi denegare Fidei Christianæ non repugnat.*

*Romanorum Mores ex eisdem Authoribus.*

*Metropolitani Legati privilegium.*

*Ne actor reum extra Dioecesim vocet.*

*Judicia peregrina, vel Primatis Jurisdictio vel Jurisdictio Provincialis.*

*Judicia peregrina, vel Jurisdictio Primatis in Anglia.*

*Appellatio.*

*Primatis, vel Patriarchæ jus.*

*Legati jus.*

*Canuariensis Jurisdictio.*

*Canones Patrum, quando & quo pacto primo in Anglia recepti sunt.*

1535.

All these Heads and the Collections under them, were, I suppose, but the rough Cast of some learned Books, then written against the Pope.

As the Bishops had all subscribed to the King's Supremacy the last Year, so the King now required them by his Letters, to publish and declare as much in their own Cathedral Churches, and to set forth the King's Title of *Supreme Head under God of the Church of England*; and to see the People in their respective Dioceses effectually instructed in this Point by the Clergy in their Parishes. These Letters bare Date in the beginning of June this Year. Which, with a Declaration to be read to the People, were sent by *Crumwel* to all the Archbishops and Bishops. And they, how willingly I know not, but outwardly complied with these Commands, perceiving well how bent the King was upon this matter. Therefore they wrote their Letters of Answer to

The Bishops in Person declare the King's Title.

*A N N O* *Crumwel*, signifying their respective Receipts of the King's and his Letters in this behalf, together with their Promise of yielding Obedience there-to; and Accounts of their so doing. But *Cranmer* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Shaxton* Bishop of *Salisbury*, took great joy hereat, as appeared by their Letters.

His Bishop of  
Sarum.

The latter in his Letter to *Crumwel* dated *June* the 4th from *Mortlake* shewed, ' How he rejoiced, that the King had writ so earnestly to his Bishops in this Cause: and that he concluded, that God had made use of his Wisdom to stir up the Prince thereunto. Thanking God for it, and beseeching him to go on still from one thing to another, till the usurped Power of that Man of *Rome* were clean abolished and put out of the Hearts of the King's Subjects. And that he, for his own part, would apply with all diligence to this so godly a Commandment.

Robert Bp. of  
Chichester.

*Robert* Bishop of *Chichester*, *June* 13. preached at his Cathedral; and there declared openly the King's Commandment concerning the uniting of the Title of Supreme Head of the Church of *England* unto the Imperial Crown of this Realm: And also the abolishing and secluding the Enormities and Abuses of the Bishop of *Rome's* Authority, usurped within the same. He likewise sent forth his Suffragan to preach and publish the same within the populous Towns of his Diocese. And took effectual care by the 28th of *June*, that all Abbots, Priors, Deans, Archdeacons, Provosts, Parsons, Vicars and Curates in his Diocese, had Commandment to publish the same in their Churches every *Sunday* and solemn Feast. And intended to see and cause them to do their Duty in that behalf. And all this he signified to the Secretary in a Letter dated *June* the 28th from *Selfey*; and prayed him, that by Reason of his great Age, being now Ninety Years and upwards, he would move the King, that his further doing in these Premises by other sufficient Persons might suffice for his Discharge.

The Bp. of  
Lincoln.

*John* Bishop of *Lincoln* also set forth the King's Title, Dignity and Stile of Supreme Head: and caused the same to be declared through his Diocese; and the Declaration to this purpose, which *Crumwel* had sent: Copies whereof to be dispersed to every Curate in his Diocese, he caused his Clerks to write out, as many and as fast as they could. But his Diocese being so large, he caused 2000 to be printed. And of all this he certified the Secretary, from *Woburne*, *June* 25. But praying that he might know his Pleasure and Approbation, whether he should in that Manner send them forth.

Bp. of Ely's  
Order for the  
University.

*Goodrich* Bishop of *Ely* had an University within his Diocese. And for the Execution of the King's Letters there, he took this Course, as it seems, enjoyning every Master and Fellow in each College and Hall, according to their Seniority, every *Sunday* and Festival to preach in the Parish Church, within whose Bounds the College stood; and there to set forth to the People the King's Stile of Supreme Head, and to renounce the Pope. As seems to appear from a Letter sent from the Bp. of *Ely*, dated *June* 27. at *Somersham*, to Dr. *Edmunds*, Master of *Peter House*: signifying, ' That having received an honourable Letter from the King, to charge all Parsons, Vicars and Curates and other Ecclesiastical Persons, abiding within the Precinct of his Dioceses, to preach every *Sunday* and solemn Feast, the very sincere ' and

E. Bishop.  
C. C. C.



‘ and true Word of God; and to set forth his Title, Dignity, and Stile *A N N O*  
 ‘ of Supreme Head, as the Truth thereof may thorowly shine and ap- 1535.  
 ‘ pear to the People and Subject; and to declare also unto the same  
 ‘ his Renunciation of the Bishop of *Rome*’s usurped Authority, and all  
 ‘ other foreign Potentates: I do therefore charge you, (as the Letter  
 ‘ runs) on the King’s Behalf, as you would answer unto his Highness  
 ‘ for the same, not only to preach in proper Person, but also to com-  
 ‘ mand the Fellows of your House to do the same in Order every *Sun-*  
 ‘ *day* and solemn Feast in your Parish Church in *Cambridge*. So that  
 ‘ the Parishioners thereof may have every of the said Festival Days,  
 ‘ the Word of God, and other Things abovementioned, either by  
 ‘ you, or by one of your Fellows, shewed unto them. Thus the Lord  
 ‘ keep you.

The same Commands were dispatched to the Bishops of the Pro- *The Archbp.*  
 vince of *York* by Sir *Francis Bagot*. The Archbp. of *York* was com- *of York.*  
 manded in his Majesty’s Name, to give this Charge to all the Prelates  
 and Ecclesiastical Persons within his Province. Which was but a back-  
 ing and reinforcing of what had been given the Year before, when the  
 King by Word of Mouth enjoined these Things upon him, as well as  
 the rest. And but a little while after his Departure Home, Archbp.  
*Cranmer*, by the King’s Command, sent him a Book, wherein was an  
 Order for preaching, and a Form for bidding the Beads. In which the  
 King’s Title of Supreme Head was contained. And therein it was en-  
 joined, every Preacher after *Easter* once in a solemn Audience, to  
 declare the Pope’s usurped Jurisdiction within the Realm, and the  
 King’s just Cause to decline from the same. And also to open and de-  
 clare such Things, as might avow and justify his Highness’s Refusal  
 of Marriage with the Princess *Dowager*, and lawfully contract with  
 Queen *Anne*.

It was told the King that *Lee*, the Archbp. of *York* aforesaid, was *The King*  
 negligent in all this, and that he had not done his Duty in teaching *blames him*  
 these Things himself, nor causing them to be taught by others, within *for his Back-*  
 his Province and Diocess. For this, the King in his Letter twitted *wardness.*  
 him, telling him, that he had forgotten his Consent given to the Abo-  
 lishment of the Pope, and to the King’s Supremacy in his Profession and  
 Subscription, signed with his own Hand and sealed with his Seal.

But this was but Misinformation. For, (as the Archbp. by a Letter *He vindicates*  
 he wrote to the King in his own Vindication, dated *June 14.* the next *himself.*  
*Sunday* after the Receipt of Bp. *Cranmer*’s Book, had said) he went  
 from *Cawood* to *York*, and there declared the King’s Title, concerning  
 the Matrimony, and his Refusal of the Pope’s Jurisdiction. And that  
 the Thing might be the more publick, he sent to *York* before he came,  
 that he would be there next *Sunday*: Requiring also the Maior and  
 his Brethren to be there present, with Two of his Majesty’s Chap-  
 lains, Mr. *Magnus*, and Sir *John Lawson* by Name. So that there  
 was a very great Multitude met together, and the greater, because it  
 was noised he should preach. And he began not till other Churches  
 in the City had done, that there might be the greater Confluence to  
 hear his Sermon. He took for his Text that Part of the Gospel of  
 the Day, *I have married a Wife, and therefore I cannot come*. Thence  
 he took Occasion to explain, declare and open both the abovesaid

*A N N O* 1535. Matter, and the Injury done to the King by Pope *Clement*. And the King's Chaplains that heard him, thought the Audience was well satisfied. But however, something now gave Occasion to a Report at the Court against the Archbishop; and that was, That he meddled not with the King's Title of Supremacy, neither in his Sermon, nor Prayer. Whereof he gave the King this Reason, Because there was no Order given then, but only to make mention hereof in the Prayers, or Beads. And the Reason he mentioned it not in his Prayer, was, because it was his known Custom, ever since his Coming into his Diocese, for the getting more time for the uttering his Sermon, that he made no Prayer at it; but proceeded forward in it without Stop. There was present among others, at his Sermon, the King's Two Chaplains aforesaid, the Abbot of *St. Mary's of York*, and Sir *Francis Bagot*, Treasurer of *York*.

His Orders  
given in his  
Diocese;

He also caused his Officers, that could write, to transcribe a great Number of Copies of the Book aforesaid, to be delivered to every Preacher within his Diocese; charging them withal to do according to the Instructions thereof: And to every Curate, a Book was also delivered, comprizing as much as touched their Charge. And the Curates accordingly followed their Book in every Point: Praying for his Highness as Chief Head of the Church, and doing all other things required. To a great Number the Bishop himself delivered the Book, and spake to them, giving them their Orders by word of Mouth. And to the Curates he gave Charge, that they should suffer none to preach in their Churches. On purpose, that those that would preach should be constrained, first to come to the Archbishop, that he might deliver them the said Instructions. As any came to him for Licenses to preach, he gave them the Book. In the Religious Houses, where any of the Friars were Preachers, he gave Books there likewise. And so did he to all that he knew within his Diocese, with Charge to follow the Book. When any Religious Man came to him, he told him what he had done, and gave them Counsel to do the like; as divers had come to him, both *Observants*, *Carthusians*, and others. Upon *Good Friday*, he charged the Treasurer of *York* Church, that he should leave out the Collect *Pro Papa*; and the Deacon that sung the Hymn *Exultet Angelica* in the hallowing of the Paschal, that he should leave out mention therein made *pro Papa*.

All this the Archbishop of *York*, in a Letter, informed the King, that he had done: Telling him, ' That what was imputed by his Majesty to him, was taken from Information peradventure of his Enemies: That he had somewhat known him: That he had been always open and plain: and he dared avow, that hitherto he never deceived him, nor never would in any thing that he took upon him, as his Learning and Conscience would serve.

And in his  
Province.

Moreover, Upon the King's foresaid Letters to him, he sent his Letters to his Province, *viz.* to the Bishops of *Durham* and *Carlisle*, and to all Archdeacons: Giving them strait Commandment, as the King had given him: and charging them to deliver Books to all Curates and others, of the old Instruction: Adding thereto what was now increased in these last Letters. All this before said is the Sum of this Archbishop's Letter, as I found it in a Volume of the *Cotton Library*. This

*Cleop. E. 6.*  
*p. 236.*



This Archbishop was much suspected by the King, (and probably not without grounds) having some privy Accusers of him; as appears by the said Letter. And therefore he thus concluded :

‘ I trust your Highness shall never find in me, but that I promise I shall fulfil; and all things do with good Heart, that I may do at your Highness Commandement, God not offended. And most humbly prostrate, I beseech your Highness, to be so gracious good Lord; not to believe any Complaints of me, afore you have heard my Answer. The Time is now such, that some Men think they do high Sacrifice, when they may bring into your Highness Displeasure such a poor Priest as I am. But I trust in our Lord, that your Highness doth not so take it: and that our Lord will continue your Highness gracious Mind towards your poor Priests and Chaplains; and that he should send to them, that causeless provoke the grievous Displeasure of your Highness against your said Priest, better Grace hereafter. For which, and for the continual keeping of your Highness in his Governance, I shall, as I am most bound, continually pray. From *Bischoptborp* the xiv. of *June*, 1535.

A N N O  
1535.

His Words  
upon the King's  
Suspicion of  
him.

*Your Highness most humble  
Priest and Bedeman,*

EDOWARD EBOR.

And that he might set himself right, if possible, with the King, and with *Crumwel* the Secretary too, he soon after (*viz. July 1.*) wrote to the latter: Giving Account to him what he had done as to this Business of the King's Supremacy. That he had made Two Books, (which he then sent up to *Crumwel*) for the Use of his Clergy. One whereof comprised Articles, which every Curate and all other Ecclesiastical Persons should read and declare to their Audience, and every Preacher should extend and furnish [that is, enlarge upon] as his Learning should serve. The other Book he conceived, was a brief Declaration to the People, as well of the King's Stile and Title of Supreme Head, as also that the Bishop of *Rome* hath no Jurisdiction in this Realm by the Law of God. Which he had spread abroad and dispersed, that all Curates and others might at least read it to their Audience. But the Archbishop said, ‘ That many of the Curates could scant perceive it, their Benefices were so exile, of 4, 5, 6 *l. per Ann.* that no Learned Man would take them. And therefore that they were fain to take such as were presented; so they were of honest Conversation, and could competently understand that they read, and minister Sacraments and Sacramentals, observing the due Form and Right; altho' otherwise they were not all perfect, but must resort for Counsil. And that in all his Diocess he did not know of Secular Priests any Number, that could preach, necessary for such a Diocess; Truly not Twelve. And that they who had the best Benefices were not there resident. Which considered, he trusted the King's Highness would be content, if he did the best he could’. This he wrote, because the King in his Letters had commanded him to charge all Ecclesiastical Persons, ‘ To teach and preach the very sincere Word of God, and to declare and set forth his Title, Dignity and Stile of Supreme

The Archbp.  
makes Two  
Books for his  
Clergy.

The Clergy of  
*York* poor and  
ignorant.

**A N N O** 'preme Head, and also his Highness just Renunciation of the Bishop of  
**1535.** 'Rome's usurped Authority. Therefore, in Excuse of himself, tho' this  
 were not exactly obeyed, he assured the Secretary, that he did not  
 know in all his Diocese Twelve Secular Priests Preachers, and few  
 Friars, and almost none of any other Religion. But as for himself, he  
 promised him, that he would not fail to preach every *Sunday* and So-  
 lemn Feast, in one Place or other, and now and then at the Cathedral  
 Church. He also took Order with the Dean of the Church to do his  
 Duty: And that all *Rural* Deans should hearken, Whether Men did  
 their Duty; and if otherwise, to advertise him thereof.

The Pope's  
 Injuries to the  
 King to be  
 declared.

And because in the King's Instructions sent to the Archbishop last  
 Year, concerning the Injuries done him by Pope *Clement*, in relation to  
 his Marriage, he proceeded thus in his Letter to *Crumwel*, 'That he  
 'durst not overpass those Injuries: And therefore he put them into his  
 'Book, that all the Curates and other Ecclesiastical Persons might de-  
 'clare, as well the Justification of the King's Cause of Matrimony, as also  
 'the expresse Injuries done to his Highness by the Bishop of *Rome*.  
 'Hitherto he said Preachers had only declared this once, but in his  
 'Mind it was not to be forborn: And desired therefore to know how  
 'long it was the King's Pleasure it should be still declared. And all  
 this Diligence had the Archbishop taken to satisfy the King.

New Suspi-  
 cions of the  
 said Archbp.

Notwithstanding within less than half a Year after, new Suspicions  
 arose of him, as tho' he favoured not the King's Title: It was  
 reported, that he spake certain ill Words to the General Confessor of  
*Sion*, or to some other which that Confessor sent, about the King's  
 taking the Supremacy upon him. As that he should say, that *he would*  
*stand against the King's Title of Supreme Head even to the Death, if*  
*he thought he might therein prevail.* Upon this he was strictly exami-  
 ned by Dr. *Layton*, and Dr. *Legbe*, the King's Visitors. This occa-  
 sioned another Letter; which he wrote to the King from *Cawood*,  
*Jan. 14.* to clear himself. 'I avow (writeth he) and assure your  
 'Highness in *Verbo Sacerdotij*, and by that Faith, that I owe to God,  
 'and you, I never spake with the said Confessor, ne sent any Coun-  
 'sel to him, ne received any Message from him, or from any in *Sion*,  
 'for any such Matter, neither touching that Stile or Title of Supreme  
 'Head, &c. And he added, that his Counsel he gave to those that  
 'came to him, tended to the King's Service. And particularly to  
 'Four *Charterens*, viz. of *Richmond*, *Coventry*, *Hull* and *Mountgrace*,  
 'he always said, what Counsel shall I give you, but to do as I have  
 'done my self; and as many others have done both great learned  
 'Men, and taken for good Men?

His Letter  
 hereupon.  
*Cleop. E. 6.*

He satisfieth  
 eer in scru-  
 pu ous Priors.

The Priors of *Hull* and *Mountgrace* were fore bent rather to die,  
 than to yield to the King's Royal Style. But the former he turned  
 from his stiff Opinion, and made him yield with Thanks: And he of  
*Mountgrace* desired, that he might alledge before the Archbishop such  
 things as moved him. He heard him at length, answered his Allega-  
 tions; and afore two or three of his Chaplains, the said Prior of  
*Mountgrace* said, he was well satisfied. And to confirm him, the  
 Archbishop shewed him two or three things, whereof he took Notes;  
 and said he would do his best to turn some of his Brethren, which  
 were yet stiff, albeit after recovered.



And as to what was laid to his Charge, that he should say, *He would stand against the King's Title to the Death*, and encouraged others so to do, he added in his Letter, ' That it was more likely he should say to such as pretended they would or should rather die than yield, that as it is allowable to die for the Truth, when the Cause is good, and the Ground sure; so it is Folly to die, the Cause being evil, and the Ground unsure. For that he had often said, that these Causes be no Causes to die for. And this his Chaplains had heard him say. They heard him say moreover concerning the late Bishop of *Rockester*, that he marvelled he was so stiff to die in these Causes without good ground; whereas in other high Matters of his Faith, and Errors against the same, he had dissembled, and had not been content with such as had written against them [meaning *Erasmus*, I suppose; and that Name is by some Pen inserted in the Margin. For this Archbishop *Lee* had wrote against him: Whom it seems *Fisher*, the Bishop of *Rockester*, favoured not, but *Erasmus* and his Writings rather ] ' for the Favour, which he bear to the Party, in whose Book they were found. In which Cause, saith this Archbishop, he should not only not have dissembled, ne have favoured the Party, but rather have dyed than have suffered such Errors to grow. Of which Sort there were divers and sundry in one Man's Books. Against which many Clerks in divers Regions, and some Universities have written.

A N N O

1535.

The Archbishop's Judgment of Bp. Fisher's Death.

But notwithstanding all this, in the *Northern* Rebellion the next Year, this Archbp. and the Lord *Darcy* surrendred the strong Castle of *Pomfract* to the Rebels, pretending Want of Furniture and Provisions to hold out a Siege: And took an Oath, which they gave him, to enter into their *Pilgrimage of Grace*, as they termed their Rebellion.

Surrenders Pomfract to the Rebels. Lord Herb. Hist. p. 477.

There was also another Bishop of Fame in these *Northern* Quarters, I mean *Tonstal*, Bishop of *Durham*. Who likewise received the King's Letters by the Hand of Sir *Francis Bagot* to the same purpose, as the Archbishop had done. *Tonstal* had once before, in Obedience to Command, viz. the last Year, set forth the King's Title, and caused others to do the same. And the King accordingly was prayed for in his Diocese with his Titles. Upon these new Letters, he preached again at *Durham* before a great Company, setting forth the King's Title, and declaring the usurped Authority of the Bishop of *Rome*. And as he had done so before, so from time to time he intended to do in his Diocese. In the King's Letter beforementioned, he girded him, as he had done the Archbishop of *York*: Telling him, That *he looked for a new World, or a Mutation*, as tho' *Tonstal* had desired the Restoration of the Pope. This inwardly grieved him, that the King should entertain some sinister Thoughts of him. And he told *Crumwel*, in a Letter to him, ' That if the King knew his Mind, as God did, he would not have used those Words. For that he had been as fore, he said, against such Usurpations of the Bishop of *Rome*, as daily did grow, as any Man of his Degree in the Realm. And that it was not likely that he should now look for the renewing of that, which he withstood as heretofore, as far as he might, in his most flourishing State. That he looked for no Mutation, nor new World, but the Change of this transitory Life for the Life eternal. Some of these Letters of

*Tonstal*, Bp. of *Durham*.

the



*A N N O* 1535. the Bishop's beforementioned I have preserved in the *Appendix*, for the Service of such as shall be minded to peruse them.

*Numb.* XLIX, L, LI, LII, The Bishop's Sermons sent to the King. And that the King might see and know what these and the rest of the Bishops had preached upon this Argument of the Supremacy, there was a Command, that they should send up to Court their Sermons. These Sermons were not long after delivered to Dr. *Barnes*, the King's Agent to the *German* Princes, together with the Book for the King's Supremacy, made by *Richard Sampson*, Dean of the Chapel: to be shewed to them: To satisfy them how cordial the King was in rejecting the Pope's Authority, and casting it out of his Kingdom.

## C H A P. XXVII.

*The Northern Clergy backward. Some of them taken up for seditious Preaching.*

The Clergy in the North great Friends to the Pope.

**I**T was mentioned before, how suspicious the King was of his Northern Bishops: as was manifest by certain Expressions in his Letter to them. Nor could the King well be otherwise, while in their Dioceses the Clergy were endued with such earnest Minds and Inclinations to *Rome*. Which the King had well observed, and took notice of to the Earl of *Suffex* two or three Months before. The Priests and Religious in these Parts, uttered many things, reflecting upon the King and his Orders; and intimating their very affectionate Opinion and Devotion towards the Pope. They did use much to set forth his Jurisdiction and Authority. They prayed for him in their Pulpits. They made him a kind of God; to the seducing of the Subject, and bringing the People into Error and Sedition, and into a murmuring and Grudge against the King and Government. Which occasioned the King to dispatch a Letter to the Earl of *Suffex*, Lord Lieutenant (if I mistake not) in those Parts, in the Month of *April*, to enquire diligently after such seditious Preachers and Promoters of the Pope's Usurpations, and to apprehend them and commit them to Ward, to remain without Bail or Mainprize, until the King and his Council should further direct him what to do with them. The Letter is transcribed into the *Appendix*.

*Numb.* LIII.

A Priest in *Holderness* taken up.

But notwithstanding this strict Letter, they could not be restrained. For about *June*, or the Beginning of *July*, a Priest of *Holderness* spake these Words: *They say there is no Pope. I know well there was a Pope.* The Occasion of which Speech, I suppose was, because it was now strictly enjoined, that the Bishop of *Rome* should not be called Pope. But upon this he was taken up, and examined before Sir *Ralph Evers*, and Sir *John Cunstale*, and others: And maintaining before them that he said so, he was, because he lived within the Archbishop's Liberty of *Beverly*, sent to the Archbishop's Jail: Where he was commanded to be kept, till the King or Council's Pleasure were known. And *July* the 9th, the said Archbishop sent up word to *Crumwell* of him.

Dr. Lan-



Doctor *Langrige*, Archdeacon of *Cleveland*, who was also Chaplain to the Archbishop of *York*, repaired to his Archdeaconry, setting forth the King's Commandment, and delivering Books to Preachers and Curates, as was ordered by the King's Letters before mentioned, and among the rest to the Prior of *Mountgrace*. But now he allowed not the *Supremacy*; and said, he trusted, that none of his Brethren would allow any such Thing. The Archdeacon tried to persuade him, but could not. Notwithstanding a little before to the Archbishop he had declared himself satisfied, as hath been mentioned. Whereupon the Archbishop sent a Letter to him. Four Curates came to the Archdeacon to the Monastery of *Gisbourn*, and told him, that they were sore threatned, if they published any such Thing, as they were commanded to do. And prayed the Archdeacon to spare them until *S. Thomas Day*, that they might see, whether those that threatned them, would continue in their Opinion so long, and if they did, then they would certify the Archbishop. And all this was certified up to Court by the Archbishop.

A N N O  
1535.

The Prior of  
*Mountgrace*.

It was mentioned before, how the King on the 3d. of *June* sent Letters to the Bishops to preach and publish him *Supreme Head*, with a Declaration to that Effect, to be pronounced in all the Churches, and by all the Curates and Preachers in their respective Dioceses. But the King, as tho' he suspected his Bishops and Clergy in their faithful Discharge of this Command, thought fit to set Spies and Monitors over them: and they were the Justices of the Peace. To whom he issued out his Letters dated *June 9.* giving them in strict Charge to watch and see, whether the Bishops and Clergy did truly and sincerely, without any Cloke or Dissimulation, execute their Charge to them committed, in causing the King's Authority and Supremacy to be maintained, and the Pope's Usurpations laid open. And they were to certify the King or his Council, if any of them should omit, or leave undone any Part of their Duty in this behalf; or if it were done coldly and fainedly, or any untoward or sinister Interpretations, or Additions were used. And hence I doubt not sprung the Information against Archbishop *Lee* before mentioned, which gave him so much Pains to vindicate himself. This Letter to the Justices is preserved by Mr. *Fox*.

The Justices  
appointed to  
inform against  
the Bishops.

*Acts and Me-  
muments,*  
P. 963.

And this Letter the King backed with another to the Justices, or Judges, I cannot tell whether, about 14 or 15 Days after, for their Direction in their Sessions and Assizes. The Contents of which were,  
' Again to make Search and Enquiry, whether the Bishops and Clergy  
' preached to the People, as was their Duty, in the aforesaid Causes.  
' And that in their Assizes and Sessions of Peace, they themselves  
' should declare to the People the Purpose of the Premises. And that  
' they should at the said Sessions, shew them particularly the Treason  
' committed against the King and his Laws by the late Bishop *Fisher*,  
' newly executed, and Sir *Thomas More*: Who endeavoured, as the  
' Letter runs, to sow among the People a most mischievous and se-  
' ditious Opinion. And that if they found any Manner of Person deficient  
' in Duty in this Part, they were to signify it to the King and Council.  
' And they were threatned, that if they should be slack in these  
' Commandments of the King, he would so punish them, that it  
' should be an Example to others, not to frustrate and disobey the  
' Commands of their Sovereign, contrary to their Allegiance, and

Another Letter to them to the same Tenor.

A N N O 1535. Oaths: and especially when such Things did so much import to the Unity, Concord and Tranquility of the Publick State of the Realm.

This Letter may be seen at length in the *Appendix*.

*Numb.*  
LIV.

A Book for the King's Supremacy, to be read by Curates; with a Declaration. Another Book for Curates.

We heard before of a Book, sent by the King to the Bishops, to be by them dispersed among their Clergy: Which contained Orders for preaching, and the Beads, and acknowledging the King's Supremacy; to which was joined a notable Declaration in the King's Favour, setting forth, how he had been wronged and affronted by the Bishop of Rome. Which was to be read to the People. Of the same Nature about this Time, was another Book also framed for the Use of Curates: Which Book, a Month or Two afterwards, was thought fit to be revised and corrected and enlarged, and somewhat altered: being judged to be of good Service for the bringing the People to the true Understanding of the King's Right, and the Pope's Usurpations: that it might be ready to be carried along with the King's Visitors, who were this Year going a general Visitation by the Royal Command. For that Purpose the Book was sent to *Thomas Bedyl*, who was Clerk of the Council, a learned Man, and much made use of by *Cromwell*. In the Month of *August* he sent it back again with his own Emendations and Additions, to them that employed him in it, the Visitors, I suppose. In what he had done he consulted with *Fox* the King's Almoner, a Learned, Wise and Moderate Man; and then fully employed at *Lambeth* with the Archbishop of *Canterbury* about some Affairs of the Church. To whom he shewed the Alterations he had made, and had his Approbation. His design herein was so to frame the Book, that it might be accommodated to the Capacity of the Auditors, and supply the Ignorance of Curates. What Alterations *Bedyl* made, may be seen by his Letter; preserved in the *Appendix*.

*Numb.*  
LV.

### C H A P. XXVIII.

*Some executed for refusing to swear to the King's Supremacy.*  
*The Charter House Monks. Bp. Fisher, and Sir Thomas More, executed.*

Some suffer  
Death for the  
Pope.

AND as the King had used these milder Means, to draw his Subjects to own his Supremacy, and to challenge this Right of his Crown against the Pope's Invasion thereof; so he neglected not sterner Courses also. And as the Parliament had the last Year by an Act made it High Treason to adhere to the Pope, a foreign Potentate, and to deny the King to be supreme Head of the Church in his own Dominions, so he let that Act take its Effect upon some, even of the chiefest Rank and Reputation.

The Prior of  
the Charter  
House.

When this Act was first made, it put many, the Religious Men especially, into a very terrible Concern, being Persons so devoted to that foreign Prelate. Such were they of the *Carthusian* Order particular. *John Houghton*, Prior of the *Carthusian* Monks of the *Charter-house*, *London*, a devout Man in his way, the Year before had much Contest with the King's Commissioners, who were sent to his House, to take the



the Consent and Oath of him and his Monks to the King's Second Marriage, and the Dissolution of the former with Queen *Katharine*. For the King's Act absolutely required the Consent of all his Subjects hereunto, from Sixteen Years Old and upwards. The Father answered at first, ' That it belonged not to him, nor to any of those under him ' to meddle with the King's Business: Nor that it concerned him, ' whom the King would divorce, and whom he would marry. But the Commissioners charged him, that he should call the Convent together immediately: Who were all required under their Oath to affirm the former Marriage to be unlawful, and by the same Oath to profess to yield Obedience to this Second Marriage and the Issue thereof: The Prior said, ' For his Part he could not apprehend, how the former Marriage, celebrated according to the Rites of the Church, and so long ' continued, could be void. Whereupon he was clapt up in the *Tower*, and Father *Humphrey*, Procurator of the House, with him, for a Month: Afterward some learned Man persuaded them, that this present Controversy was not a lawful Cause to expose themselves to Death for it. This learned Man, I suppose, was *Lee* Bishop of *York*: for this he used to affirm. So they promised to yield to the Command of the King: And thereupon were dismissed; and came Home: and then propounded to the Brothers to take the Oath. Which it seems, they could not yet be persuaded to do. But at length, when the King's Councillors, and the Governors of the City, came to the Convent again with Officers to carry them away Prisoners, unless they would swear, by the Counsel and Exhortation of the Prior, they submitted and took the Oath with this Condition, *as far as was lawful*. This was done *May 4. 1534.*

*A N N O*  
1535.

The Priory of  
*Charter-House*  
swear to the  
Succession.

But however they got over this Act, another that followed in the beginning of the next Year, of renouncing their great Patron the Pope, they could not. For the Prior having called a Chapter, and declared to the Convent, what was coming; they were extremely troubled in their Minds. And by a mollifying Speech of the said Prior, taking much Compassion especially on the youngest Sort of Friars, that were in great Danger to be corrupted by the World, they all fell a weeping; and made a Resolution, that they would all dye in their Simplicity. But the Father said, ' That he would willingly expose himself to God's ' Mercy, and would be an *Anathema* for these his little Brethren, ' meaning the younger of them: And would yield to the King's Will, ' if he might lawfully do it, to preserve them from so many and great ' Dangers. But if they should decree to do otherwise, and demand ' the Consent and Oath of the whole House; and if the Death of one, ' that the whole People perish not, will not serve them, the Will of ' God, saith he, be done. And I wish there may be a Sacrifice of us ' all. And then he advised them all to prepare themselves by a general ' Confession; giving liberty to every one to chuse what Confessor he ' would in the Cloister.' The next Day, that they might die in Charity, the Prior having first given them a Sermon of Charity and Patience, they were all reconciled to one another; which was done after this manner. The Prior preached upon *Psalme lix*, and the 15 first Verses, Beginning, *Why hast thou cast us off, O Lord, &c.* At the Conclusion of his Discourse, he desired them all to do as they should see him do. And

The Prior and  
Chapter con-  
sult, what to  
do.

**A N N O** presently rising up, went to the Senior of the House sitting by, and kneeling on his Knees, asked him Pardon and Indulgence for all his Excesses and Sins, any Ways committed against him, in Heart, Word or Work. And the other did the like to the Prior. And so the Prior going on did to every one, to the very last. And so in like manner did the rest to one another.

1535.

They celebrate the Mass of the H. Ghost, to prepare them for suffering.

Hist. Martyr. Angl. 1550.

Three Priors sent to the Tower.

The Third Day they celebrated the Mass of the Holy Ghost, to obtain his Grace, to be able to accomplish his Will and Pleasure. And a Popish Historian tells us of a great Miracle that now happened, namely, that as soon as the Elevation was done, there was heard a small hissing Wind. Whereat every Man's Heart was filled with a sweet Operation. Which they would have to be the Descent of the Holy Ghost into them, as he once fell upon the Apostles on the Day of *Pentecost*. And so after this Time they continued instantly in devout Prayer and Supplication Night and Day.

About this very Time came to *London Robert Laurence*, Prior of *Belleval*, but profess'd of that House: and *Augustine Webster*, another Prior, and profess'd of the House of *Shene*. And both now lodged at the *Charter-House*. Where they consulted together all Three, and resolved to prevent the coming of the King's Counsellors to them: And so went themselves to *Crumwel*, desiring him, that they might be exempted from this Act, or obtain some Mitigation from the Rigor thereof in taking the Oath. But *Crumwel* sent them to the *Tower* as Rebels. And within a Week after, he, with several others of the Council, came to them, demanding their Oaths to the King. The Fathers answered, they would consent to all Things, which, and as far as, the Divine Law would allow. But *Crumwel* would not allow of any Exception. Then these urged, that the Catholick Church did always hold and teach otherwise: And against that, because of the Fear of God, they dared not to go, nor to forsake the Catholick Church.

Condemned of Treason and executed.

In fine, being brought to their Trials afterward, they said, they would by no means go contrary to the Law of God, and the Doctrine and Consent of Holy Mother Church, in the least matter. But it seems the Jury had such a Reverence for these Three Fathers, that they deferred their Verdict till the next Day. To whom *Crumwel* sent to know, what made them so long; and what they intended to do. They sent this Answer back, That they could not bring in such Holy Persons guilty as Malefactors. Which when *Crumwel* heard, as saith their above-mentioned Historian, he sent them word immediately, that if they found them not guilty, they should suffer the Death of Malefactors themselves. But they still persisting in their former Judgment, notwithstanding *Crumwel's* Threatning, he came to them himself, and so over-awed them with his Threats, that they at last brought them in guilty of Treason. And five Days after, they were executed at *Tyburn*, being *May* the 4th.

Prior of *Charter House* his Speech.

*Prior Houghton* being upon the Ladder, when one of the Council assured him of a Pardon, if he then would obey the King, and the Parliament's Decree, he replied; 'I call the Omnipotent God to witness, and all the good People, and beseech you all to attest the same for me in the terrible Day of Judgment, that here being to die, I publicly profess, that it is not out of obstinate Malice, or a mind of Rebellion, that I do disobey the King; but only for the Fear of God, that I of-

send



‘ send not the Supreme Majesty. Because our Holy Mother the Church *A N N O*  
 ‘ hath decreed and appointed otherwise, than the King and Parliament *1535.*  
 ‘ hath ordained. And I am here ready to endure this, and all other  
 ‘ Torments, that can be suffered, rather than oppose the Doctrine of  
 ‘ the Church. Pray for me, and pity my Brethren, of whom I was  
 ‘ the unworthy Prior.’ It was said, that after he was cut down, he  
 spake these Words, *Most holy Lord Jesus, have mercy upon me in this*  
*hour.* And then when the Executioner pulled out his heart, he said,  
*Good Jesu! What will ye do with my Heart?* And being quartered, one  
 of his Arms was set upon the House where he was Prior.

This Arm two Days after fell down. Which the Friars looking upon *His Arm.*  
 as a Miracle, took up, and laid it with his bloody Shirt in a Coffin:  
 And so disposed it in a place under Ground with an Inscription of the  
 Cause of his Death: Intending no question, in times more favourable  
 to bring it forth, as an holy Relick.

At the same time also were executed *Robert and Augustine*, the two *Laurence Web-*  
 other Priors: And with them one *Reignolds*, or *Reinolds*, a Monk of *ster and Rei-*  
*Sion*, of the Order of *St. Bridget*. The ordinary Report went among *nolds ex-*  
 the common People, that these had combined together to kill the King;  
 and therefore they justly underwent this Punishment. *ecuted.*

They were hanged in their Habits. Which a Popish Author makes *Hist. Martyr*  
 a great matter of, as though there were no Reverence shewed to the *Angl. fol. 11.*  
 Order, or the Priestly Garments: For it was done without any de-  
 grading. He saith also, that they were hanged with a great Rope,  
 that they might not quickly be strangled, to endure the more Pain,  
 when they should be cut down and ripped up. At their Deaths they *Their Speech.*  
 professed, ‘ They never were disobedient to the King, unless in Mat-  
 ‘ ters that were repugnant to the Holy Gospel and the Catholick  
 ‘ Church. And therefore that they took their Death not only pati-  
 ‘ ently, but cheerfully. Acknowledging, that they had obtained  
 ‘ great Favour from God, that he had given them to die for the Truth,  
 ‘ and for the Assertion of the Evangelical and Catholick Doctrine;  
 ‘ namely, that the King is not Supreme Primate in Spirituals, and the  
 ‘ Head of the Church of *England*.

Two of these, *Houghton* and *Reinolds*, were of celebrated Fame for *Houghton and*  
 their Piety. Of the former, *Crumwel*, in the Chapter House of his *Reinolds fa-*  
 Convent, said before a great many, that he was a just and holy Man. *med for*  
 Of the latter, the foresaid Author of the History of the Martyrs of *Piety.*  
*England* saith, that he was Dr. of Divinity, *a Man full of the Spirit of*  
*God, and looked like an Angel*; the Character given to *St. Stephen* the  
 first Martyr. At his Trial, which was *April 15.* he said, ‘ That he had  
 ‘ determined to imitate the Lord *Jesus*, when he was brought before  
 ‘ *Herod* to Judgment, and not to answer any thing. But said he, be-  
 ‘ cause ye urge me, that I may satisfy my own Conscience, and the  
 ‘ Consciences of these that are present, I say, that our Opinion, if  
 ‘ it might go by the Suffrages of Men, would have more plenty of  
 ‘ Witnesses than yours. For, for some, which you (speaking to the  
 ‘ Lord Chancellor) produce from the Parliament of one Kingdom, I  
 ‘ have with me the whole Christian World, except those of this King-  
 ‘ dom; I do not say *All* of this Kingdom, because the less part is with  
 ‘ you. And granting that the *Major Part* of the Nation followed not  
 my



*A. N. N. O.* my Opinion, it was, he said in external dissembling only, and for fear  
 1535. of losing their Dignities or Honours, or for hope of obtaining the  
 Kings Favour. Upon this the Secretary charged him upon pain of  
 incurring the rigor of the Law, that he should declare who those were,  
 that he spake of. To which he answered, It was all the good Men of  
 the Kingdom. And then he went on; 'That as to Testimonies of the  
 Fathers, he had on his part all the General Councils, all the Pastors  
 and Doctors of the Church, which were for Fifteen Hundred Years  
 past; particularly *Hierom, Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory*. And I am  
 sure, said he, that after his Majesty shall have known the Truth of this,  
 he will be offended above Measure with some Bishops, who have  
 given him this Counsel.' Then he was asked, why he did, contrary  
 to the King's Authority within his Kingdom, dissuade many, that they  
 should not consent to the Opinion of the King and Parliament. He  
 said in Answer, 'That he never declared this his Opinion to any Man  
 living, but to those that came in Confession; which he could not  
 resist in discharge of his Conscience. He said, if he had not declared  
 his mind then, he would now declare it. Because in that Part he  
 was obliged to God and his Conscience; and that in such things he could  
 not offend justly.' After he was brought in, Guilty by the Jury, he  
 said with great Constancy, *This is the Judgment of the World*.

Three Monks  
 more of the  
 Charter House  
 executed.

The 19th of June, Three more of the aforesaid House of *Cartbu-*  
*fians, London*, being found guilty of high Treason, for denying to take  
 the Oath of Supremacy, were executed (whose Names were *Humphrey*  
*Middlemore*, then Vicar of the House, *William Exmew*, Procurator  
 thereof, and *Sebastian Newdigate*, Priest and Monk) after a Fortnights  
 Imprisonment; where they were said to be bound with Chains about  
 their Necks and Legs. Being brought before the Council, they con-  
 stantly professed, they would not go against the Decrees and Customs of  
 the Holy Mother Church. They alledged before the Bench from  
 places of Scripture, that the King could not claim to himself duly, and  
 by Authority of God's Law, that Supremacy and Primacy of God's  
 Church, that *Jesus Christ* had given to the Pope and the Priests. So  
 they were condemned to suffer the same Death with the former. These  
 Three were young Men and of good Families; and *Sebastian* had been  
 brought up at Court.

The King en-  
 deavoured to  
 Reclaim them

The King was loth to put these Men to Death, but more loth to have  
 his Supremacy disowned, considering the ill Consequents, that might  
 thereupon ensue. This made him send several to them in Prison, to  
 convince and gain them over, if possible. But they stood too firmly  
 to be stirred in the least. Nay, though these very Men had agreed not  
 long before in Convocation, as the rest of the Nation had, with one  
 consent to the Act, that all the King's Subjects should revoke the  
 Pope's Superiority: But now they affirmed the contrary, that the  
 Pope's Superiority was necessary to be held in order to Salvation; and  
 that it was according to God's Law, and instituted by Christ, as ne-  
 cessary to the preservation of the Unity of the Church: And that the  
 Pope was immediately Judge under Christ, on whose Determination all  
 Christians should of necessity depend. Secretary *Crumwel* sent *Starky*,  
 a very learned Man, to *Reynolds* to hear his Reasons. Which when he  
 heard, he found, that they were neither strong, nor was his Learning  
 great

*Starky* sent to  
*Reynolds*.



great in the Defence of them. But nothing that could be said to him, nor the rest, could bring them to reject the Pope: And so they were put to Death, as Rebels. And the said *Starky*, writing to *Pole*, (with whom he had conversed and contracted a Friendship in *Italy*) concerning them, to justify the Proceedings in *England*, which had been so heavily censured in those Parts, where *Pole* was: and to satisfy him, who conceived an high Veneration for *Reinolds*: and that he might the better vindicate his Prince and Country; dilated upon these Men and their Deaths, and said; that to him it seemed, that *they sought their own Death, and of it none could be justly accused but themselves.*

A N N O  
1535.

One Friar *Maurice Channey*, or *Chauney*, of the House of *Carthusians* aforesaid, fled afterward beyond Sea, and there wrote a Relation in *Latin* of these Sufferings of his Fellow Monks: dedicating it to *John* the Prior of the greater House of *Carthusians*, and Primate of the whole Order. Out of which I have made some of these Collections. This Relation was in the Year 1550, printed with the Lives of *More* and *Fisher* in a Book, intituled, *Historia Martyrum Angliæ*, by *Vitus à Dulken*, Prior of the House of *Mount St. Michael* near *Mentz*: and printed again under another Title with Additions, 1573.

A Popish Book printed 1550. of the History of the Martyrs of England.

After the Death of these, were set Two Seculars over the House. Who handled the Friars hardly; cutting them short in their Commons, but pampering themselves. Others also were sent to have an Eye upon them. And they cut off an Aqueduct, fed from a Spring in the South Suburbs, that supplied the House with Water. They took away Books from them, which they had in their Cells, that they might not prove the Right they had to that Spring. All this Severity was exercised upon them, because it was known, how ill affected they stood to the King's Proceedings: and several of them even now writ against the King. The King's Counsellors after came to them, and used both Threats and Flatteries: permitting Liberty to any of them, that would go out of their House: but none would. Once *Crumwel* caused Four of them to be brought out of their House, even when they were at High Mass, to be present at the Cathedral, to hear a Bishop preach, (I suppose in Behalf of the King's Supremacy;) but they could not be convinced: Thus the foresaid Author writ of the present Condition of the *Charter House*: but this that follows is more certain, which I take out of Original Papers.

The Condition of this House after this.

### *An Order for the Charter House of London.*

*First*, That there be Five or Six Governors of Temporal Men, learned, wise and trusty; whereof Three or Four of them shall be continually there together every Meal, and lodge there every Night.

Temporal Governors set over the Charter House. Cleop. E. 4. p. 6.

*Item*, That the said Governors shall call all the Monks before them, and all the other Servants and Officers of the House; and to shew them that the King's Grace hath pardoned them of all Heresies and Treasons by any of them committed before that Day: Giving them warning, that if they estones offend, to dye without Mercy: And that there be a Pardon purchased for them all under the King's great Seal.

*A N N O* 1535. *Item*, That the same Governors take the Keys from the Proctors and other Officers; and to govern the House, and to receive all Rents, and make all Payments, and to be countable to the King's Grace thereof.

*Item*, That the said Governors call all the Monks to them severally, one after another, at Dinner Times; and to examine them of all their Opinions, and to exhort them to the Truth. Shewing them, that if any of them will, he shall have a Dispensation to leave that Order, and to live otherwise; and to have a convenient Stipend for a Year or Two, till he have provided himself of a Living; so that he conform himself to the King's Laws. And to endeavour himself to learn and to preach the Word; which every Priest is bound to do. And yet by their Religion, as it is said, they have professed falsely the contrary, that none of them shall ever preach the Word of God.

*Item*, To put all the Monks to the Cloister for a Season: and that no Man speak to them but by the License of one of the said Governors.

*Item*, To take from them all Manner of Books, wherein any Errors be contained, and to let them all have the Old Testament and the New Testament.

*Item*, To cause them to shew all their Ceremonies: And to teach them, and to exhort them to leave and forsake all such Ceremonies that be naught.

*Item*, If they find any of them so obstinate, that in no wise will be reformed, then to commit him to Prison, till the Council may take some other Direction for them. And they that will be reformed, to sever them from the Company of the Obstinate, and to be gently handled; and to cause them to utter the Secrets and Mischiefs used among them.

*Item*, There should be Three or Four Times every Week, during this Visitation, a Sermon made by some discrete, well learned Man; and all the Monks, Officers and Servants, to be caused to be there present; none Exception, save only Sickness: and the said Preachers to have their Chambers there, and Meat and Drink; that they might quietly study therefore during that Time.

*Item*, The Lay Brethren be more obstinate, and more froward, and more unreasonable than the Monks. Therefore they should be likewise examined; and the Obstinate punished or expelled: and the others kept for a Season, for Knowledge of diverse Points of them to be had.

Bishop Fisher  
executed.

June the 21. according to the Popish Author of the *Martyrs of England*: or the 22. according to the Lord *Herbert*, died Bishop *Fisher*, having been laid up in the *Tower* the last Year. This Bishop was an earnest Man on Queen *Katharine's* side, against the Divorce, and would freely dispute for the Lawfulness of her Marriage, and declare his mind freely in that matter. Once, namely in the Year 1528. Bishop *Staphileus*, Pope *Clement's* Ambassador to King *Henry*, returning home, in part of his Journey, happened to be accompanied by *Fisher* and Dr. *Marmaduke*, one of the King's Chaplains. Between them fell out by the way an earnest Dispute, wherein the *Italian* took the King's Part, and *Fisher* the Queen's. Wherein *Staphileus* thought at least he had so compleatly baffled *Fisher*, that he sent Cardinal *Wolsey* News of it: And wished he, and the King and Queen, had been present for their Satisfaction.



faction on both Sides. An Account of which, he said, Dr. *Marmaduke* A N N O  
should acquaint him with. 1535.

And the next Month, *July* the 7th, according to the forementioned Author, or the 6th, according to Lord *Herbert*, Sir *Thomas More* was executed for the same Crime. It was reported by the Papists, that *Fisher's Head*, which was set upon *London Bridge*, looked fresher every Day, and seemed alive. Which made them take it down, and hide it, or as others, threw it into the *Thames*. Whether it were or no, I know not : but if it were, the true Reason thereof was rather, because it was by so many resorted unto, and, it may be, some Veneration was paid unto it, as a Saint's Relick. And to prevent such a thing in Sir *Thomas More's* Head, they boiled it in Water, and set it up, that it might appear the more ghastly (saith the Popish Historian) or rather that it might not putrify and be offensive, and which is no more than is ordinarily done in those Cases.

When Sir *Thomas* was condemned, he took liberty to speak his Mind of the Act of Supremacy. Of which he was before more tender of saying any thing. He said, ' That he had for seven Years bent his Mind ' and Study upon this Cause. But as yet he found it no where writ in ' any approved Doctors of the Church, that a Layman, that is, a ' Secular, could be the Head of the Spiritual or Ecclesiastical State. Here the Chancellor interrupted *More's* Speech. Mr. *More*, said he, will you be reckoned wiser and of a better Conscience than all the Bishops, the whole Nobility and the whole Kingdom. To which *More*; ' My Lord Chancellor, for one Bishop that you have of your ' Opinion, I have an Hundred of mine; and that among those that ' have been Saints. And for your one Council, (which what it is, God ' knows ) I have on my side all the General Councils for a Thousand ' Years past. And for one Kingdom, I have *France*, and all the ' other Kingdoms of the Christian World. Moreover he told them, ' that their Act was not well made, because they swore professedly to ' do nothing against the Church : Which through the whole Christian ' Jurisdiction is one, entire and undivided : And that they alone had not ' any Authority, without the Consent of other Christians, of making ' Laws or assembling a Council against the Union and Concord of ' *Christendom*. But I am not ignorant, why ye have adjudged me to ' Death : Namely, because I would never assent in the Business of the ' King's New Matrimony.

The truth is, many thought *More* was severely dealt with, and might have been winked at, considering the Eminency of his Person, and the good Service he had done his King before. But surely somewhat of the secret Hand of Divine Justice might be discovered herein. For he had been a very rigorous Pursuer after the Blood of such as professed the Gospel, and was the Cause of bringing many of them to the Flames: Using Rigors and Torments likewise upon their Bodies, before he brought them to their cruel Ends: And bespattering them after their Deaths with false Suggestions, as though his Passion had not been satisfied with their Blood. After that holy Man, Mr. *Bilney*, was committed to, and consumed in the Flames at *Norwich*, *More* reported, that he had a Scroll in his Hand, wherein was written his Recantation : And that he read it at the Stake, revoking his former Opinions. Which

And Sir  
*Thomas More.*

*More* plainly  
speaks his  
mind.  
*Hist. Martyr.*  
*Angl.*

*More* a great  
Persecutor.

Slanders Bit-  
ney the  
Martyr.

*A N N O* Dr. *Parker*, afterward Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who was present at his Burning, and knew him well at *Cambridge* did confute. Testifying under his Hand, that *Bilney* had no such Scroll in his Hand, nor read any Recantation. And this Testimonial, *Fox*, the Author of the *Acts and Monuments*, had from *Parker* himself, when he was Archbishop.

1535.

Apt to slander the Professors of the Gospel.

*More* indeed had that ill Quality, irritated by his Zeal to his own Party, that he would: ( I will not say invent, but ) make use of false Tales and Stories, to defame the Memories of those good Men, that professed and died for the pure Religion, after he and his Party had ridded them out of the World. As he gave out, and I think, printed, that of *Bilney* aforesaid, so a Year or Two after, when he had caused *Richard Bayfield* to be burned in *Smithfield*, he raked in his Ashes, to spy out what Sparks he could find to reproach and vilify him: And at last publickly laid two Crimes to him, the one was, that he went about to assure himself of two Wives, one at *Brabant*, and another at *London*: The other was, that after *Bayfield* was taken, while he was not in utter despair of his Pardon, he was contented to forswear his Doctrine, and to disclose his Brethren and Associates. Very black Charges. For the Manifestation of the falshood of both, there was an Apology set forth in this holy Martyr's behalf and vindication. Upon which Occasion

*Acts and Mon.*  
o. 934.

*Fox* gave this Character of *More*: ' That he was so blinded in the ' Zeal of Popery, so deadly set against the one side, and so partially ' affectionated unto the other, that in them whom he favoured he could ' see nothing but all fair Roses and sweet Virtues: In the other whom ' he hated, there was never any thing could please his fantasy, but all ' as black as pitch.

*Petit* a worthy Patriot of *London*.

He would sometimes go himself in Person, while he was Chancellor, and the Lieutenant of the *Tower* with him, to apprehend such as he suspected to favour the Gospel, and search their Houses for New Testaments and other Books. Thus he once in the Year 1530 or 1531, surprized *John Petit* an eminent good Citizen. Of whom I will here make some larger Relation, to retrieve his most worthy Memory, in Effect hitherto buried and lost. ' He was one of the first [ I follow ' the Words of my MS. ] that with Mr. *Fritb*, *Bilney* and *Tindal*, ' caught a Sweetness in God's Word. He was Twenty Years Burgefs ' for the City of *London*, and free of the *Grocers*, eloquent and well- ' spoken; exactly seen in History, Song, and the *Latin* Tongue. ' King *Henry VIII.* would ask in the Parliament Time in his weighty ' Affairs, if *Petit* were of his Side: For once when the King required ' to have all those Sums of Money to be given him by Act of Par- ' liament, which afore he had borrowed of certain Persons, *John* ' *Petit* stood against the Bill, saying, I cannot in my Conscience agree ' and consent that this Bill should pass: For I know not my Neigh- ' bour's Estate. They perhaps borrowed it to lend the King. But I ' know mine own Estate: and therefore I freely and frankly give the ' King that I lent him.

Persecuted and sent to the Tower by *More*.

' This Burgefs was fore suspected of the Lord Chancellor *More*, and ' the Prelacy of this Realm, that he was a Fautor of the Religion ' that they called *New*, and also a Bearer with them [ of the said Re- ' ligion ] in printing of their Books. Therefore Mr. *More* cometh ' on a certain Time to his House at *Lion Key*, then called *Petit's Key*, and



‘ and knocking at the Door, Mrs. *Petit* came toward the Door, and seeing that it was the Lord Chancellor, she whipped in Haste to her Husband, being in his Cloſet at his Prayers, ſaying, Come, come, Husband, my Lord Chancellor is at door, and would ſpeak with you. At the ſame word the Lord Chancellor was in the Cloſet at her Back. To whom Mr. *Petit* ſpoke with great Courteſy; thanking him that it would pleaſe his Lordſhip to viſit him in his own poor Houſe. But becauſe he would not drink, he attended upon him to the Door, and ready to take his leave, asked him, if his Lordſhip would command him any Service. No, quoth the Chancellor; ye ſay ye have none of theſe new Books. Your Lordſhip ſaw, ſaid he, my Books and my Cloſet. Yet, quoth the Chancellor, ye muſt go with Mr. Lieutenant. Take him to you, quoth the Chancellor to the Lieutenant. Then was he laid in a Dungeon upon a Pad of Straw in cloſe Priſon. His Wife might not come to him, nor bring him any Bed. After long Suit and daily Tears of his ſaid Wife, named *Lucy Petit*, ſhe obtained Licence to ſend him a Bed, and that he might be brought to his Anſwer; where they had gotten a little old Prieſt, that ſhould ſay, he had *Tyndal's* Teſtament in *Engliſh*, and did help him and ſuch other, to publiſh their Heretical Books in *Engliſh*, as they termed them. But now at laſt when Mr. *Petit* had caught his Death by ſo naughty harbour of the Lord Chancellor, he was called openly, and the Prieſt that ſhould have accuſed him, asked Mr. *Petit* Forgiveness; ſaying, Mr. *Petit*, I never ſaw you afore this time; how ſhould I then be able to accuſe you. And ſo he was ſuffered to go home. But he died immediately after upon the ſame ill harbour. He thought his Pain came over his Cheſt like a Bar of Iron.

A N N O  
1535.

Dyes of the  
hard uſage.

Let me mention a few more Particulars of this worthy Patriot. He lay in the *Tower* at the ſame time that *Bilney* did, and lodged underneath him. ‘ And ſo much Favour he obtained from the Underkeeper, that ſometimes by removing a Board he allowed them to dine and ſup together, and to cheer one another in the Lord, with ſuch ſimple Fare, as Papiſt Charity would allow them. And before this, when *John Frith* was in the *Tower*, he came to *Petit's* Key in the Night, notwithstanding the Strait Watch and Ward by Commandment. At whoſe firſt coming, Mr. *Petit* was in doubt, whether it was Mr. *Frith* or a Viſion, no leſs doubting nor otherwiſe than the Diſciples were, when *Rhoda* the Maid brought Tidings, that *Peter* was out of Priſon. But Mr. *Frith* ſhewed him, that it was God that wrought him that Liberty in the Heart of his Keeper, *Philips*: Who upon the Condition of his own Word and Promise, let him go at liberty in the Night to conſult with godly Men. And this was the ſame good Keeper, that granted *Petit* and *Bilney* the liberty beforeſaid. Mr. *Petit* would needs be buried in the Churchyard: Whereat the Prieſts took advantage to frame a Religious Cheat. For they poured Sope Aſhes upon his Grave, which hindered the Graſs from growing; and then affirming, that God would not ſuffer Graſs to grow upon ſuch an Heretick's Grave. And many of the *Balaamites* came to ſee and teſtify the ſame. In fine, Mr. *Petit*, albeit he had great Riches by his firſt Wife, being his Miſtreſs and a Widow, and eſpecially by his ſecond Wife, *Lucy Watts*, Daughter and Heir unto the King's Grocer,

Some Re-  
marks of him.

One Pb——

ANN  
1535.

Mr. *Watts*: Yet he died not rich, for two Causes. The one, for that the Lord Chancellor made him pay the Debt of one, for whose Appearance Mr. *Petit* stood bound in Law. The Party was sick of a Tympany, therefore Mr. *Petit* was forced to bring him in a Cart to *London*, an Hundred Miles by estimation, whereof he died. But the Chancellor, of his Popish Charity would needs let the Principal go, and take it upon the Surety. Another Cause was this, Mr. *Petit* gave much to the Poor, and especially to poor Preachers, such as then were on this side the Sea, and beyond Sea. And in his Debt Book those desperate Debts he entred thus, *Lent unto Christ*: And so commanded his Executors to demand none of those Debts. His Will therefore amounted to not above Eightscore Pounds for his two Daughters unmarried, *Audrey*, and *Blanch*, over and besides those desperate Debts, and his Land in *Shorditch* and *Walthamstow*. One *William Bolls*, the last Husband of *Lucy Petit*, being alive in the Year 1579, enjoyed the Land in *Shorditch*, and received Sevenscore Pounds of Sir *Geffery Gates*, a Debtor of *Petit's*; and so much Goods besides, as he therewith was able to buy the Receivership of *Chester*, *Derby*, *Nottingham* and *Lincoln*. And little of it came to Mr. *Petit's* Children. But to give a few more Instances of *More's* Zeal (shall we call it?) or Cruelty.

Teste ipfius  
Uxore *Lucia*  
*Petit*.

His Cruelties  
towards  
*Tewksbury*;

*Martyrology*,  
First Edit.

And *Bainham*;

And *Fritb*.

In his House in *Chelfea*, Anno 1531. the Sentence of Condemnation was read by the Bishop of *London* against *Tewksbury*, a Letherfeller, living in the Parish of *St. Michael* the Quern, *London*; an excellent Proficient in the Gospel by reading the Books of the Scripture. And from *More's* House one of the Sheriffs of *London* took him, and carried him to Burning, without the King's Writ for his Warrant.

He had been brought into Trouble April 1. 1529. before *Tonstal*, Bishop of *London*. Before whom he was convented for reading *Tindal's* New Testament: and that he had the Bible written. He told the Bishop, that he had studied the Scripture this 17 Years. May 8. he submitted himself, and was abjured. Two Years after, he was brought into Trouble again, and for revoking his former Abjuration, was burnt. About the same Time, one *Bainham* a Gentleman of *Glocestershire* of good Quality, and Student of the Law in one of the *Temples*, was brought before *More* at *Chelfea*. Who cast him into Prison in his own House there, and whipt him at a Tree in his Garden, called, *The Tree of Troth*; and afterward sent him to the *Tower* to be racked: and so he was, *More* himself present at it, till in a Manner he had tamed him; because he would not accuse the Gentlemen of the *Temple* of his Acquaintance, nor would shew where his Books lay. After indeed by Terror and Suffering worn out, he recanted. But he revoked publicly his Recantation soon after. Upon which he was brought again before *More* to *Chelfea*, and there was chained to a Post two Nights, and at last burned.

In the next Year 1532. He prosecuted to Death *John Fritb*, a Young Man, once elected from *Cambridge*, for his excellent Learning, to the Cardinal's College in *Oxford*. The poor Man fled from place to place, absconding himself. But *More* persecuted him both by Sea and Land, besetting the Ways and Havens, and promising great Rewards to any, that would bring him any News or Tidings of him. And at length he fatiated his misguided Zeal upon the poor Innocent, and burnt him at a Stake.



a Stake. Yet he shewed Mercy to one for his Wit, as I have read in an old MS. For examining a Protestant, whose name was *Silver*, he told him after his jesting way, That *Silver must be tried in the Fire*. Ay, said *Silver*, but *Quick-Silver will not abide it*. With which ready Answer being delighted, he dismissed him.

A N N O  
1535.  
Spared one  
for his Jest.

C H A P. XXIX.

*Crumwel now the King's great Instrument. The Benedictin Order visited : And all other Religious Houses. Visitation of the Dioceses ; and both Universities.*

AND these were some of the resolute Steps King *Henry* made towards the obtaining again this long struggled for, and almost lost Right and Prerogative of Kings, in their own Dominions, of being Supreme, against the Encroachments of the Bishops of *Rome*. Secretary *Crumwel* had the great Stroke in all this. And all these Counsils and Methods were struck out of his Head. For which as he received the Curfes, and drew upon himself the Hatred of many, so many more, well affected to a Reformation of Superstitions in the Church, extolled him as highly. Of these was one *William Overbury*, an honest zealous Man, who applauded him for his care of the Reformation of Christ's Religion ; and upon his urging the Bishops and Clergy to renounce the Pope, and acknowledge the King's Supremacy, he wrote him this Congratulatory Letter :

*Crumwel* both  
loved and  
hated.

IMMANUEL.

' Faithful, Trusty, and dear Beloved Minister unto the High Power of Almighty God: Of that which you have Ministration under our Sovereign Lord the King, here in Earth the only High and Supreme Head of this his Church of *England*, Grace, Peace and Mercy be evermore with you. Laud and Thanks be to God the Father Almighty for the true and unfeigned Faith, that you have in our sweet Saviour *Jesu. Paul*, the true Preacher of Christ, saith, *Fundamentum aliud nemo potest ponere, prater id quod positum est, quod est Jesus Christus*. Whosoever believeth *Jesus* Christ to be the only Saviour of the whole World, Pacifier of God's Wrath, Mediator between God and Man, the Bearer of Sins, and the true Lamb of God, that taketh away the Sins of the World ; hath now set this Foundation. Therefore it is to be trusted upon, that where Christ is the Foundation, there must needs follow the Edifyng and Building of good Works, as Testimonies of the true Foundation. Also Christ saith, *Ego sum Osium*. He entreth in by this Door, the which seeleth the Truth, and preaching the same to others, followeth and keepeth it himself. *Paul* 9. *Corinth*. *Vx enim mihi est, si non Evangelizavero. Necessitas enim mihi incumbit. Si enim volens hoc ago, Mercedem habeo. Sin autem invitus, Dispensatio mihi credita est. Quæ est ergo Merces mea,*

*Overbury* to  
*Crumwel*.  
*Cleop. E. 6.*

A N N O

1535.

&c. This doth some take upon them, diligently executing the Office of the Ministration of the Word of God, plainly, sincerely following the gracious Will and Mind of our gracious Sovereign Lord the King, being only high Head and Governor next God. *Quomodo audient sine prædicante? Quomodo vero prædicabunt, nisi mittantur. Sed non omnes obediunt Evangelio*. For there be many perverse Men, which do dilaniate the Flock of Christ: Yea, and of them which seem to be Pillars, or Bearers up of the Church: Which do rather diminish the Faith, than any thing augment it.

I have many things, which I would fain declare to your Goodness. But I consider your great and manifold Care and Business, and mine own Impediments, by the Custom and Trade of Men ordained, that lett me not only this time, in this mind scribbling to you; but also almost at all times, from both Study and Exercise of the holy Gospel. The true Faith and Doctrine of the which I pray God augment to his Honour; who ever preserve and keep you. *Amen*.

Your Obedient,  
William Overbery.

A Visitation  
of Benediſtine  
Convents and  
others.

The Refractoriness of those of the *Benediſtine* Order to the King's Proceedings, made him think it convenient to look a little more narrowly into their Behaviour, and to animadvert upon their Irregularities, of which there were Reports enough. And this being resolved upon, he thought good to make one work of it, and to have all Convents and Religious Societies besides, Visited also. Some Memorial of this, especially as relating to *Canterbury*, I transcribe out of a MS. *Annal* of a Monk of *St. Auguſtines, Canterbury*; as followeth:

Fox. MSS.

This Year, 1535, the King sent many Doctors, &c. and others throughout all *England*, to visit all the Houses of Saint *Benedict's* Order, and all the Monasteries of every Order, Hospitals, Colleges and Chanteries, &c. Amongst whom, Doctor *Layghton*, being a Professor in the Laws, and the chiefest, did Visit this our House. Mr. *Bartlet* being his Scribe, and of Counsayl with him, the xx. Day of *October*.

In this Visitation, all Men utterly renounced the Name of the Pope, his Privileges and exempt Places, &c.

The same Time the new House of the Prior of the Church of Saint *Saviours* was set on Fire and burnt, Doctor *Layghton* the Visitor, and Mr. *Bartlet* the Scribe, with others being present, the xvi. Day of *October* at Mydnight

The Issue of this was, that the next Year, all the Monasteries and Religious Houses, through all *England*, that were not above the yearly Revenue of 300 l. (all Charges deducted) were by Act of Parliament given to the King's Majesty, for the amplifying his Crown, and to his Successors for ever.

Non series  
visit. d.

There was a general Visitation of Religious Houses this Year instituted, in which *Crumwel*, Vicar General, was Chief; who appointed under him Dr. *Leighton*, Dr. *Legh*, Dr. *Petre* and Dr. *London*; and they had many others accompanying them.

The Visitors appointed for the Monasteries, had certain Rules given them to observe in their Visitation, and to enjoyn upon all the Mem-



bers of those Houses strictly: Drawn up as it seems to me by Dr. A N N O Layton, or Leighton, one chiefly appointed by Crumwel in this Business. 1535.

The Rules were as follow, *Viz.*

*Primum, Ut omnes & singuli Fratres uniuscujusque, Cœnobij intra Regnum Angliæ in Domo sua Capitulari, ut vocant, personaliter præsentet, una congregentur.*

*Deinde, ut seorsim & separatim singuli examinentur super quibus visum fuerint, &c.* That is:

First, That all and singular of the Friars of every Religious House within the Kingdom of *England*, being personally present in their Chapter House, be assembled together.

Rules for the  
Visitors of the  
Religious  
Houses, Col.  
Library.

Then, that separately and by themselves, each be examined upon such things as shall be thought convenient.

That an Inquisition be made; and every one be compelled to give an Account of his Fealty and Obedience towards our King, *Henry VIII.* of that Name.

That all and singular be bound by Oath, to perform entire and perpetual Fealty and Obedience to the same our King, and Queen *Anne* his Wife; and towards the Issue of the said *Anne*, as well begotten, as to be begotten.

That all and singular be obliged by Oath, to notify, preach, persuade all the foresaid Matters to the People; whensoever Place and Occasion shall serve.

That they hold for confirmed and ratified, that our foresaid King *Henry* is Head of the Church of *England*, as it is decreed and ratified, as well in the Convocation of the Clergy, as in Parliament.

That they confess the Bishop of *Rome*, who in his Bulls used the Name of *Pope*, and arrogates to himself the Principality of Chief Bishop; to be esteemed of no greater Dignity, than any other Bishops in their respective Dioceses.

That none of them in any Sermon privately or publickly preached, call the same Bishop of *Rome* by the Name of *Pope*, or Chief Bishop; but by the Name of the Bishop of *Rome*, or of the *Roman* Church. Nor to pray for him, as *Pope*, but as Bishop of *Rome*, as is aforesaid.

That none of them all presume, in any Sermon, either publick or private, to wrest any Thing taken out of the Holy Scripture to another Sense. But that every one preach Christ, and all his Words and Deeds, simply, openly, sincerely, and according to the Rule of Sacred Scripture, and the truly Catholick Doctors.

That diligent Inquisition be made, how many Preachers be in every Monastery, and who. Then that all the Sermons of each be severely examined; whether they be Catholick and Orthodox, and worthy of a truly Christian Preacher, or no: If they shall be found Catholick and Orthodox, then he shall be admitted a Preacher: And his Sermons approved. But otherwise they shall be burnt forthwith.

Let all and singular, as many as be Preachers, be admonished, that in their Prayers and Supplications, made according to the Custom, they first commend to God and the Prayers of the People, the King, as Supreme Head of the *English* Church; then Queen *Anne* with her Issue. And then afterwards the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with the other Orders of the Clergy, as shall seem good.

**A N N O** Whatsoever Gold or Silver, made into Plate, and graved : And whatsoever other moveable Goods of any Kind, any Monastery shall be found to possess and have, they be compelled to produce, and shew it ; and deliver a true and faithful Account and Bill of all and singular the Things.

1535.

The King declareth, that the Monasteries shall continue.

That all and singular Monasteries, and the Friars living in them, or in any of them ; shall oblige themselves and their Successors, by the Tye of Conscience and an Oath ; and each by the Seal of their Convent, given in their Chapter Houses confirm it ; that they will faithfully observe all and singular the Things aforesaid.

Upon the Visitation of those Religious Houses, some of the Members desired of the Visitors, that they might be allowed to depart thence, as weary perhaps of that idle Course of Life : And some of them better disposed seemed to be willing to go abroad, and preach the Gospel And some Governors and whole Companies did voluntarily surrender up their Houses to the King. Who allowed them Pensions for their future Subsistence. But it was thought, that it was the King's Mind and Intention to take them all with their Lands and Revenues into his own Hand : and to turn out all the Monks and Friars to shift for themselves : And so it was given out. But the King meant no such thing : And shewed himself displeased with such as reported it ; and ordered them to be taken up, and committed to Custody. And pacified and quieted these Religious Persons with Assurance to the contrary, in case they lived in due Order, and shewed themselves true to him, and acknowledged his Supremacy. And accordingly he sent out a Declaration unto the said Houses to the same Effect. And after these Fears still continuing, Circular Letters were sent to the Abbots and Priors by the King's great Officer *Crumwel*, to assure them thereof ; bidding them to repose themselves in Quiet ; and to serve God devoutly ; to provide duly for the Sustentation of their Houses, to provide for the Poor, to keep up Hospitality, and not to spoil and waste, the Revenues of the Houses. Which Letter being a further Confirmation of that from the King to the same Import, may be found in the *Appendix*.

Numb.  
LVI.

Royal Visitation of the Dioceses.

I find also a Royal Visitation of the *Dioceses* in the Realm, (which I think to be in this Year also) to make round work. Being about to begin their Visitation, *Thomas Legh*, and *John Ap Rice*, and the rest issued out their Inhibition, forbidding and restraining all Bishops to exercise Episcopal Authority, for the Visitation Time. And this might be the Reason, that the Archbishop of *Canterbury* being minded to make his Metropolitcal Visitation this Year also, was fain to obtain the King's License so to do, as we read in the History of the Reformation.

Vol. I. p. 185.

Inhibitions to the Bishops.

These Inhibitions the Bishops had complained of before to *Crumwel*, being drawn up in somewhat an extraordinary manner: Depriving them of their Power, during the King's Pleasure. And now again the Visitors did imagine they would make fresh Complaints. Whereupon they thought it convenient to prevent the Bishops, and render in writing the Reasons to *Crumwel* of their so doing. Which were, that so the King taking all the Episcopal Jurisdiction and Power into his own Hands for a time, and exercising the same, it might serve as a perpetual Monument of his Supremacy. And that they, receiving their Power again from the King, might recognize him for the Spring and Foundation



dation of it. That they might shew whence they claimed their Authority, by suing to the King's Majesty for the restoring of it again to them. But behold the Reasons themselves at large in the *Appendix*, as the Visitors themselves penned them, and sent them in their Letter to *Crumwel*.

A N N O  
1535.

Numb.  
LVII.

By the Conclusion of the said Letter, it appeared also that they visited the University of *Cambridge*, and were now drawing up Injunctions for it. For they mention two Articles, which they then sent up to be added to the rest of the Injunctions; and prayed him, that after he had perused and corrected the whole, he would cause them to be drawn out fair in Parchment, and Sealed, and sent down to them for the University. The sum of the first Article was, that they should observe, and cause all other to observe, all and singular the Contents in the Oath of *Succeſſion*, which they had taken, and in the Statute for the Extirpation of the *Roman* Bishop's Authority, and for the Establishment of the King's *Supremacy*; which they had professed by a publick Instrument with their own Hands and Seals annexed. In the Conclusion of these Injunctions, the King (for in his Name they ran) reserved to himself, and *Thomas Crumwel*, his Visitor General and his Surrogate, a Power of giving other Injunctions, and doing whatever else should by their Prudence and Discretion be thought meet: But for the Words themselves, I refer the Reader to the *Appendix*.

The Visitors  
make Injun-  
ctions for  
*Cambridge*.

Numb.  
LVIII.

There was also this Year a Royal Visitation of the University of *Oxford* by Dr. *Layton*, and others appointed by *Crumwel*, the King's chief Secretary. And what he had done there in several of the Colleges; for promoting good Learning, appointing *Latin* and *Greek* Lectures to be read in several Colleges; and obliging all Students in other lesser Colleges to be present at those Readings: Also giving divers Injunctions to be observed upon Penalties: And also repairing to some of the Colleges to redress Disagreements and Matters of Complaints; his Letter to the said Secretary will shew, as it follows; taken from the Original.

' Please it your Goodness to be advertised, that in *Magdalen* College we found established one Lecture of Divinity, two of Philosophy, one Moral, another Natural, and one of the *Latin* Tongue; well kept, and diligently frequented. To these we have adjoyned a Lecture in the *Greek*; that is, the *Grammar* in *Greek*, perpetually to be read there; and all the Youth thereunto to have Confluence for the Principalls.

*Oxford* Visi-  
ted.  
An Account  
of that Visi-  
tation. *Faust*.  
C. 7.

' In *New College* we have established two Lectures publick: One in *Greek*, and another in *Latin*. And have made therefore for evermore an honest Salary and Stipend.

' In *All Soulen* College, we have in like manner established two Lectures; one of *Greek*, and another in *Latin*, with a good Stipend and Salary, thereunto assigned for ever.

' In *Corpus Christi* College, we found two Lectures established by the Founder, one in *Greek*, another in *Latin*; publick for all Men, thereunto to have Converse.

' We have further established a Lecture in *Latin* Tongue, publick, in *Marten* College; and another in *Queen's* College: And have assigned and made a sufficient Stipend for either of these for evermore.

A N N O

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‘ Because we found all other the Colleges, not able in Londes and Revenues to have within them Lectures Publick, as the other afore rehearsed have, we have enjoyned the foresaid poor Colleges, that they and every of them shall frequent and have daily Concourse unto the said Lectures. *Pœnam imposuimus* to every Scholar within the Univerſity, not hearing at the least one of these Lectures. So that Day that he shall be absent from one of the said Lectures, to be punished in the Loss of his Commons for that Day: The said Pain every Day, *Totiens quotiens absens fuerit, nisi concurrente Causa aliqua legitima, approbanda tamen per Præpositum Collegii sive Aulæ.*

‘ We have set *Dunce* in *Bocardo*: and have utterly banished him *Oxford* for ever, with all his blind Glosses: And is now made a common Servant to every Man; fast nailed up upon Posts in all common Houses of Easement: *Id quod Oculis meis vidi.* And the Second Time we came to *New College*, after we had declared your Injunctions, we found all the great Quadrant Court full of the Leaves of *Dunce*, the Wind blowing them into every Corner. And there we found one Mr. *Greenfield*, a Gentleman of *Buckinghamshire*, gathering up Part of the same Book Leaves, as he said, therewith to make him Sewers or Blawnshers, to keep the Deer within his Wood, thereby to have the better Cry with his Hounds.

Religious Students.

‘ We have also in the Place of the *Canon* Lecture, joyned a *Civil* Lecture, to be read in every College, Hall and Inn. We have also, in visiting the Religious Students, among all other Injunctions, enjoyned, that none of them for no Manner Cause shall come within any Tavern, Inn, Alehouse, or any other House, whatsoever it be, within the Town, and the Suburbs of the same, upon Pain once so taken, by Day or by Night, to be sent immediately Home to his Cloister, whereas he was professed. Without doubt we hear say this Act to be greatly lamented of all the double honest Women of the Town, and especially of their Lawndress; that may not now once enter within the Gates, and much less within their Chambers, whereunto they were right well accustomed. I doubt not, but for this Thing only, the honest Matrons will sue unto you for a Redress.

‘ Other Things more, which are too tedious and long to conceive by Writing, we have done. Which all I shall declare unto you at my coming. This Sunday by Night we shall make an End. For all this Day we repair to Colleges for the Redress of Divisions and Complaints, put unto us.

‘ To Morrow by Seven a Clock in the Morning, I will be at *Abington*. And I trust to bring you the Truth of every Thing for that House, and thereof doubt ye not. On Wednesday by Night at uttermost, I trust to be with you at *Winchester*, God willing: Who send you as good Health, as your Heart desireth.

‘ We find here all Men applying, and glad to accomplish all Things: From *Oxford*, this Sunday the 12th of *Septemb.* By your most assured poor Priest and Servant.

RICHARD LAYTON.

Superſcribed, To the Right Honourable Maſter Thomas Crumwel,
Chief Secretary to the Kings Highneſſe.

CHAP.

C H A P. XXX.

The Valuation of Benefices taken; For the First Fruits and Tenths, given to the King. Commissioners sent abroad for that Purpose. Their Letters. How the Bishops now stood affected. Bishop Shaxton's Case.

THE last Year the Parliament had, for the Augmentation of the King's Royal Estate, given him the *First Fruits* of all spiritual Livings throughout the Realm, and the *Tenths*. For the better Execution of this Act, the King sent abroad his Commissioners to take the true Value of the Benefices through the whole Land: Several Commissioners for each County; and the respective Bishops seemed to be put into these Commissions in their Dioceses. There was also a certain number of Auditors joyned with them. Thus I find Commissioners for *Yorkshire*, and Commissioners for *Northumberland*, and Commissioners for the Archdeacons of *Richmond*. And among the Commissioners for the Bishoprick of *Durham*, *Tunstal* the Bishop thereof was one. When the Valuations were made and taken by the Commissioners, they were all returned to *Crumwel*, now *Master of the Rolls*. In this Commission the King gave a special Order to the Bishops to give no Institution to any Livings, till the King were agreed with for the Payment of the First Fruits; that so he might the better be secured of them. What the Bp. of *Durham* with his Fellow-Commissioners had done in this Business, he thought fit to signify up to *Crumwel* in a Letter dated from *Aukland*, July 20. therein he excused himself from having stayed so long before he sent up the Account for the Bishoprick. For the Court was now very intent upon any imaginary Remission in the Bishops. He said, he would follow the King's Commandment, to give no Institution, till the King were agreed withal. But he thought it would light very chargeably upon the poor Clergy, to take a long Journey up to *London* to give Bonds. Therefore he advised *Crumwel*, that there might be some appointed in the Country to take Bonds, for the greater Ease of the Clergy. The Letter may not be unworthy to be perused: Which I have therefore preserved in the *Appendix*.

Upon the Commissioners bringing in the Values of all the Livings in *England*, and computing thence the Incomes by First Fruits, I have seen a notable Paper of *Crumwel*'s: Wherein he set forth the Conveniences accruing to the King hereby: (which happened soon after the Surrender of the lesser Monasteries) as followeth.

There will by this Account remain to the King's Majesty to be annexed to his Crown, over and besides all his Monasteries lately surrendered, ————— 40000 *l*.

And besides that, his Majesty may, either reform the Hospitals already founded, or erect new, to the yearly Charge of—10000 *Mark*.

His Grace may furnish CC Gentlemen, to attend upon his Person. Every of them to have 100 *Mark* yearly ————— 20000 *Mark*.

A Commission
to take the
Value of
Benefices.

Numb.
LIX.

Crumwel
shews the Use
the King
might make
of the First
Fruits.
Cot. Libr.

A N N O

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His Majesty may appoint for certain Garisons ——— 20000 Mark.

And his Highness may assign to the yearly Reparation of Highways in sundry Parts, or the doing of other good Deeds, for the Commonwealth: Whereby the valiant Beggars may be set a Work—5000 Mark.

And yet his Grace's Tenth, besides the First Fruits, will by Estimation amount yearly to ——— 20000 Mark.

And it is to be remembred, that sithence the Suppressions, there have come Monasteries to the King's Highness Hands, and been given away by his Majesty, near to the Value of Twenty Thousand Pounds, with those that be agreed at this present to be surrendered.

But how many of these good Works were done by these ample Revenues coming into the King's Treasury, it is worth Enquiry.

Method of
taking the Va-
lues of Bene-
fices by the
Commission-
ers.

Upon the Act of Parliament that granted the King the First Fruits and Tenth of all Spiritual Preferments, Commissioners (as was said) were appointed and sent forth to all Parts, throughout all the Dioceses, to take a just Account of the true yearly Values of them, whether Preferments in the Cathedral Churches, or Parsonages, Vicarages, Colleges, &c. And further, how these Commissioners discharged their Trust in this weighty Affair for the King's Benefit; and what reasonable Favours and Abatements were desired by the Incumbents and Possessors, to be shewn and made by the Commissioners; may be partly seen, by a Letter of Gardiner Bishop of Winchester, one of the Commissioners for that Side, and by another from the Archbishop, and Commissioners, on the Side of York: both writ to Secretary Crumwell, in the Month of May.

In the former the Bishop shewed, how earnest he had been in this Affair, for the more advancing the King's Revenue, arising hence; and enquiring about some Allowances, on the Account of Alms, and Education of Youth, and such like Charities, payable out of some Benefices or Preferments. His Letter ran to this Tenor.

Bishop of Win-
chester to
Crumwell, with
the Certificate
taken of them
in his Diocese.
Cott. Libr.

Master Secretary, After my most harty Commendations; Forasmuch as I send up at this Time by my Servant this Bearer, the Certificate that hath been done by me and others, to whom the King's Highness directed his Grace's Letters of Commission, concerning the Valuation of the Spirituality in this Country; I have thought good to send the same first unto you, and to desire your Judgment now in the Inspection; as I required your Advice in mine Entry and Beginning thereof. For if any Thing be otherwise than it should be, it may, and shall be easily amended. I assure you there hath neither wanted good Will, ne Diligence; and dividing the Charge committed unto us in Two Parts: Whereof the one was, to know the true Value; the other, to Allocations and Deductions. As I dare affirm that in the first Part, no Default shall be found, but that every Promotion is extended to the utmost, so have we in the Deductions and Allocations followed in our Judgment, as our Duty is, the Words of our Instructions; and regarding any such Reasons as have been made upon the Words of the Act; being much more favourable, as they said, than we have shewed our selves in that Behalf. Whereof by the Advice of the Rest of my Collegues, I have made an Institution, which I send unto you to be weighed, as ye should think good.

‘ The Title of *Almes*, altho’ in our Judgment we understand it; and have made Allocations thereafter, in the finding and nourishing of old and impotent and lame Men: Yet we have not so deemed it, in the finding of young Children to School: And yet is it so called also as the other is, *Almes*. We used herein a Distinction of *finding*. Which in poor and impotent Men is without other Shift necessary to live by. But in Children no such Necessity to find them to School. Finally, we satisfied them, and our selves also, with this Resolution; that albeit our Certificate in the Extent of their Londs, if we made the Sum more than we found, it might grieve them: Wherefore we would take Heed, and deal uprightly: Yet in the Allowance we could neither do Good, ne Harm to them. For if we allowed further than we had Commission, it would be comptrolled there with our Rebuke. And if we allowed too little, the Remedy lay open to be sued for, if they thought good.

A N N O
1535.

‘ We have past over all Things quietly, without Miscontentment shewed by any Party, and without any other Suit, than as shall be thought agreeable to the Statute made in that Behalf. Ye shall see in the Valuation of my Bishoprick a good Portion; but whereof I shall not receive now very little above the one half to mine own Use. I am in some Men’s Judgment too strait in charging my self: But I will have mine own Will therein: That I may be called * *self-willed* for some Things. I am bold to trouble you with my long Letters; in which I talk with you as I were present familiarly. My Servant shall shew you the Book: and farther do, as ye shall command us. And thus most hartily fare ye well. From *Marvel*, the 2d Day of May.

* So, it seems,
he was usually
styled.

Your assured Friend,

STE. WINTON.

To this were subjoynd, of the same Bishop of Winton’s Writing,

ARTICLES, wherein the Commissioners have not shewed such Favours to the Parties here in their Allowances, as, they pretended before them, was due by the Act of Parliament in that behalf.

First, ‘ Whereas diverse Benefices, as appeareth by the particular Books, have some One, some Two, some Three Chapels, besides the Parish Church: In which Chapels they be bound to find Priests: Albeit the Commissioners in the Valuations, have esteemed all such Profits, as arise and grow in any of the said Chapels; yet they have allowed no Deductions of the Priests Charge, who is necessary, and perpetual serving in that Chapel.

Allowances to
be made.

Item, ‘ It hath been alledged, that such Chauntries as be not perpetually assigned to any spiritual Man, should not be charged by this Act of Parliament: Especially, where there groweth no Profit to the Incumbent by any special Revenue: And that the Incumbent may be removed at Pleasure. And this Case is alledged in the Chapel of the Holy Ghost in the Isle of *Wight*, and the Chauntry of *Tichborn* in the Deanry of *Alresford*.

Item :

A N N O

1535.



Item, ' It hath been alledged, that considering the Act maketh Mention of all Almes to be allowed, given by Foundation; therefore finding of poor Children in the *New College* beside *Winchester*, ought also to be deducted; being their Portion so little, that it cannot be less.

' In which Matters, albeit the Commissioners have, with the best Reasons they could, defended their own Doings, in Execution of the King's Highness Instructions according to the said Act; yet finally, they promised to make Relation of their Suit to be remedied by Mercy, if it shall be thought convenient.

I add, for a further Explanation of the Course and Method used by the Commissioners, for the Execution of this great Trust, a Letter of the Commissioners for the Diocese of *Tork* to Secretary *Crummel*, concerning their taking the Value of the Benefices, with Notice of the Names of the said Commissioners, as they are subscribed. Where may be observed, that with the Commissioners were also sent *Instructions* in these Proceedings. And Auditors were also appointed to examine and write out fair all the Valuations taken in Parchment; to be sent up to the Secretary. The Letter follows:

The Commissioners for the Diocese of *Tork* to *Crummel*.

' Right Honourable, Like it you to understand, that where by the King's Commission and Instructions, Charge is given to us, to make Certificate *Oculus Trinitatis*, of the View and Examination taken by us of the yearly clear Value of all Manner of spiritual Promotions: We have done our Diligence according to our most bounden Duties, to the uttermost of all our Powers: And had now at this Time of our Meeting, the 24. of *May*, been at full otherwise ready to certify by our Day limited in our said Instructions, if we could have had such Auditors, as by the King's Commission were joyned with us. But some of the said Auditors for Sickness could do no Service: Some as yet came not to us: Some be appointed also in other Places. So that at this our Meeting, albeit all the Books came in, yet diverse of them were not written in Parchment, for Lack of Auditors. Some altho' by the best Diligence that the Commissioners could use, were written in Parchment, yet they were not in due Form after the Auditor's Fashion.

' Which Thing hath now so stayed us, that we cannot certify at the Day appointed: And much doubt, whether we shall be ready to certify in any Part of this Term. And forasmuch as Mr. *Blitheman* is coming to know your Mind for sundry Doubts, which be among us; to the Intent that our Book may come forth the more perfectly, we have thought convenient, or ever we certify, to understand your Resolutions for the said Doubts at the Return of the said Mr. *Blitheman*. It may therefore like you to be so good to us, that seeing they towards us cannot be arrested herein, any Negligence or Default, to provide that we run in no Damages in the *Exchequer*. And furthermore, that we may have a new Commission to a further Day; and that large enough: So that we may be not again constrained to sue for a new Commission. And for the said Doubts, it may like you to be so good to us, that Mr. *Blitheman* at his Return may come

by

‘ by this City, and advertise us of your Pleasure; which we shall follow, God willing: Who have you in his continual Governance. 1535.
 ‘ From York, the 24. Day of May, 1535.

Edouard Ebor.
Willm Wright, Mayr of York.
Geo. Carey.
T. Magnus.
Bridy. Haslinges.

Roger Cholmely.
Geo. Lawson.
Rob. Bowes.
Robt Chaloner.
Cha. Grue.

About this time the King became highly offended with the Bishop of Winchester, which Fox the King's Almoner acquainted him with. The Occasion is obscure, but seemed to be this. The King was minded to have all his Spirituality, Bishops as well as the Inferior Clergy, to depend upon him for the Exercise of their Ecclesiastical Function and Jurisdiction: And to have it so believed and acknowledged by the Word of God. And some Books were published by the King's Order in Proof of it. To one of which an Answer came forth. This Answer was committed to Winchester to confute, or correct it, where it argued against the King's Mind and Judgment. But it seems the Bishop did allow the Opinion set down in the Book. This was the Thing that gave great Disgust to the King: Namely, For standing so high upon the Episcopal Jurisdiction, as that Bishops received their Authority from God, and could not part with it to the King. The Inhibitions above-mentioned, I verily believe, gave the Ground of this Dispute.

The King offended with Winchester.

The Bishop understanding the King's Wrath against him, thought rather to plead for himself by a Letter to the King, than by personal Conference with him. In which Letter he cunningly managed himself to regain the King's Favour, after this Manner. ‘ First, he shewed extraordinary Dejection at the King's Displeasure against him: Acknowledging the mighty Favours he had received from him: and that he could rather chuse to dye, than to live in his Majesty's Indignation. And Secondly, He vindicated himself, by shewing that he held according to the Opinion of a Number of learned Men, and according to his Majesty's own Book against Luther, and a Decree of the Council of Constance. But Lastly, in Conclusion he hinted his Readiness to be instructed by the King, being, as he confessed, not learned in Divinity. Adding, That he was desirous to do what might be done to his Highness Contentation, and appliable to learn the Truth, what ought to be done, and that he should be glad to confer with any of the Council in this Matter. He that pleaseth may find this Bishop's Letter in the Appendix.

His course to reconcile himself.

As for the Bishops at this Time, however zealous they pretended to be in their Subjection to the King and his Supremacy, and Opposition to the Pope's Claim in these Dominions; yet few of them, but cherished his Religion, and held fast the Corruptions practised in the Church of Rome, and gave little Countenance to the Reformation of it. Among these few, were Archbishop Cranmer, Bishop Latymer, and Shaxton Bishop of Salisbury. Of which last I have something to add, Namely, that as he was a Man of good Learning, and Master of

Numb. LX.

The Bishops now, how affected to a Reformation.

Bishop Shaxton's Affection towards it.

A N N O 1535. a College in *Cambridge*, so he was very cordial and diligent in endeavouring a Reformation of the Abuses and Errors introduced into Religion, by preaching, and instructing and government of his Diocese, and took such pains therein; that he told *Crumwel* the King's Vicar General, that upon Occasion he would give way to none therein, but the former Two: Exciting him to aid them with his Authority, who applied themselves to serve God and the King in their Callings. Among whom he said himself was one, and would not give place to the best Bishop in *England* for his Talent, except *Canterbury* and *Worcester*.

Inhibits a
Monk of
Reading, to
read Lectures
there.

And because the Abbies and Religious Houses especially stuck to the Pope, and kept up as much as they could to the old Superstitions; Bishop *Shaxton* especially watched them, according to Injunctions sent by *Crumwel* to all the Bishops; though some more coldly observed them. Among the rest there was a Monk of *Reading* in his Diocese, that read Lectures in the Abby: whom for good cause he forbade to read any more. Notwithstanding the Abbot bade him continue his *Reading*: This occasioned a Contest between the Bishop and the Abbot. Who having some Favour with *Crumwel*, related his Case so advantageously in a Letter to him, with Complaint of the Bishop's Dealings with the Monk and him, that *Crumwel* took the Matter out of the Bishop's Hand into his own; by virtue of his Power committed to him by the King, in all spiritual Matters. And writ him an angry Letter: Using many Expressions therein, that did in no small Measure afflict the Bishop, even to Tears, thus to be checked in the Execution of his Office in his own Diocese. So it provoked him to write a long expostulating Letter in Answer. Wherein were some sharp Words, and somewhat too free to be used with a Person of so great Quality, as Lord Privy Seal and Vicar General: Justifying himself in what he had done: and charging him with Partiality towards the Abbot against him, the Bishop, and with Encroachment upon his Episcopal Authority in his own Diocese. That hereby he apprehended, he was displeased with him, and loved him not, whatever he pretended. And that in divers other things he had thwarted him in his good Intentions; though he, the Bishop, had made it his Endeavour to obtain his good liking. And that he sided with a Popish Abbot, rather than with him. And besides, that he had written divers sharp Letters to him before, which made him weep. And now the Bishop venteth his Grief at large by this Letter: now and then dropping a passionate Expression; yet revoking it again; and generally writing with much Respect and Deference.

Shaxton's Letter censured
by Bishop
Burnet.

Hist. Reformat.
Vol. 1: P. 340.

But Bp. *Burnet*, (one of his Successors,) in his excellent History of the Reformation, having read this Letter of Bishop *Shaxton*, took *Crumwel's* Part, and censures the said Bishop for a proud, ill-natured Man: and omitting the Bishop's Letter, prints *Crumwel's* Answer to it, drawn up mildly indeed by *Morison*, his Secretary: Which ensueth that of *Shaxton's* MS. Letter in the *Cotton* Library. There that Author calls *Shaxton's* Letter, *Provoking Language*. 'And that therein he added many insolent Praises of himself. And that his whole Letter was as extravagant a Piece of Vanity and Insolence, as ever he saw.' But perhaps it will not seem so to others, who consider all Circumstances; and can excuse some Heats to good Men, when they are hindered in the impartial Execution

cution of their Function, as this good Bishop was. And therefore I *A N N O*
 have left it to be read and considered in the *Appendix*, whereby both the *1535.*
 Bishop, and this his present Case may be better known, and judged of: *Numb.*
 especially, since in the Conclusion of his Letter he begs his Pardon, *LXI.*
 desires the Continuance of his Favour, and submits himself and his
 Cause wholly to him.

But more particularly, the true Case was this. Three Friars of the
 House had accused this Monk, the said Reader, whose Name was *Lon-*
don, that he had in his Lectures vented some Heretical Opinions: *Doctrines*
 Namely these; That the Scripture is not sufficient of it self for a *vented by the*
 Christian. That tho' a Man can preach the Word of God sincerely *Monk, the*
 and truly, yet he is not sufficient to take a Cure, unless he is skilled in *Reader of*
 Cases of Conscience, and able to resolve them. That Faith justifieth *Reading Abby.*
 not, without Works. And that Men may deserve Grace and Justifica-
 tion by their own Works. Upon this Information the said Monk was
 summoned before the Bishop, who shewed him his Errors: And after-
 wards dealt very gently with him; only requiring him to make a Re-
 vocation of them. And so took his Subscription, and then dismissed
 him. But thought fit to restrain him from reading his Lectures: And
 thought to have put one of his Friends, a Priest (but degraded for
 having a Wife) of better Learning and Principles, in his Room.
 Which the Abbot it seemed liked not of.

Crumwel, before this had shewed his Displeasure against this Bishop,
 because he had mentioned to him, on some Controversy between the
 City of *Salisbury* and him, a certain Grant of King *Edward IV.* to the
 Bishop of *Sarum*, that the Maior there was the Bishop's Maior, and
 the Citizens the Bishop's Citizens. Which *Crumwel* reproved him for
 saying so; since, notwithstanding such Grants, all the Power he had,
 depended upon the present King's Confirmation: Which the Bishop in
 Answer acknowledged freely; and added, how little he lifted up him-
 self upon such Grants. This also will be read more at large in the
 Bishop's said Letter.

C H A P. XXXI.

The King's Primer; for the better Instruction of the Laity. Se-
ditions Books called in. Sir Tho. Eliot's Letter to Crumwel
on this Occasion. Some Account of this Learned Knight.

A Second Edition of the *Primer* in *English* came out this Year in *The King's*
Quarto, with diverse Additions; and was stiled *King Henry's Primer.*
Primer, to give the better Countenance and Authority to it. Put
 forth by Doctor *Marshall*, Archdeacon of *Nottingham*; but the Arch-
 bishop of *Canterbury*, in all Probability, had a great Hand in it, both in
 the revising of it, and in compiling some of the Treatises it consisted of.
 The Drift of it was double; as well to make the common People un-
 derstand their Prayers and divine Worship, as to cure some gross Er-
 rors in Religion, that were then by Popish Craft generally entertained

A N N O 1535. by the Vulgar, by putting Superstitious Books into their Hands: Which in the Admonition to the Reader, the Publisher called, *Pestilent and Infectious Books, and Learnings*. The good Design therefore was, that the Laity might be furnished with a better Direction for Prayers and Devotions, than they usually had before. ‘ In those Books they ‘ had learned with much foolish Superstition, and as great Scrupulosity, to make Rehearsal of their Sins by Heart. They abounded in ‘ every Place with infinite Errors and perilous Prayers, slanderous both ‘ to God, and all his holy Saints. They were garnished with glorious Titles, and with red Letters; promising much grace, and many Years, Days and Lents of Pardon: Which they could never indeed perform; to the great Deceit of the People, and the utter Destruction of their Souls. And so the Author descended to the superstitious Prayers used to the Virgin *Mary*; and particularly considered that Promise, That whosoever said a certain Prayer before her Image, called *The Image of our Lady of Pity*, should see her Visage, and be warned both of the Day and also of the Hour of his Death, before he departed out of this World. He shewed also the great Danger the People ran into, of Idolatry in these Prayers to the Virgin *Mary* and Saints: and took the Boldness to write thus; ‘ That it was not meet, ‘ comely, nor fitting, that in our Prayers we should make a God, or ‘ Saviour of any Saint in Heaven, no not of our Blessed Lady: ‘ Neither was it meet to make them check with our Saviour Christ, ‘ much less then to make them Check-mate. He wished they that ‘ were Learned should here call to mind the Honour of *Latria*, where- ‘ with they were wont to say and preach, and in Disputations to declare ‘ and teach, that it was both Sin and Shame to honour any Creature. ‘ That the Distinction of *Latria*, *Dulia*, and *Hyperdulia*, in contentious ‘ Disputations swam ever in their Lips. But when they came to practise ‘ the Matter in their Petitions and Prayers, then seemed it as clean ‘ forgotten with them, as they had never spoke it, read it, nor heard ‘ of it in their Lives.

A particular
account of it.

In this *Primer*, was amassed together divers Tracts with several Admonitions and Prefaces to the Readers thereof: And as it seems set forth at several Times, and now collected and printed together, as a useful Book of necessary Devotions for ordinary Christians. But it gave great offence to the Papists, and as soon as the Times favoured them, and the Lord *Crumwel* was dispatched, they procured some of the Tracts to be prohibited, and brought in upon pain of Heresy. It began,

I. With an Exposition upon the Ten Commandments: Wherein the Second is, after the old Popish way, swallowed up into the First without any distinction. Next was,

II. An Exposition of the Creed.

III. Then a general Confession for every Sinner, wherein he acknowledgeth, how he had broke all the Ten Commandments. And here it is to be marked, that there was a plain Distinction (though there were none in the first Tract) between the First and the Second. For the Penitent is brought in speaking thus under the Second Article of his Confession: ‘ I have divided thine Honour and Worship from thee, and ‘ given it to thy Creatures, and dead things imagined of mine own ‘ fantasy:

'fantasy: I mean in the misusing of Images.' Which makes me conclude this Third Tract, and that First, had different Authors. A N N O
1535.

IV. An Instruction how, and in what manner we ought to pray to Almighty God. And this ushered in,

V. A goodly breve Interpretation, or Declaration of the Lord's Prayer. And that accompanied with a plain and true relation of the Sense of,

VI. The *Ave Maria*, or the Angel's Salutation of our Lady. Which began with this caution: 'Here first of all take heed, that no Man put his sure Trust and Hope in the Mother of God or her Merits. For this sure Confidence is due to God only, &c. The Grace and Favour that was given her of God, giveth us an Occasion to praise God, and give him Thanks. We ought none otherwise to praise and love her, than one which hath received such Goodness, without her own deserving, of the pure Liberality and Favour of God: Even as, she her self doth knowledge in that Song, *Magnificat*.' And after the Recital of the *Ave* in *English*; to correct the Superstition of those that make it a meritorious Prayer, follow these Words; 'Here thou seest, that in these Words no Petition, but pure Praises and Honours are contained, &c. Therefore we cannot call this Salutation a Petition or Prayer properly, &c. Because it is not lawful for us to expound these Words further, than they sound, and than the Godhead did make them.

VII. A very pious, devout Prayer to God, beginning, *O Maker of Heaven and Earth*, &c. Being an Application to God under the consideration of him, as our great Creator.

VIII. The Office of all States: Bishops, Rulers, Commons, Husbands, Wives, Fathers and Mothers, Children, Masters, Servants, Widows.

IX. A short Treatise of good Works.

X. A little Declaration of Principles, being an Exhortation to expect the Cross, and patiently to bear it.

XI. Mattins and Even Song in *English*: Beginning, *O Lord open thou my Lips: and then shall my mouth shew forth thy praise.*

XII. The Seven penitential Psalms *Englished*.

XIII. The Litany: with a Preface before it, giving a Reason why it was left out in the former Edition. Which was, because it being an Application to the Blessed Virgin and the Saints, many worshipped them in a vain Superstitious Manner, and thought that God by Christ would none otherwise gladly hear and accept their Petitions, but by his Blessed Mother and Saints. In the same Preface is answered the ordinary Plea for addressing to Saints, *viz.* That if a Man have a Suit to any Temporal Prince, he must first make a Means unto him by some Body that is in his Favour. But the Author answered, 'It was not between God and us, as it is between an earthly Prince and his Subjects. Because God is in all Places, and at all Times doth both know and hear our Petitions. Which any earthly Prince doth not, or cannot, without another Means. And that there was no Commandment of Holy Scripture, that we must of Necessity pray to our Blessed Lady and Saints, or that otherwise we cannot be heard. Tho' it is true, we must needs have a Peace-maker, or Mediator:

A N N O Which is his only Son.' And after the Preparatory Preface, follows
 1535. the Litany in *English*, but after the old Strain, with Addresses to the
 Virgin *Mary* first, then to the Angels, then to the Twelve Apostles,
 Martyrs, Confessors, and Virgins, to pray for us, with their several
 Names.

XIV. An Exposition, after the Manner of a Contemplation, upon
 the LI. Psalm.

XV. A Prayer to our Lord *Jesus*. Beginning, *O bountiful Jesu, O Sweet Jesu, &c.*

XVI. The Passion of our Saviour Christ. Being the History of his
 Passion, related at Length out of the Evangelists, digested together in
 a continued Story. In Ten distinct Parts or Sections.

XVII. A devout and fruitful Remembrance of Christ's Passion.
 This Discourse is levelled against such, as made no other Use of the
 Thoughts of Christ's Death, than to wax wood and furious against the
 blind *Jews*, and *Judas* their Guide. But this, saith the Author, might
 better be called a Remembrance of the *Jews* Wickedness, than Christ's
 Passion. And secondly, against such as carried about them Images,
 painted Papers, carved Crosses; to help them to behold the Passion
 of Christ, because of the external Benefits that would accrue to them
 thereby. Thinking themselves thereby to be safe from Fire, Water,
 and other perilous Jeopardy. As tho', said he, the Cross should de-
 liver them from such outward Troubles, and not rather the contrary.
 He blamed also the Preachers, which, when they treated of the
 Passion, ' Leaped out of the fruitful and wholesome Story, into these
 ' Common Places; How *Jesus* took his Leave of his Disciples, and
 ' with what dolorous Sighs his Mother *Mary* pitied him, and such
 ' other Things. On these, said he, they babble at length, and de-
 ' cant their Pleasures, rather to the wearying than edifying their Au-
 ' dience. In this Rank he numbred them, who instructed others what
 ' excellent Commodities are in the Mass. Insomuch that rude and
 ' ignorant People persuaded themselves, that it was sufficient Salve for
 ' all Sores, if they heard a Mass: and that they should have good
 ' Luck in whatsoever they went about, good or evil. They confi-
 ' dered not, as he went on, that the Mass was instituted of Christ to
 ' make us more holy through the devout Remembrance of his Passion,
 ' with a pure Faith, &c.

XVIII. A fruitful and very Christen Instruction for Children: with
 Prayers at their rising in the morning, and at their going to Bed at
 Night; and Graces to be used before and after Meat.

XIX. A Dialogue between the Father and the Son. Being a plain
 Exposition upon the Creed and the Ten Commandments. And here the
 Second Commandment is recited at large, and distinguished from the
 First. This was one of the Books that was afterwards prohibited
 to be read.

XX. A Prayer for the mollifying and suppling of our hard Hearts,
 the afflicting of our blind Hearts, and the true converting of our im-
 penitent Hearts.

XXI. An effectuous Prayer, very needful these last and perilous Days,
 to be said with Tears and deep Sighs from the Bottom of our Hearts,
 (being the Prayer of the Prophet *Esay*, Chap. 63, and 64, of his Pro-
 phesy)

phesy) for the restoring of Christ's poor Church, scattered abroad with Persecution, and as it were forsaken. Beginning, *Lord, look out from Heaven, &c.* A N N O
1535.

XXII. The Song of *Anna, Helkana's Wife*. Beginning, *my Heart is pleasantly set at Rest with the Lord, &c.*

XXIII. The Prayer of the Prophet *Daniel* for the restoring of Christ's Church, under the Figure of *Jerusalem* and the Children of *Israel*, being in Captivity. Beginning, *Hast thee, Lord God, which art great, &c.*

XXIV. *Prayer peaseth God's Wrath*. A short Discourse on that Subject. Exciting to Prayer in those perilous Days on that Account.

XXV. The *Dirige* in *English*. Which was the Office used to be said for the Souls of the Dead. With an Admonition or Warning prefixed, for the true Understanding and Meaning of the *Dirige*. Wherein he hath these Words: ' Among other Works of Darkneſs and deep Ignorance, wherein we have blindly wandred, following a Sort of blind Guides many Days and Years, I account this not one of the least, that We have ronge and Songe, mumbled, murmured and piteously pewled forth a certain Sort of Psalms, with Responds, Versicles and Lessons to the same, for the Souls of our Christian Brethren, and Sisters, departed out of this World. Which Psalms and Lessons, I beseech God I dy, if they make any more for any such Use and Purpose, that is to say, that they ought or may be used rather for them that be departed, than for them that be in Life and in good bodily Health, then may *Te Deum* or *Gloria in Excelsis*. And again, There is Nothing in the *Dirige*, taken out of the Scripture, that makes any more mention of the Souls departed, than doth the Tale of *Robin Hood*.

XXVI. The Commendations in *English*. Which was an Office, wherein all Christian Souls were commended unto God. Consisting of several Psalms. Whereof the First is the 119th.

XXVII. The Psalms in *English* of the Passion of Christ. Beginning with the 22d Psalm.

XXVIII. The Prayer of *Jonas* delivered out of the Whale's Belly.

XXIX. A goodly Exposition upon the Thirtieth Psalm. Being made by *Hierome of Ferrarie*, and translated into *English*.

This Book did excellent Service, no Question, in this ignorant Age; especially, while it was allowed freely to be read by all. And this was one, among the many good Services the Lord *Crumwel* did for Religion. And by this Means also, the King this Year issued out a Proclamation for calling in *Seditious Books*. Among which were reckoned, and now chiefly intended, such Books as favoured the Bishop of *Rome*. And *Crumwel*, where he saw Occasion, directed his Letters to particular Persons to bring in their Books of this Nature upon their Peril. And tho' Sir *Thomas Elyot*, the learned Knight, and in the Year 1532, the King's Ambassador to *Rome*, was his old Friend and very well known to him; yet he, suspecting him to be favourable to the old Religion, and knowing him to be a great Acquaintance of Sir *Thomas More*; writ to him, warning him to send in any Popish Books that he had. Whereat *Elyot* wrote to the said *Crumwel* a Letter, wherein he declared to him his Judgment of the Need of a Reformation

A Proclamation against Popish Books.

Sir Tho. Elyot.]

A N N O formation of the Clergy; and concerning Papists and Popish Books, to clear himself of any Surmise the King or the Secretary might have of him. This Letter may be found in the *Appendix*.

1535.
Numb.

LXII.

Some Account
of him.

From this Knight I cannot pass, without taking a little more Notice of him, being one of the Learnedst and Wisest Men of this Time. He was one, who as before he served his King and Country in Embassies and publick Affairs, so devoted these latter Years of his Life in writing Discourses for the publick Good, and for promoting true Wisdom and Virtue among his Countreymen. He had from his younger Years a great Desire after Knowledge, and an earnest Affectation of being Beneficial to his Countrey. When some Gallants had mocked at him for writing a Book of *Physick*, crying, that Sir *Tho. Eliot* was become a Physician; in the next Edition of that Book, in the Preface, he gave this Answer, *Truly, if they will call him a Physician, which is studious about the Weal of his Countrey, I vouchsafe, they so name me. For during my Life, I will in that Affection alway continue.* And in the Proeme of another of his Books * he writ, that *he was naturally even from his Childhood disposed to a Desire of Knowledge: To which he joyned a constant Intent, to profit thereby his natural Countrey: Whereunto, according to the Sentence of Tully, we be, said he, especially bounden.* He applied the most Part of his Life in perusing diligently all antient Works, *Greek and Latin*, that he could come by, that treated of any Piece of Philosophy, necessary to the Institution of a Man's Life in Virtue. And having well digested his Reading, he set forth such Parts of his Studies, as he thought might be profitable to such as should read or hear them. So that he was an excellent Historian and Philosopher.

* Knowledge
that makes a
wise Man.

His Books.
The Governor.

Among the Books he wrote, one was intituled, *The Governor*. Which was a Treatise instructing Men, great Men especially, in good Morals, and reproving their Vices. It consisted of divers Chapters, some of them concerning *Affability, Benevolence, Beneficence*, and of the Diversity of *Flatterers*, and such like. In which Chapters especially, were some sharp and quick Sentences; which many of the Sparks could not well bear. They complained of his *strange Terms*, as they called them. These *Elyot* compared to a galled Horse abiding no Plaisters, that were always knapping and kicking at such Examples and Sentences as they felt sharp, or did bite them. They said, it was no little Presumption in him, that he would in noting other Men's Vices, correct *Magnificat*. By which Phrase I suppose they meant, that however bold he made with the Vices of the meaner Sort of Men, it was an insufferable Affront to meddle with those of the nobler Rank: that was to *correct magnificat*. Others there were that conjectured, he wrote to rebuke some particular Person; designing thereby to bring him or his Works under the Indignation of some Man in Authority. 'Thus unkindly, said he, is my Benefit received, my good Will consumed, and all my Labours devoured. But to this Book King *Henry* did the Honour, to read it, and much liked it: Making this Observation upon it, 'That Sir *Tho. Elyot* intended to augment our *English* Tongue, whereby Men should as well express more abundantly Things conceived in their Hearts, (wherefore Language was ordained) having Words apt for the Purpose; as also interpret out

The King's
Censure there-
of.

‘ of *Greek, Latin*, or any other Tongues into *English*, as sufficiently
 ‘ as out of any of the said Tongues into another. The King obser-
 ‘ ved also, that throughout the Book, there was no new Term made
 ‘ by him of a *Latin* or *French* Word: That no Sentence throughout
 ‘ the said Book was thereby made dark or hard to be understood.

Another Book of his writing was intituled, *Of the Knowledge which maketh a wise Man*, in Five Platonic Dialogues, between *Plato* and *Aristippus*.

He wrote diverse others, but I will only mention his Book of Physick, called the *Castel of Health*. In what Year the First Edition was, I know not; but the Second was in 1541. Neither for this Book could he escape the Detraction both of the Gentry, and of those of the Faculty. The former Sort mocked at him, saying, *A worthy Matter; Sir Tho. Elyot is become a Physician, and writes in Physick, which be-
 ‘ seems not a Knight.* The Physicians were angry, that he should meddle in their Science, and write of Physick in *English*, to make the Knowledge thereof common. To the Gentry he made this Answer, ‘ That many Kings and Emperors, and other great Princes, (whose Names he there sets down, as *Juba, Mithridates, Artimissa, &c.*) for the universal Necessity and incomparable Utility, which they perceived to be in that Science, did not only advance and honour it with special Privileges, but also were therein studious themselves.’ And that it was no Shame for a Person of Quality to write a Book of the Science of Physick, any more than it was for King *Henry VIII.* to publish a Book of the Science of Grammar, which he had lately done. And, ‘ That his Highness had not disdained to be the chief Author and Setter forth of an Introduction into Grammar for the Children of his Subjects. Whereby, said he, having good Masters, they shall easily and in short apprehend the Understanding and Form of speaking true and elegant *Latin*.’ For which he breaks out in Praises of the King: *O Royal Heart, full of very Nobility! O Noble Breast, &c.* To the *Physicians* he answered, ‘ That his Book of Physick was intended for their Benefit, that the uncertain Tokens of Urines and other Excrements should not deceive them, but that by the true Information of the Sick Man; by him instructed, they might be the more sure to prepare Medicines convenient for the Diseases. And as for those that blamed him for writing in *English*, he on the other Hand blamed them for affecting to keep their Art unknown. Insomuch, that there were some of them, that would have some particular Language devised, with a strange CIPHER or Form of Letters; wherein they would have their Science written. Which Language or Letters no Man should have known, that had not professed nor practised Physick. But to others of the College that made Reflection upon his Skill, and charged his Book with Errors about some Herbs and Medicines, them he lets understand his Study in this Piece of Learning: That before he was Twenty Years old, one of the most Learned Physicians in *England*, perceiving him by Nature inclined to Knowledge, read to him the Works of *Galen*, of Temperaments, Natural Faculties, the Introduction of *Joannicius*, and some of the Aphorisms of *Hippocrates, Galen, Oribasius, Paulus Celius, Alexander Trallianus, Plinius* both the one and the other, with *Dioscorides*. He

His Castel of Health.

1535.

read

A N N O read also *Avicen*, *Averrois*, and many more. And though he said, he had never been at *Montpelier*, *Padua* or *Salern*, yet he had found something in *Phyſick*, whereby he found no little profit for his own Health.

1535.

The Wiſdom
of this Knight.

In Pref. to his
Book of Know-
ledge.

Caſtel of
Health. p. 44.

The Wiſdom of this Knight appeared in thoſe wiſe and weighty Sentences that often fell from him. For example: In excuſe for himſelf in dealing plainly with vicious Men, he ſaid, ‘ Man is not yet ſo confirmed in Grace, that he cannot Sin: And I ſuppoſe no Prince thinks himſelf to be exempt from Mortality. And for as much as he ſhall have many Occaſions to fall, he ought to have the more Friends, or the more Inſtructions to warn him. Concerning our Laws he had this Expreſſion; ‘ Some do prefer the Study of the Laws of this Realm, calling it the only Study of the Publick Weal; but a great Number of Perſons, which have conſumed in Suit more than the Value of that they have ſued for, in their Anger do call it *A common Detriment*. Altho’ undoubtedly the very ſelf Law truly practiſed paſſeth the Laws of all other Countries. Of Reading the Scriptures, which in his Time began to be uſed, he would ſay, ‘ Some do chiefly extol the Study of the Scriptures, as it is Reaſon; but while they do wreſt it to agree with their Wills, Ambition or Vain-Glory, of the moſt Noble and Devout Learning they do endeavour them to make it ſervile, and full of Contention. Once more, ſpeaking of the *Engliſh* Gluttony, and feeding on ſundry Meats at one Meal, he hath theſe Words, ‘ The Spirit of Gluttony triumpheth among us in his glorious Chariot, called *Welfare*, driving us afore him, as his Priſoners, into his Dungeon of *Surfeit*: Where we are tormented with Catarrhs, Feavers, Gouts, Pluriſies, Fretting of the Guts, and many other Sickneſſes; and finally, cruelly put to Death by them, oftentimes in Youth, or in the moſt pleaſant Time of our Life, when we would moſt gladly live. For the Remedy whereof, how many Times have there been deviſed Ordinances and Acts of Council; altho’ perchance bodily Health was not the Chief Occaſion thereof, but rather Proviſion againſt vain and ſumptuous Expences of the mean People. For the Nobility was exempted, and had Liberty to abide ſtill in the Dungeon, if they would, and to live leſs while, than other Men. But when, where and how long were the ſaid good Devices put in due Execution, for all that thereof ſhould ſucceed double Profit, that is to ſay, Health of Body, and Increate of Subſtance, by eſchewing of ſuperfluous Expences in ſundry Diſhes? Alas! how long will Men fantaſy Laws and good Ordinances, and never determine them? Fantaſy proceedeth of Wit, Determination of Wiſdom. Wit is in the deviſing and ſpeaking, but Wiſdom is the Performance, which reſteth only in Execution. And thus we take our Leave of the Learned and Wiſe, Sir *Tho. Elyot* in that Age.

C H A P. XXXII.

The King's Embassies to Scotland, France and Germany: To draw other Princes from Dependance on the Pope.

BUT to look abroad, the King having assumed the Supremacy, as was said before, laboured to draw other his Neighbour Princes from Dependance on the Pope, and to vindicate their own Original Right and Power. And thereby to strengthen himself with their Friendship, in Case of any Attempts against his Kingdom by the Pope, which was very severely threatned. Therefore this Year he sent to all Places and Princes, to give an Account of this bold Action. And particularly, he sent to *James*, King of *Scots*, his Ambassadors: Who were *William Barlow* his Chaplain, Bp. Elect of *St. Asaph*, and *Tho. Holcroft*, the same, I suppose, that was afterwards a Knight; and Knight Marshal. There was a very notable Letter or Declaration made to him by the King's Command; setting forth the Encroachments and Usurpations of Popes upon Sovereign Kings and Princes; nay, and thrusting God out of his Place too, as well as Princes, by his Dispensations, false Miracles and Relicks. And that all these Things considered, it might please him to take Notice of the King his gracious Affection toward him, to allure him to the favourable Entertainment of God's Word. The Copy of the said Declaration may be found in the *Appendix*. This, that King was desired to read over, and to consider well the Arguments thereof. But he was so wedded to the Pope, or so prejudiced on the other Side, that instead of reading it himself, all he did was to deliver it to his Clergy. And so nothing came of it. As the Lord *Herbert* from *Buchanan* writes.

Ambassadors
sent to Scot-
land.

Numb.
LXIII.

Life of K. Hen.
p. 423.

Message to the
French King.

And as the King had set on Foot this Agency in *Scotland*, so he ordered Sir *John Wallop* his Ambassador with the *French King*, to resort unto him, to expostulate with him for giving his Advice to the *Germans*, to own the Supremacy of the *Roman Bishop*; and to shew him the Book writ by the Dean of his Chapel, *Dr. Sampson*, and several of his Bishops Sermons, against the Supremacy; and to let him know how dishonourable it was to yield himself a Subject of the said Foreign Bishop, and to move others so to do. To certify him also, that he took it strange, that he should exhort the *German Princes* to condescend to a Thing contrary to the Judgment both of themselves and of his Grace: And that he must think the Amity much touched, in that he should move any State or Countrey to do a Thing, so much against his Highness, and his own Promise. Finally, that he should do his utmost, to dissuade the *French King* from Obedience to the Pope; and to incline him to the King's Opinion in that Behalf.

But the King now applied himself most of all to *Germany*: Thinking it very conducive in this Juncture of his Affairs to strike up a League with those Princes: Who had also renounced the Pope, as he had done. They were now assembled at *Smalcald*. Thither he sent *Dr. Fox*, Bishop of *Hereford*, accompanied with *Dr. Hethe*; (to whom

Fox and *Hethe*
sent to *Germany*.

A N N O was joyned Dr. *Barnes*, that came into *Germany* before) who after their Message done from the King to them, exhorting them to Unity in Doctrine, wherein he offered his best Assistance by Conference with their Divines, and warning them, that they were not to expect a Free Council of the Pope's Calling; desired, that they would appoint some, with whom they might hold a more private Communication of these Matters. And accordingly there were some appointed to confer with them.

The German
Princes their
petitions to
the King.

Numb.

LXIV.

Life of King
Henry, p. 411.

In the latter End of *December*, were divers Petitions made to the King, from the Duke of *Saxony* and the Landgrave of *Hesse*, in the Name of the Confederates, in order to a League. They may be seen at large in the *Appendix* under 13 Articles. The Lord *Herbert* contracts them into Nine Propositions: As 1. That the King would approve the *Augustane* Confession. 2. That he should defend it in a Free Council. 3. That neither Part should admit Summons for a Council without the others Consent. 4. That they should protest against the Pope, if he should proceed otherwise. 5. That the King should joyn unto their Doctrine and League, and accept the Title of *Patron* and *Defender* of it. 6. That the Opinion of the Pope's Primacy should be for ever rejected. 7. That in Case of Invasion of either Party, neither should yield Aid to the Invaders. 8. That the King should pay an 100,000 Crowns towards the Defence of the League. And that if the War be long 200,000. The Remainder to be restored, when the War was ended. 9. That when the King had declared his Mind, they should send an Embassy of Learned Men to him.

The Judgment of the
Bp. of *Winchester* concerning them.

The Bishop of *Winchester*, was now the King's Ambassador in *France*. To him, being a Privy Councillor, (I suppose,) the Secretary wrote for his Opinion of these Articles. To which, like a subtle Underminer of the intended League with the *German* Protestant Princes and States, he wrote an Answer, utterly disapproving them, but upon plausible Arguments. As, ' That hereby the King would be bound ' to the Church of *Germany*, and might not do according as God's ' Word should direct, without their Allowance. That as the King was ' the Head of the Church of *England* by the Authority of Scripture, so by the same Authority, the Emperor was Head of the ' Church of *Germany*: And that therefore the *German* Princes, who ' were subject to the Emperor, could not consent to any Agreement ' with the King, without his Consent. And if they should do it ' without him, it would derogate the King's Cause of Supremacy. ' That their Promise to the King could not be sure, nor to be relied ' on, they being in Subjection to the Emperor. That the Word ' *Association*, which the Princes used, sounded not well, and to the ' Disparagement of the King, who should rather be called the Principal and Head of the League, and the rest Adherents or Dependents. That whatsoever the King stipulated to them, they were ' not able to make a Reciproque. That whereas they spake of sending their Ambassadors hither about the Controversies of Religion, ' this looked contemptibly towards us, as, tho' they were to teach ' and instruct us; not to sue to us, nor to learn of us, but to direct ' our Church in its Ceremonies.' But the Paper is worth the Readers

Perusal.

Perusal, as *Winchester* sent it by way of Letter to *Crumwel*. He shall find it in the *Appendix*. A N N O

In fine; By the Answer the King returned to the *German Princes*, it appeared *Winchester's* Counsel aforesaid weighed but little with him. For about the Month of *January*, he sent his Resolution to their Petitions. Which was expressed in very fair and amicable Words, viz. That he acknowledged the Goodness of God in giving them such Stedfastness. That their wondrous Virtues ravished and drew his Mind to love them. Inasmuch that he would never pass any Occasion of doing what might conduce to their godly Proceedings. That though there were some things in their Articles, that he would not easily grant to any Prince, though never so great: Yet for his Affection towards them, thinking they meant nothing but the Reformation of the Church, he condescended to. That he desired only the Third and Ninth Articles to be more amply declared, viz. That, without mutual Consents, neither part should agree to the *Roman Bishop's* Indiction of a Council: And that if either Part should be invaded, the other Part should not assist the Invaders. That he would contribute according to their Desire, for the Defence of the League. That whereas the Princes mentioned sending their Ambassadors, the King gave way thereunto, and prayed that they would send them fully instructed, and with sufficient Power and Authority; and that they should have reasonable and friendly Answers. That he was willing to accept the Honour they would do him, to intitle him *The Defender* of their Religion, for the Glory of the Gospel, and being desirous to do them Pleasure. And because he much desired his Bishops and Learned Men should agree with theirs, he required that some of their Excellent and Learned Men might be sent, hitlier with their Orators, to confer and treat together, for the mitigating of some Points in their Confession and Apology. Lastly, he desired of them, that in Case his Kingdom were invaded, they would furnish him with 500 Horsemen, or Ten Ships of War, to serve him for Four Months. And that they should retain at the King's Cost a certain Number of Horse and Foot: the Horse not passing 2000, and the Foot not passing 5000. Or, instead of the Foot, Twelve Ships in good Order finished. And that the King might hire and retain them, as long as he should please. And lastly, that they would in all Councils and Places defend *Dr. Martin [Luther,]* *Justus Jonas, Cruciger, Pomeran, Melancthon*, in the Cause of the King's Marriage: I suppose, in a free Deliberation and Declaration of their Minds upon it. This Answer is at Length wrote out in the *Appendix*.

1535.
Numb.
LXV.
The King's
Answer to the
German Ar-
ticles.

Numb.
LXVI.

Dr. Fox, the King's Ambassador tarried all this Winter at *Wittenburgh*, transacting the King's Business, conferring with the Learned Men, and among other Things persuading them to allow the King's Divorce. The next Year the Princes, according to the King's Desire, sent their Orators over: and what they did, we shall see under that Year.

The Ambassadors at *Wittenburgh*.
Languet's
Chron.

But that we may have a more perfect Account of this remarkable Embassy, let us represent some Passages of it from the Archives and Acts of the *Germans*, as well as from our own. The industrious *Secken-*

Some further
Account of
the King's Am-
bassadors.

ANN O
1535.

dorf writes, That in the Month of *December* a more solemn Legation came from *England*, as *Dr. Barnes* had given them Notice, who was there before, concerning the Ambassadors, and the Company with them. What Opinion was then had of them may be learned from the Judgment of *Melancthon*, expressed in a Letter to *Camerarius*, wherein he somewhat valued *Heth* the Archdeacon (as he stiled him) as having a Savour of Religion and Learning, but scarce any of them else. † ‘*Nicolas Heth* the Archdeacon alone excells in Humanity and Learning among our Guests. As for the rest of them, they have no relish of our Philosophy and Sweetness.’ Therefore, saith he, I shun as much as I can, Converse with them. However they were received with all Honour, and much deference given them. They related to the Elector what the King had given them in Commandment, viz. Of Concord in Religion, and of making a mutual Defence against the Pope.

Censures of
them.

It was further noted of these Ambassadors as an Absurdity they were guilty of, that when certain Articles, Dated *December 25.* were to be subscribed, the three Ambassadors subscribed before the Elector and Landgrave, they writing their Names under them. Which Form would, saith my Author, hardly hold at this Day. It was also observed in this Subscription, how little our Learned Men then regarded Orthography, *Heth* writing *Nicholaus* for *Nicolaus*. *Fox* also the other Ambassador was animadverted upon, who in *May 1536.* writing to the Elector, subscribed thus, *Electoralis Celsitudinis vestrae bonus Amicus*: that is, *Your Electoral Highness's good Friend*, (without that Sense of Distance and good Manners that became him.)

Fox declares
the King's
Mind as fa-
vouring the
Lutheran Opi-
nions.

But as to their Business; *Fox* during his Stay went often to *Pontanus's* House, and there did boldly assert, that the King would altogether allow of the Opinions of those of *Wittemberg*: nor would he himself so willingly assent, but that he was certain of the King's Mind. But he did vehemently insist, that a Legation should be dispatched into *England*, consisting as well of Divines, as others of the Chief Nobility; and desired *George* of *Anhalt* above all, might be one, being a Noble Man and Chief Governor of the Town of *Magdeburg*.

Conference
with the *Wit-
tenburgh* Di-
vines.

The Articles
of the Lord's
Supper,

And of the
Pope,

In the Conference held between the Ambassadors and the *Wittemberg* Divines, they drew up this Doctrine of the Lord's Supper, taken from the *Augustan* Confession; (which the Ambassadors received, and took along with them, when they departed into *England*,) ‘We constantly believe and teach, that in the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, the Body and Blood of Christ is truly, substantially and really under the Kinds of Bread and Wine. And in the Form of the League, propounded by the Ambassadors to be entred into, it was thus set down concerning the Pope: ‘Neither shall the most Serene King, nor the Illustrious Princes or States ever hereafter acknowledge or defend, that any Primacy or Monarchy of the *Roman* Bishop doth now obtain, or ever hath obtained, by Divine Right: Neither shall they ever consent to that Opinion, that it is profitable or ex-

† Unus Nic. Hethus Archidiaconus Humanitate & Literis excellit inter Hospites nostros: Ceteri d'v' & s'c'i
ἑμπετέρας φιλοσοφίας καὶ γὰρ καὶ λόγου.

‘pedient to the Christian Commonwealth, that the *Roman* Bishop is *A N N O*
‘above all other Bishops; or that he exercise for the future any *1535.*
‘Jurisdiction in the Kingdoms, Dominions and Territories of the said
‘King and Princes.

To beget the more favourable Opinion of the King in the Minds of *Fox* shews
these *German* Protestants, *Fox* in an Oration he made to the Confede- *how the King*
rates, asserted, ‘That an Abrogation was made by the King of the *abolished Po-*
‘impious Popish Abuses, and that Pardons or Indulgences, were abo- *pish Abuses.*
‘lished. And he did confidently determine, that no Peace could be
‘made, the Popes Kingdom standing; which he called, *The Babylo-*
‘*nian Tyranny*. And he said moreover, the Pope was the true An-
‘tichrist, who sought after nothing but Honour and Profit, and nou-
‘rished the Seeds of Discord among Princes.

Beside the Repetition of the *Augustan* Confession before mentioned, *which nor-*
concerning the Lord’s Supper, the Divines of *Wittemburgh* laboured *withstanding*
other Articles with the Ambassadors, in single Dissertations drawn up *the Wittem-*
by *Melancthon*, as it seemed. Together with these were Two other *burgh Divines*
Dissertations added, and sent the King, and brought when the Am- *are not satis-*
bassadors came Home; One, of the Marriage of Priests, and the *fied with.*
other of the Mass. In the End of which, they had these Words, that
they wondred much at the English Decree, when no Amendment of
Abuses was propounded. For the Ambassadors had shewn the Decree
of *K. Henry* published against some Abuses; in which the lighter of
them were only touched, and the chief and capital ones omitted and
let slip. Wherefore these Divines did with a Masculine Courage de-
clare against them. And in a Copy yet remaining, which *Melancthon*
had perused, there be several of his Obelisks marked in the Margins;
and in some Places he writ *ἔδην ὑγίης*. That is, *Nothing sound*. There
was also one most laborious Discourse more, concerning Monastick
Vows. Which with the rest are still preserved in the *German Archives*;
and as yet never published.

But whatsoever was pretended of the King’s Care of Religion by *The King sup-*
this Embassy, the *German* Historian makes the great Reason of it, and *posed to mind*
that which indeed the King chiefly intended by it, to be the Respect *his own Cause,*
he had to his own Cause of Matrimony: Which he chiefly minded, *under the Pre-*
and for the Sake of which, sought therein not only the Approbation *sence of Reli-*
of these Divines, but the Society of the Duke of *Saxony* and the *gion:*
Confederates. That by their Help he might be able the better to re-
sist the Emperor, being about to revenge the Wrong done to his Aunt.
And to make this the more probable, altho’ *Fox* by Letters to the
King had related what was done at *Wittemburgh*, yet he received
Commands, by which the Business of Religion was deferred and
prolonged.

The Ambassadors returned Home in *January*, excepting *Fox* as it *The Ambassa-*
seems, who stayed behind. And *February* 8. 1536. (that is, 1535 *dors return*
according to the *English* Church’s Computation) the King wrote Let- *with the*
ters, dated at *Greenwich*, to the Elector with great Humanity, and *Judgment of*
many Thanks for the civil treating of his Ambassadors, leaving the *the German*
further Negotiation of Matters to *Fox*. The chief of which was con- *Divines con-*
cerning the King’s Marriage. But the Judgment of the *Wittemburgh* *cerning the*
Divines, (tho’ they held the Unlawfulness of his Marriage,) went *Divorce.*
against

A N N O

1535.

Hist. Ref. Vol.
I. Coll. p. 94.

against the King's Divorce; which Judgment the Bishop of *Sarum* hath printed out of Mr. *Ri. Smith's* MSS. It was drawn up in Writing, and the Ambassadors returning brought it along with them. A German Copy whereof, drawn out by *Caspar Cruciger's* Hand, and sent from *Wittenburg* to the Elector, is preserved in the Archives of *Smalcald*. In which Copy were certain Words, which were left out in that which the Ambassadors brought to the King; to put him in Hope, as it seems, to have hereafter the Assent of the *Wittenbergians*. Which Words were these, 'Altho' we agree with the Ambassadors, that the Law of not marrying the Brother's Wife is to be observed; yet it remains in Controversy among us, which the Ambassadors assert, that there is no Place for a Dispensation, [but that there must be a Divorce of such an unlawful Marriage.] But we think there is Place. For the Law cannot more strictly oblige us, than it did the Jews. But if the Law admitted a Dispensation, the Bond of Matrimony is stronger than the other Law concerning marrying the Wife's Brother.' This may more clearly be understood by a Letter of *Martin Luther* to Dr. *Barnes*, one of the Ambassadors; which begins, *En! habe tibi, mi Antoni, &c.* Wherein he vehemently opposed the dissolving of the King's Matrimony consummated with the Widow of his Brother; and he would, 'That the Fame and Right as well of the Wife, as of the Offspring from that Marriage, should be spared. And his Chief Argument was, that *Moses's* Law doth not oblige Christians, unless as far as it takes in the Divine and Natural Law. But Matrimony with the Brother's Wife, doth not fight with the Law of Nature. *Melancthon* also was of the same Judgment, and wrote largely thereof.

Luther's Judgment therein.

The Princes are in a Demur about the King.

After the Ambassadors were gone Home, many Messengers of the Princes and Cities Confederate were against a Treaty with the King of England. And the Elector in July 1536. signified to the Landgrave his Solicitude: persuading to make Delay, or that some Spy should be sent into England, or that the Matter should be left to *Æpinus*, the Superintendent of *Hamburg*, who was very great with *Crumwel*, that he should enquire diligently what was done in England. And that because Letters from *Barnes* were brought to *Melancthon*, in which, he signified a Change of Things, and dissuaded him from a Journey into England, who was almost determined to be sent. Others there were that accused the Bishop of *Hereford*, *Fox*, the late Ambassador; of a Lye, [as tho' he made the Matter of King *Henry's* Inclination to the Evangelical Doctrine, more than indeed it was.] At Length the Princes met, and wrote Letters to the King, dated Sept. 1. composed by *Melancthon*; In which they prayed, that the King would explain his Mind concerning the Articles about which his Ambassadors, and the Divines of *Wittenburgh* met the last Year, as also concerning the Council; of whose Indiction a Report now went. But these Letters came slowly to the King. These Matters are most what collected from that German Author before mentioned, who seems to be a Man of great Integrity, as well as Learning, and to have had great Opportunities of knowing the Matters transacted in these Times, by his Access to Records.

The

The King before this Dispatch of Fox last mentioned, had in May or June sent Dr. Barnes and one Derick into Germany, and Mount and Haynes into France, upon this Occasion. The German Protestants were inclined to put their Matters into the Hands of Francis of France, and Henry of England. And both were willing, for their own Ends, to embrace a Friendship with them. Du Bellay, the French Ambassador had so dealt with the Germans at Smalcald, that he had persuaded them, as was believed here by some Intelligence from Sir John Wallop, the Ambassador in France, to send Melancthon thither to confer with that King about Matters of Religion, and to receive that King's Instructions to reduce the Germans to the Pope, Melancthon himself now inclining to own his Primacy. Our King was very earnestly desirous to stop that Learned Man's going to France; and instead of travelling to that Nation, to divert his Course hither, if he could by any Means possible. For King Henry had an high Opinion of his Learning, as well as of his other Accomplishments: And moreover did hope, that by his Means, (if he could but come to Speech with him) he might the easier bring him off from this Purpose of persuading the Protestants to submit to the Pope. Wherefore for the compassing this Design, the King ordered Crumwel to dispatch away by Post Dr. Barnes, (he who was afterwards burnt for his Religion) into Germany, to meet with Melancthon, if he was on his Journey, or ready to go into France, and to dissuade him from it, with certain Arguments, that he was furnished with to use to him; and to endeavour to persuade him to direct his Journey rather into England. If he should chance to miss of Melancthon, then he was instructed to go forward towards the Princes of Germany, with certain Messages to them: partly to assure them of the Kings stedfast Resolutions, not to vary from his Actions against the Bishop of Rome, and partly to take them off from depending upon the French King.

1535.
Dr. Barnes
and Derick sent
into Germany.

This Passage will be illustrated by what hath been collected from German Acts and Records by the said Lutheran Historian. Who writes, that the said Dr. Robert Barnes (better known in Germany by the Name of Antonius Amarius) came to Wittemberg in the Month of July, and brought Letters from the King dated at Windsor to Prince John Frederick Elector; wherein he was Stiled, Doctorem Barnes, Capellanum nostrum, & S. Theologiae Professore. But at Wittemberg the Plague so raged, that he found the greatest Part of the Professors and Scholars removed to Jene in Thuringe. Barnes then got Letters written and signed by the Hands of Luther, Jonas, Cruciger and Melancthon; wherein they commended him as already known to the Prince, and signified that Melancthon was by him solicited to go into England to the King, who offered him Egregiam Cautionem, imo & obsides: Sufficient Caution, yea and Hostages for his Safety. This Call into England, Melancthon mentioned in a Letter to Camerarius. Of this Journey, to which the King had invited him, Luther conceived good Hopes. For thus he writ, 'Who knows, what God will effect? His Wisdom is greater than ours, and his Will better.' He added, 'That Care be taken of Philip [Melancthon] that he might not be afflicted by too much Sorrow, otherwise sad, he supposed, for the Repulse which a little before the Elector gave him, in forbidding his Journey into France.'

Account of
Barnes's Em-
bassy.
Hist. Luther.
per Seckend.

The King
sends for Me-
lancthon.

A N N O 1535. *France.* But *Melancthon* took this Opportunity to insinuate himself into the King's good Opinion, sending him in *August*, Letters and his Commentary upon the *Romans*, by his Secretary *Alexander Alesius* a *Scot*, the Book being dedicated to him. The King kindly accepted *Melancthon's* Book and Letter, and sent him Two Hundred Crowns: And both the King himself, and *Crumwel* by his Command wrote Letters to him: The King's Letter dated *October 1.* as it was collected by *Valentinus Bevasus* in his *Compilatio*, ran in this Tenor.

The King's
Letter to him.

‘ HENRICUS Dei gratia, *Angliæ & Franciæ* Rex, Fidei Defensor,
‘ & Dominus *Hiberniæ*, ac supremum Ecclesiæ *Anglicanæ* in terris sub
‘ Christo Caput, *Philippo Melancthoni* Sanctæ Theologiæ Professori
‘ eximio, Amico nostro plurimum dilecto.

‘ Quod Christianæ Religionis, ipsiusque Veritatis propugnandæ
‘ studiosissimum te percepimus, sic eo nomine sincerissimo istius tui
‘ animi Instituto afficimur, ut nihil æquè in votis habeamus, ac aliquam
‘ sese offerre occasionem sanctissimos istos tui pectoris Conatus quacun-
‘ que nostra opera juvandi & promovendi. Ad hujus verò nostræ in te
‘ dilectionis non vulgaris animum quàm maxima nuper accessit ex
‘ Literis abs te per *Alexandrum Alesium* ad nos datis. Quæ etsi tui
‘ Candoris & amicissimi erga Nos studij indices essent satis locupletes;
‘ id tamen non obscurè egregij destinati muneris testimonio pulcherrimo
‘ testari voluisti. Munus certè ex suis excellentia dignum, quod
‘ boni omnes complectantur, & quod nostro nomini dicatum est, nobis
‘ omnium quàm maximè charum & acceptum. Ob igitur istam benè
‘ erga nos affectæ Voluntatis significationem, ingentes & quantas
‘ possumus ex animo gratias tibi habemus, persuasumque esse volumus:
‘ Nos rectissimè istis tuis & cum Deo conjunctis studiis, nullo unquam
‘ tempore aut loco, defuturos esse. Cætera ex fidelissimi ac intimi
‘ Consilij Primarij; Secretarij nostri *Thomæ Cronwelli* Literis, uberius
‘ cognosces. Quibus rogamus ut cunctam fidem habere velis: Et benè
‘ ac diu Valeas. Ex Regia nostra *Vintoniensi*, d. 1. *Octobris*, 1535.

His Answer.

Lib. 1. Ep. 27.

The Elector's
Letter to the
King.

To this Royal Letter, *Melancthon* wrote an Answer dated *December* 1. which whoso pleaseth may read in his Epistles.

But to take up all *Barnes's* Embassy together. He had his Audience of the Elector at *Jene*. *September 18.* the Elector gave him his Answer. And *September 28.* sent Letters to the King; wherein he praised *Barnes's* Diligence, and acknowledged thankfully the King's good Will towards him: And that there was a great Access made in his Love to his Majesty, when he and the rest with him understood how greatly he endeavoured the Emendation of the Doctrines of Religion. The same *Barnes* had been before with *George Duke of Saxony*, and expostulated with him about a Book of *Cochleus's* Writing, put forth against the King; and requested that he might be brought to Disputation. And this for *Barnes's* Embassy, before the coming of *Fox* and *Heth*. But to look a little back.

Haynes and
Mount sent in-
to France:
To persuade
Melancthon to
come over.

Haynes and *Mount* were to be dispatched in Post, to Sir *John Wallop* in *France* secretly, as his Friends to visit him. And by this means they were, if *Melancthon* were come thither, to resort to him, and to persuade him to depart from *France*, as soon as might be, and

to

to allure him over. All this whole Matter particularly was the Effect of some Instructions that the Councel being in Progress with the King, wrote from *Langley* to the Secretary *Crumwel*, giving him Orders for the Managery of this Dispatch. The Councel's Letter shall be found in the *Appendix*.

A N N O

1535.

Numb.

LXVII.

Their Busi-
ness here.

But Sir *John Wallop*, in his next Dispatch of Letters, dated *August* 17. signified that *Melancthon* was not like to repair to *France*. However, the King sent *Mount* without any Delay, to take a Journey where *Melancthon* was; and to get to him before *Monsieur De Langie* should, who it seems was sent by the *French King* to sollicite *Melancthon* to come: That he might persuade his Stay, and divert him into *England*. And the King had Assurance almost, that it would take Effect accordingly. *Heynes*, being now with *Mount* in *France*, was ordered to go to *Paris*, there to understand the Opinions of the Learned, and their Affection, how they stood inclined both to the King's Proceedings, and the Bishop of *Rome's* usurped Power and Authority.

The King was the more desirous to obtain the favourable Sense of the Learned in *France*, because King *Francis* had lately some Conference with King *Henry's* Ambassador, the Matter whereof was not acceptable to him; as tho' that King had not liked of the King's Doings. Which Discourse began upon this Occasion. The Ambassador, according to the King's Command, had urged the Payment of his Pensions, which the *French King* had been backward in doing. Upon the Ambassador's Demand whereof, that King promised it should be dispatched; yet the Ambassador well observed, how he presently fell into a Discourse of his great Friendship towards the King of *England*: and that he had at all Times answered for him, and namely, to Pope *Clement* at *Marseilles*; and shewed to him the King's Matrimony to be just and lawful. As tho' he meant that in Requital of these Kindnesses, King *Henry* should forgive him the Debt. He spake then also to the Ambassador concerning the late Execution of *Fisher* and *More*, and some others; which he looked upon as Things extremely done by the King. He pitied *More*, and mentioned the good Manner of his Death, and what he said to his Daughter, as he was going to his Judgment; and how he exhorted the King's Subjects to be true and obedient to the King. Which it seems was false: But a formal Relation of this was framed, and sent into *France*, and there fell into the great Master's Hand: Who promised the Ambassador a Copy thereof. *Francis* also, in his Speech at this Time with the Ambassador, uttered some Words; signifying, rather his Dislike of the late Laws made, than enacting them in his Kingdom, as King *Henry* moved him to do. He said, that it was not meet one Prince should desire another to change his Laws: Adding, that his Laws were *too old* to be changed; giving a Jerk at King *Henry's* Laws, because of the *Newness* of them. He disliked the Severity of them, and advised the King; that he would rather use Banishment than Death. And that he for his Part did intend to cease those extreme Executions, that were lately practised in his Realm; and to call Home his banished Subjects; that were fled for speaking against the Pope.

Communica-
tion between
the *French*
King and *Eng-
lish* Ambassa-
dor.

The King of *England* was greatly nettled, when he understood by his Ambassador, this Discourse; and gave him Instructions to take some

Instruction to
the Ambassa-
dor hereupon.

ANNO 1535. some Opportunity to enter into Communication of these Matters again, and what to answer to each Head of the *French King's* Talk: and particularly as to the Execution of *More* and *Fisher*. As, that it was not so extreme, considering their Treason and Conspiracies practised within his Realm, and without, to move and stir up Dissension, intending both the Destruction of the King, and Subversion of the Realm. And that it was so manifestly proved afore them, that they could not deny it. But I refer the Reader to *Crumwel's* Letter to the Ambassador concerning this whole Matter, which I have repositied in the *Appendix*.

Numb.
LXVIII.

C H A P XXXIII.

Pole dealt withal to acknowledge the Supremacy, and the Lawfulness of the King's Divorce. Letters between Starky a Learned Divine, and Pole, thereupon. Katharine, Princess Dowager, dies. Some Remarks of her. Her last Will.

The King discourses with Starky concerning Pole.

Cott. Libr. Cleop.
E. 6. p. 361.

THE King was jealous of *Reginald Pole*, his Kinsman, now abroad, not standing right to neither of his Causes, as well that of his Matrimony, as that of his Supremacy. But knowing the high Opinion generally conceived of him, he was very desirous to gain him over. For this Purpose the Secretary had sent to him *Sampson's* Book against the Popes Supremacy, and for the King's being Head of the Church, and desired him, in the King's Name, to write in Favour of the same. There was one *Thomas Starky*, a Learned and Ingenious Man, called in by *Crumwel* lately in some Service about the King, (in Quality of his Chaplain, if I mistake not,) who was an old Friend and dear Acquaintance of *Pole's*, and had been with him in *Italy*, and there left him: and professed to love *Pole* better than his Brother. This Person the King called one Day before him in this present Year, and knowing him well acquainted with *Pole*, fell into Discourse about him; as, of his Studies, and of his Sentence and Opinion in the King's weighty Causes. To which Enquiries, *Starky* answered accordingly. He told the King, 'That he was sure, that *Pole's* Mind, Heart and Desire was to do his Majesty true and faithful Service. But as touching his Opinion in his weighty Causes, the one of his Matrimony, and the other of his Authority, because *Pole* used a prudent Silence in such Matters, he could affirm nothing to the King. But he said, he surely thought, that as for his Learning and Judgment, it was by Time and diligent Study somewhat altered and increased: And that touching the discerning betwixt God's Laws and Man's, he would stretch and extend all his Power and Knowledge, which, by the Goodness of God, and his Grace's Liberality, he had obtained, and would gladly confer to the maintaining of such Things, as his Grace's Wisdom, by Court of Parliament,

Parliament, therein had decreed, to the Honour of his Highness, *A N N O*
and the Wealth of his Realm.

But the King not satisfied with this uncertain Account of *Pole*, desired to hear *Pole's* Sentence from himself. And therefore commanded *Starky* to write this to him; ' That it was the King's Pleasure, that
he should, like a Learned Man, ponder and weigh the Nature of the
Things, as they be in themselves, and setting apart all Successes and
dangerous Effects, which of them may ensue, leaving all such
Things to the King's own Wisdom and Policy, declare his Sentence
truly and plainly without Colour, or Cloud of Dissimulation: Wil-
ling him, not to make of these Things any great Volume, but
briefly to gather the most effectual Reasons, which in his Stomach
be of most Weight; setting them forth after his plain Fashion of
Writing.

1535.

Commands
him to write
to *Pole*, for
his Judgment.

Starky accordingly soon signified all this to *Pole* by Letter, and with-
al bad him consider with himself and prudently weigh, how princely a
Request this was of the Prince, and then he was sure he would employ
himself with all Diligence to satisfy his noble Desire. He told him, that
Secretary *Crumwel* also gently exhorted him to the same, wishing him
in any case, whatsoever his Sentence should be, to use his wonted
Plainness in the Causes: And withal that the said Secretary certified
him, that in case his Learning and Judgment did stretch to the satisf-
ying of the King's Mind and Desire, that then his return hither to his
own Country would be to the King's Pleasure, and to his Comfort,
and Profit of his Friends. And if his Learning and Knowledge would
not serve him to this purpose, yet that he, the Secretary, would advise
him of a loving Mind, to prepare himself towards his return, doubting
nothing, but that the King would use him in other Causes and Affairs.
For that he was sorry, that his Virtues should be drowned, and, as in
a Stream, vanish away among Strangers. Thus *Crumwel*.

which he
does.

Crumwel's
Message.

To which Messages of the King and Secretary, *Starky* in his own
name added Two Words. One was, ' That he would be intreated to
ponder well the *Levitical* Law, how it is rooted in the Law of Nature,
and how by general Councils it hath been many times declared and
authorized thereby. And upon the other side, the Slenderness of the
abused Authority of the Pope: Which, by Patience of Princes,
Simplicity of the People, ambitious Avarice of his Predecessors, and
process of Time, was grown to this intolerable Iniquity. And he
doubted not, he would see in these Causes the judged Truth, and plain
Equity. He added, that whereas when he parted from him, and
was not sure that he should return to his own Country in *England*,
to hear the common Rumours, [in his travelling home through
Italy and other Parts] that the Prince had not only withdrawn himself
from the Authority of the Pope, but also slipt from the Grounds of
Scripture, from the Honour of the Sacraments, and from all other
the Pope's Laws, yea, and Rites and Ceremonies of Christ's Church:
This he told him, he knew the Prince and Nation was slandered with,
and that they were cunningly moved to be flidden to such damnable
Impiety. And that if at his Return he had found these things true,
he would never by any means have entred into the Service of such a
Prince. But he certified him this of the King's Mind and of his

Starky's Argu-
ment with
Pole.

A N N O

1535.

Laws; that like a most Noble and Catholick Prince, he did not only stand in the Grounds of Scripture, and Defence of the Sacraments, but by Law had commanded the antient Customs, Rites and Ceremonies of the Church; after the old Manner here, to be observed. Yea, and this, boldly he dared to say, his Highness would do, till it should appear to his Grace's Wisdom, and most Noble Council, them to abrogate, and others to substitute by common Consent; more convenient to this Time, to the Nature and Manner of this our Country and Place. So that as yet, touching the Church there was almost nothing altered, but that which was of all other most necessary.

Pole's Answer to Starkey.
Cott. Libr. Uli
Supra.

This Letter of *Starkey* Mr. *Pole* answered, being then at *Venice*, and promised, that he would write his Mind upon the Subjects desired. In a Letter of his to *Starkey*, dated *June* the 3d. he more at large opened his Affection and Will to serve the King in the Cause required. It was somewhat long before this Letter came, which *Starkey* at first attributed to his not liking of the Cause. But *Pole* pretended, that he stayed for more Instructions from the Secretary's Letters, which were bringing by an Ambassador sent to *Venice*, who was somewhat long on the Way. But he said, 'That in his Writing on this Cause, he would weigh Scripture, laying apart all Authority of Men. To which *Starkey* answered, 'That he doubted not, but that he would withal put aside all such Prejudice, as by Custom and Time in simple Minds be reputed of great Weight. Whereof, he said, they had lamentable Experience in *England*, by the Blindness of many which had lately suffered: Having nothing of Moment to say against the Authority of Law, but only long Custom and Usage of many Years, and antient Opinions, wherein their Fathers had dyed. That they lacked the true Judgment of Politick Things; which be of this Nature, that of Necessity, in Process of Time, and in many Years, ever by little and little grow to unjust Extremity: None otherwise than the Body of Man, by the Course of Nature, ever in Time falleth in Decay and natural Debility. This Example he was sure would weigh nothing with him, whom he had known ever, without any exterior and vain Respect, to look with a constant and stable Mind to Truth and Honesty. That of his Judgment he was certain, that by his diligent pondering of Stories and Scripture on this Behalf, he would soon see, how that Christ's Doctrine determined no one Kind of Policy; but might in all States be established and grounded. So that this Superiority and Unity of Head was not to be required of Necessity, or hung only upon mere Policy. For as much as Christ said, *Regnum meum non est de hoc Mundo*: And in another Place, *Who made me a Divider between you?* By the Root whereof, as I take it, said he, Christ would declare all such Things to be left to the Governance of Men, and worldly Policy.

Starkey to Pole again, of the Supremacy.

In another Letter of *Starkey* to *Pole*, (still in Expectation of a Letter of his Judgment in the King's Matter) he had these Words, 'That as touching the Matter of the Pope's Authority, he told him, that his Friends put no doubt, but therein he should, to the full Satisfaction of the King's Mind, see the judged Truth. For never can I think, said he, when I consider your Judgment and Learning, that you

you can be of this Sentence, that such an Head, or such Superiority, should be of the Law of God, and to the Salvation of Men of high Necessity, the which St. *Jerome* plainly affirmeth to be constitute *In remedium Schismatis*, and not to be of such Necessity. And if I have any Judgment in any other Kind of Letters, or Divinity, this I dare say, that this Superiority, of long Time given to the Pope, which was only by the Patience of Princes, *Et tacito quodam Christiani Populi consensu*, by Process of Time is grown in, as a Thing convenient to the Conservation of Christian Unity: But in no Case of such Necessity, that without the same, Christian Minds may not attain to their Salvation, nor keep the spiritual Unity. Yea, and if you weigh the Matter, you will, I think, further find that Superiority, (as it hath been of many Years used) to be nothing at all convenient to the Conservation of the Politick Unity. The which Thing, as you know better than I, to whom Stories are better known, hath been the greatest Break, that in Memory we have, to all Christian Civility. For what Christian Princes have we, who one against another have not drawn their Swords, for the Maintenance of this Authority. And daily I beseech him, that governeth all, that in our Days we see not the same. But after my poor Fancy, better it is, tho' it be with some Danger; to cut up such a Root of Sedition in a Christian Civility, than let it remain to the continual Destruction of our Posterity. He told *Pole* moreover; That his Highness would be sorry to see him not to reach so manifest a Truth, as he had perceived, as he said, of the King at sundry Times, when it pleased him to talk of *Pole*, to the Declaration of the Noble Affection which he bore to him.

And touching the Matter of the first Marriage, he doubted not, but when he laid together, without any Affection, the Weight of such Marriage between Brother and Sister, and the Slenderness of such Power, as the Pope had in such Cases to dispense; he should shortly by his Wisdom see the Inconveniency of that Marriage. So that in both Parties great Hope he had to see him satisfy the King's Pleasure and Mind: And then shortly after, with great Comfort both to himself and Friends, to return into his Native Country.

And where he was sure it was blown abroad in *Italy*, how here were Monks of the *Charter-House* put to Death, Men noted of great Sanctity; he gave him to understand in few Words the Nature of the same, to the Intent that he might stop such Misreports, as might be made to the Slander of the Nation. First, saith he, you shall understand in the last Parliament an Act to be made, that all the King's Subjects should, under Pain of Treason, revoke the Pope's Superiority. To the which Act, as the rest of our Nation with one Consent did agree, so did these Monks, Three Priors and *Reynolds* of *Sion*. The which now of late, contrary to their Oath, and also to the Act, returned to their old Obedience, affirming the same, by their blind superstitious Knowledge, to be to the Salvation of Men of Necessity, and that this Superiority of the Pope was a sure Truth, and manifest by the Law of God, and a Thing, which was of Christ institute, as necessary to the Conservation of the spiritual Unity of the mystical Body of Christ. In this

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1535.

The King's
Marriage.

The Monks of
the Charter-
House, and
Reynolds of
Sion.

ANNO^{1535.} this blindness their superstitious Minds were stabled: Lacking Judgment to distinguish between the Unity *Spiritual*, and the Unity *Political*; which they thought should run to Ruin for lack of this Head, whom they made immediate Judge under Christ: On whose Judgment, as of the Vicar of Christ, all Christen Men ought of necessity to hang. In this Opinion sturdily stood *Raynolds*, whom I have heard of you many Times praised. Who was so rooted therein, that he could admit no Reason to the contrary. Divers were sent to them in Prison, by the King's Commandment, to instruct them with the Truth. But in that Opinion, both he and the Rest were so blinded, and sturdy, that neither could they see the Truth in the Cause, nor yet give convenient Obedience due to [from] such Persons, as of themselves cannot see the Truth. Wherefore according to the Course of the Law, as Rebels to the same, and disobedient to the Princely Authority, and as Persons, which, as much as lay in them, have rooted a Sedition in this Communalty, they most justly have suffered this worldly Death. Whose Sin and Blindness I beseech our Lord pardon.

' This is the Truth of this Matter; whereof I can certainly assure you. For, by the Licence and Commandment of Master Secretary, I was admitted to hear *Raynolds's* Reasons, and to confer such Light as God had given me in the same Cause with him. In whom, I promise you, I neither found strong Reason to maintain his Purpose, nor yet great Learning to the Defence of the same. With him I conferred gladly. For sorry I was for many Causes, that a Man of such Fame, as he was here noted both for Virtue and Learning, should die in such a Blind and superstitious Opinion. But nothing could avail, but that he would, in that Opinion, as a disobedient Person to the King's Laws, suffer his Death, with the other of the same Minds; wherefore they themselves were the Cause, insomuch as it seemeth to me they sought their own Death: Of the which no Man can be justly accused, but they themselves. This thing, Sir, as Occasion, Time and Place doth require, you may common there, as you shall think it expedient, and to such as you may perceive by misreport, are otherwise informed. For this is the Truth, that I have briefly touched by these Letters unto you.' Under the next Year were more Letters passing from *Starky* and others to *Pole*, and from him to them: Which I shall then give some account of.

Those of
North Wales,
pilled by Pre-
sence of In-
dulgences.

Although divers Laws were made the last Year for cutting off the Pope's Power, the Nation could not easily deliver it self from the Prejudices the People had in his favour. And especially the most ignorant Sort had a great Veneration for his *Indulgences*: Being such convenient things for the upholding them in their Sins. So that although in the Year 1534, there was an Act made for taking away all the Pope's Exactions and Pensions, and that no Payment should from thenceforth be paid to the Apostolick Chamber; and that all Bulls and Dispensations from *Rome* should cease: Yet I find about this time, as I guess, (and guess I must sometimes) *Indulgences* in *North Wales*. For there was one *Robert Oking*, Clerk, Commissary to the Bishop of *Bangor*, licenced under his Hand and Seal, the Proctor of *S. Lazar*; that the said Proctor should declare and publish (in exalting the Bishop of *Rome's*

Cotton Libr.
Cleop. E. 6.
p. 395.

Rome's Name and Authority) the Indulgence, Pardon, and Privileges of S. Lazar, [a Welsh Saint, it seems,] heretofore granted by the Bishops of Rome. Whereby the Inhabitants of North Wales (where these Indulgences were chiefly granted) by colour of the said feigned Pardoner, were exacted and polled of their Money, contrary to the King's Acts and Ordinances and Provisions therein duly provided. One Gibbons, Register to the Bishop of Bangor, perceiving the said Abuses, and for the Indemnity of the Bishop, having with him the King's Bailiff of the Town of Caerver, on Palm-Sunday took away from the said feigned Pardoner, as well all his Papistical Muniments, as the Letters and Proxy of the said Oking; authorizing the said feigned Privileges and Pardon, in as ample Manner and Form, as they were before contrary to the King's Commandment and Provision. But hereupon Oking suspended the Register on the Wednesday after, and so caused him to be declared on Easter-Day following; and directed Letters to one Robins, Clark, (concerned I suppose, with Gibbons) menacing him to molest and trouble him by Vertue of his pretended Authority. Whereupon Gibbons appealed by a Petition, as being a mere Temporal Matter, to Richard Bulkely, the Chamberlain of North-Wales; who, as he said, was the King's Chancellor in North-Wales; ' To cause Oking to surcease, and no further to proceed in vexing of ' Gibbons by his pretended Authority, and by Colour of the Decretal ' Laws: And for so much as Oking was a Stranger, to put him under ' sufficient Sureties to answer to the Premises, according to the King's ' Laws, for usurping of the same.

For all these bold Proceedings of King Henry against the Pope, as have been already related, as some railed on him, so others as highly extolled and nauseously flattered him. And there was one Gibson did it, by making the King to be a Fulfiller of famous Prophecies. He got together a Parcel of fond Prophecies, somewhere met with in those Times; that shewed of a King, that should win the Holy Cross. Which many would have had to belong to the Emperor Charles; but this Man assigned them to have been foretold of King Henry VIII. Moreover, that this King should conquer and subdue many Realms, and that by such kind of Miracles as are read in Scripture, the People of Israel did over their Enemies. As, that God should raise the Swords of the King's Enemies one against another; and that he should do as Gideon, that is, put to flight a mighty Host, as the Sand of the Sea-shore, with Three Hundred Persons. This also was to be made good in King Henry. That the Papists should seek their own Confusion, and suddenly should find it. And ere it once be thought like to come, Men should be drowned in their own Blood, as Pharaoh was in the Red Sea. And that God will take one of the King's Men, strong enough to fight in his Quarrel, for Ten others that fight against him. And then he proceeded in repeating his Prophecies. ' S. Thomas calleth him that shall ' win the Holy Cross, The King of Virgins. John the Hermit cal- ' led him the King of Fords. Another called him the King of broad ' Passage: and another the King of Works, and another the Lion of ' the Air; and the like. All which, this Man laboured to apply to King Henry: and said, that these Prophecies meant not literally, that the King should go to Jerusalem, to fetch the Cross, which our Sa-
viour

A N N O
1535.Old Prophe-
cies of King
Henry.
Cleopatra E. 6.
P. 369.

A N N O viour Christ suffered upon, but that his Majesty should win Victory
 1535. over the Devil's Minister, the Bishop of *Rome*; and should be unto
 all Realms a Lanthorn of Light, whereby they might truly and faithfully see the Sincereness of the Gospel, which is the Glory of God. Which Glory had been darkned by the Devil his Ministers, the Papists, with beggarly Baggage, (I use my Author's Words) whereby the Prophecies of *Amos* was fulfilled, that an Hunger should come on the Earth, for Lack of God's Word: which was set out by the true Minister of God, King *Henry VIII.*

The Sickness
 and Death of
 Queen *Katharine*.

This Year, and the next within five Months after, put an end to two Queens, *Viz.* Queen *Katharine* Dowager, and Queen *Anne*, that succeeded her. To give some short Notes concerning the Former, with respect only to the last Months of her Life. In *October* her Residence was at *Bugden*; being then not well in Health: And seemed desirous to move to some other Place. So the King ordered her Departure thence to *Fotheringab.* Which when *Thomas Vaux*, one of her Officers, told her of from *Crumwel*, she had no mind, whatever was the Cause, to go thither: (Whether she thought it looked like putting her under Restraint in that Castle) Telling him, that she would not go thither, unless the King sent her thither a Prisoner, with Ropes bound; notwithstanding all the Provisions that were made and prepared for her. Yet from the Place where she was, she said she would remove. Which the said *Vaux* in a Letter to *Crumwel* informed him of; and that she was desirous to have some Place appointed for her, nearer *London.*

She would be
 stiled Queen
 still.

She was still stiled Queen by her Servants: And so she commanded them to call her. Nor would she admit any about her to Address to her in any inferior Title. This the King hearing of, gave him great Offence. Insomuch that he sent a Charge to *Vaux* by his own Letters, to inform him, 'Whether there were any about her, that so stiled her; and who they were, that obstinately and wilfully, contrary to the Determination taken in that behalf, did not desist, nor forbear calling the said Lady by the Name of *Queen*: That further Order might be taken therein. To which in a Letter to *Crumwel*, the said *Vaux* signified, 'That at that season he could not well, and approvedly name any particular Person that so obstinately called the Lady Dowager by the Name of *Queen*. But generally he dared boldly to say, and prove, 'that all Women, Priests and Ministers of the Princesses Chamber, as 'Sowers, Hushers, and such other about, that did her any manner 'of Service, did so call her. And that so she had both willed and commanded all that were her own Servants, and served her: Or else she would receive nothing of them. That the Household-Officers that were there, delivered all Things called for without such Denomination. But that both Men and Women there, were much persuaded by the Priests there, as he thought, upon their Consciences, how they ought to call her *Queen* still; considering, that all that did appertain to the Chamber especially, were sworn to King *Henry* and Queen *Katharine*. Yea, and further, that they were the more animated so to do, because they had learned and heard say in the House there, since his [*Vaux*] coming, that there was a Letter sent from the Princess her Proctor at *Rome*, how that the Pope had given
 Sentence

Sentence upon her Party. And the Effect or Copy of the said Letter *A N N O*
 had been read and shewed to divers there: But that he could come *1535.*
 to no Sight thereof; because he was partly mistrusted among them.
 That he saw, her Grace was merry, and bore good and joyful Coun-
 tenance: and much more Resort of People come daily thither, than
 had done, in any other Place heretofore. But that if she were to be
 removed, it was requisite she should be removed shortly: Other-
 wise the Country would be so foul, that no Carriages of Household
 Provision should pass, or come. Hence it seems she removed to
Kimbolton; where not long after she dyed.

Her Officers here, besides *Vaux*, were *Edward Chamberlain*; and *Edmund Bedingfield*. Enquiries were not wanting concerning her; *Her Officers.*
 and what Visitors she had coming to her. Upon *Crumwel's* Letter to *Her Visitors.*
 them to inform him thereof, they shewed him the Names of such as *Cott. Libr.*
 lately gave her Visits: *Vis.* The Emperor's Ambassador came *Jan. 2.*
 who immediately after Dinner came into her Chamber, and so into
 her Presence; there remaining scarce a Quarter of an Hour. At
 which Time both of them [*Chamberlain* and *Bedingfield*] were com-
 manded to be present. That upon his coming, he saluted her in the
Spanish Tongue: which they, as they said, understood not. But, as
 they added in their Answer, *Mr. Vaughan*, another there, could de-
 clare to him the Effect of their Communication at that Time. At
 Five in the Afternoon she sent her Doctor of Physick for him. And
 then, and there, entred no Man, but the said Ambassador, beside
 the Doctor, and the Steward to the Ambassador. Then he was with
 her about Half an Hour, and departed to his Chamber. And again,
 the next Day, about Seven a Clock at Night, about an Hour. At
 those Two last Visits none were present, but the Personages afore-
 mentioned; and her old Trusty Women; who either understood not
 the *Spanish* Tongue; or if they did, or if they could, the Matter
 being of Importance, they [the Officers] could get no Manner of
 Knowledge of it from them.

The Lady *Willoughby* also came thither on *New-Years* Day, about *Lady Willough-*
 Six a Clock at Night: With whom these Officers met: and demanded *by visits her.*
 a Sight of her License to repair thither. She said, she would deliver
 next Morning Letters sufficient for their Discharge. But at present
 she desired them being in such a Case (by Reason of a Fall, as she
 pretended, from her Horse) to repair to the Fire; and so was im-
 mediately conveyed to the Princess. And since that Time they ne-
 ver saw her, nor any Letter of License to repair thither, was shewed
 them. She appeared in her Countenance at her coming, to be greatly
 dismayed, saying, she thought never to have seen the Princess alive,
 by Reason of such Tidings as she had heard by the Way.

As to her State of Health, these Two Gentlemen further informed *Her Death.*
 the said Lord *Crumwel*, that they understood by her Doctor, that she
 had somewhat of Comfort by the coming of those Folks, and fell
 to somewhat more Rest in the Night, than heretofore; but that he
 feared it would be a long continuing Sicknes, e're she recovered, as
 far as he could judge, if God so disposed. This their Letter was
 dated from *Kimbolton*, the 5th Day of *January*; and Three Days
 after she dyed.

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1535.

By the Postscript it appears, how strait they were kept of Money, *Bedingfield* thus writing: ' Sir, I beseech you send me some Relief of Money by Mr. *Goswick*, [who it seems brought the Letter,] ' for I have none left.

Order about
her Burial.

This Sickneſs then carried her off: Which when the King heard of, he ordered the Lord Privy Seal, that ſhe might be buried decently, in the Port of a Perſon of her Quality; and appointed her Corps to be interred at the Abby of *Peterborough*. Concerning this, he diſpatched his Letters to the aforeſaid Gentlemen; and that they ſhould acquaint him with the Preparations made for her Funeral. The Sum of their Answer was, ' That the Boweling and Cering was done ' in the beſt Manner: the Leading and Cheſting was preparing, not ' lacking any Thing; and that it ſhould be finiſhed with all Speed. And the King having ſent Mr. Comptroller thither, to order all Things belonging to the Interrment, they ſhewed themſelves very joyous at his coming.

Her Treasure
to be prefer-
ved for the
King's Uſe.

Crumwel alſo gave them in Command to preſerve for the King's Uſe, what Treasure, Goods, Gold and Jewels the deceased left. And for that Purpoſe to look carefully to the Gates. And that they ſhould inform him, what the Sum thereof might amount to; in order to the bearing the Expences of her Funeral from thence. To this the Answer they gave was, ' That according to their Power, they had ' commanded the ſafe Cuſtody of the Gates: So that nothing had, ' or ſhould be ſuffered to iſſue. And further, that they had commu- ' ned with all ſuch Perſons as in her Life Time had the Cuſtody of ' any Jewels, Plate, or other Things of Charge: Whom they had ' found to their Conſcience, juſt and plain, in the Declaration of all ' ſuch Parcels as they had in their keeping. And that they had de- ' clared much more, than ever they (*Chamberlain* and *Bedingfield*) ' ſaw or knew before. And that upon Conſideration thereof, every ' Thing remained in their Cuſtody, until his further Pleaſure and Com- ' mandment ſhould be to them known.

Perſons to be
ſent to attend
the Funeral.

And whereas *Crumwel* had mentioned ſome Perſonages of Honour to be ſent to attend the Funeral, the ſaid Officers wrote, ' That as to ' the Entertainment of them; with others, as ſhould repair thither ' by Commandment, it ſhould be, to the beſt they could deviſe, ac- ' compliſhed in as ample Manner, as Provision could be had, for the ' King's Honour.

And whereas *Crumwel* had ſignified to them, what the King deſigned for the deceased Princeſs's Servants, by his Motion; they further added, ' How they had declared unto all the Servants, how good and ' benevolent a Maſter he had been to them, in moving the King's ' Highneſs, and obtaining his Maſteſty's Favour towards them all. ' And that both theſe [the Writers hereof] and all the reſt were ' greatly comforted with his gracious Promise. Wherein we (ſay ' they) wholly rejoyce and truſt. And ſhould pray for the proſ- ' perous Preſervation of his moſt Noble Maſteſty.

Prelates and
Priests to exe-
cute their
Office.

Crumwel alſo gave them Inſtructions for the Preparation of the Houſe. To which they answered, ' That it ſhould be done with all ' Diligence. And likewise, that the Prelates and Priests ſhould be ' warned to repair, for the Execution of all Manner of Ceremonies, ap-
pertaining

‘ pertaining to the Funerals. And all others according to his Master-ship’s Commandment to the uttermost of our Powers, as knoweth Almighty God, (*as they concluded*) who preserve your Mastership with much Honour,

By yours ready at Commandment,

Edward Chamberleyn.

Edmund Bedyngfield.

A N N O
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The Princess made a Will, but without naming any Executor; leaving the Disposition thereof to the King: Praying and desiring him in the Beginning of it, to suffer her to have her Goods, as well Gold and Silver, as other Things, and whatsoever was due to her in Money: To the End that she might therewith pay her Debts, and recompence her Servants. Which she intreated as affectionately as she might, for the Necessity wherein she was ready to dye, and to yield her Soul to God. And then she proceeded in her Legacies. The First whereof was for a Person to go to our Lady of *Walsingham* in Pilgrimage. And in going by the Way, to yield Twenty Nobles. And then follow the rest of her Legacies to her Servants: which were but mean; *viz.* Twenty Pounds, not many above. The Two last Legacies were, Ornaments for the Church, to be made of her Gowns. And the Furrs of the same to her Daughter. The whole Will I have preserved in the *Appendix*, as I take it from a Volume in the *Cotton Library*.

The Princess
Katharine
Dowager’s
Will.

Numb.
LXIX.

The King then was to advise, what Course to take to come to the Legal Possession of the Estate of the deceased Princess. Some thought that he might seize on it, as his own. And that, because she had said, it seems, *That all was the King’s*, and that she had nothing to give away. But *Richard Rycbe*, the King’s Solicitor [that was afterwards Lord *Rycbe*, and Lord High Chancellor of *England*] upon the King’s Demand, shewed his Learning in the Law. Which was, that she now being a *Sole Woman*, had a Right to her Goods. And that by the Law of *England*, the next of Kin was to administer, and to pay the Debts. And the other Course, that of Seizure, he judged to be repugnant to his Majesty’s Laws. But in fine, he moved another way to the King, to compass the same: Namely, to send to the Bishop of the Diocese, where the Princess deceased, who was the Bishop of *Lincoln*; to grant the Administration of her Goods, as dying intestate, to such as his Highness should name. And then to have the Goods, from them that had administered, to himself, for the Payment of her Debts, and the Charges of her Funerals. This he signified at large to the King in his Letter from *Kimbolton*, where he was now, to look after this Affair. Which Letter will be found in the *Appendix*. Which I have the rather repositied there, in Memory of that great Man, as he appeared afterwards in the State: And from whom the Earls of *Warwick* are sprung. And wherein also a *Specimen* of his Parts and Abilities may be seen.

The King con-
sults about
seizing her
Goods.

Numb.
LXX.

Upon Queen *Anne’s* Death, it was doubted by the Lady *Bryan*, Governess of the King’s Children, whether the Young Lady Princess *Elizabeth*, should have the same Honourable Retinue and Service now, as before. For her Instruction herein, she thought fit to send to the Lord *Crumwel*: Giving him also some Account of the Young Princess’s Ingenuity and Towardness. See her Letter, in the *Appendix*, giving these Things more at large.

Numb.
LXXI.

A N N O

1536.

C H A P. XXXIV.

The German Princes Embassy to the King. A Convocation. The King, Council and Clergy protest against it. The Council at Mantua. Papal Bulls. Northern Clergy. A Visitation of the Province of York, needful.

The Instructions given by the Princes to their Ambassadors. *Cleopatra E.6. p. 291.*

THE Princes of Germany, according as they had promised, prepared their Agents to pass over hither, in order to the striking up a League with King Henry. And these were their Instructions.

Capita eorum, quæ primo Congressu Serenissimo & Potentissimo Regi Angliæ, exponenda sunt.

They were in *Latin*, but these are the Contents of them. ‘ The Ambassadors were with the greatest Reverence to carry the Commendation and Salutation of the Princes to the King. To expound to him how grateful the Message brought to them by *Mount* was, (having lately been at *Brunswick*) chiefly because the Propension of his Majesty’s Mind towards the sincerer Doctrine of the Gospel was thence well understood. That the Princes doubted not, but that God would be present to his Majesty in his pious Endeavours. And that his Majesty might persuade himself, that the Princes by God’s Grace, would not depart from the acknowledged Truth, nor would suffer the Tyranny and Impiety of the *Roman* Bishop, within their Dukedoms and Dominions.

‘ That they should add the Reasons, why at this time they could not send that ample Embassy to the King.

‘ That the King of *Denmark*, who had received the Gospel, and taken care to abolish the Popish Tyranny and Impiety out of his Kingdoms, had lately at *Brunswick*, joined himself in an Honorable and Christian League with the Protestant Princes. That he would also send his Ambassadors with theirs, if so be he might be certified it would not be unacceptable to the King. And that this was a Cause also of the delay of a more ample Embassy.

‘ That they should unfold to the King the Causes of this Embassy, and the Reason of the Confederation : *Viz.* That it consisted only in Defence of the Gospel.

‘ That the King, establishing the sound Doctrine of the Gospel, and abolishing impious Abuses, would promote among other Kings and Potentates, the Cause of the Gospel.

‘ That the Decree of *Brunswick* should be explained to the King, of preserving the true Religion to all Posterity in the Dukedoms, Dominions and Territories of the Princes and Confederates.

‘ That the Princes hoped, after the King’s Majesty, and the Confederates should treat concerning Religion, that his Majesty would join himself with them and the Confederates, in the Cause of Religion.

‘ That his Majesty would not think much to signify his Council concerning a Synod; and whether he judged any thing wanting in the

‘ Confession

‘ Confession and Doctrine of the Confederates. To all these the *ANNO*
 ‘ Orators were instructed, to add convenient Petitions. And some *1536.*
 ‘ other Matters the Princes gave them in Commandment, to take a
 ‘ convenient Opportunity to unfold unto his Majesty.

‘ And Lastly. That they should again present the Benevolent Obser-
 ‘ vance of the Princes and Confederates to the King.

Queen *Anne* being this Year beheaded, I find little more done yet
 a while, between the King and the *Germans*: The further Ambassade
 by the Protestants appointed for *England* being stayed.

June 9. was a new Convocation: When *Thomas Cranmer*, now *Convocation.*
 Archbishop of *Canterbury*, came into the Church of *Saint Pauls*.
 The Bishop of *London* sang the Mass of the Holy Ghost. Thence they
 went to the Chapel of *Saint Mary*, to hear the Sermon, which was
 preached in *Latin* by *Hugh Latymer*. The Text, *Filij hujus sæculi*
prudentiores sunt filiis Lucis. That done, the most Reverend with his
 Brethren, and the Clergy, went into the *Chapter House*. Where the
 Bishop of *London* exhibited the *Certificatory* upon the Execution of the
 Mandate of the most Reverend, for calling together the Bishops.
 Afterwards the most Reverend expounded the Causes of this Convoca-
 tion. And then advised all the Prelates, [that is, those of the Lower
 House] that they should confer among themselves at the accustomed
 Place, and chuse one Person for their *Referendary*, or *Prolocutor*; who
 might speak in their Name. And to present him the next Session.
 Accordingly, June 16. *Edm. Boner*, Archdeacon of *Leicester*, and
Will. Petre LL. D. together with the Clergy of the Lower House,
 presented to the said most Reverend, together with his Brethren, the
 Venerable Mr. *Richard Gwent*, Archdeacon of *London*, and Official of
 the Court of *Canterbury*; being elected by them. And the said *Edmond*
Boner, in the Name of the whole Clergy, prayed the Election so made,
 might be approved and confirmed by the said most Reverend. Which
 the said most Reverend did confirm and approve.

This Convocation was the more remarkable, in regard that the
 Lord *Crumwel*, the King's Vicegerent in Ecclesiasticals, took Place in
 it. When Dr. *Petre* abovesaid alledged, ‘ That since this Synod was
 ‘ called by the Authority of the Prince, (who was *Supreme Head* of
 ‘ the Church of *England*,) and that the same Prince ought to hold
 ‘ the Supreme Rule in the said Convocation; and that the King being
 ‘ absent; the Honourable Mr. *Tho. Crumwel*, Vicar General for Eccle-
 ‘ siastical Causes, *Ejus Vices gerens*, ought to occupy his Place. And
 ‘ therefore prayed the same Place to be assigned to him, as Proctor
 ‘ to the said Master *Crumwel*. And then presented the Commission
 ‘ Letters sealed with the King's Seal. And the Commission being read,
 the most Reverend Father assigned him [the said Dr. *Petre*] his Place,
juxta se, by him. And the next Session *Crumwel* comes and sits himself
 in Convocation.

Crumwel the
 King's Vice-
 gerent pre-
 sent. *Extracts*
 of Convocat.
 MS.D. Ep. R. 11.

The Pope had summoned a General Council to be this Year, and to
 sit at *Mantua*. Tho' when in the Year 1534, the Pope signified his
 Mind to call a Council, and the King had promised the Pope to send
 his Ambassador thither, yet now upon better Deliberation, the Coun-
 cil being actually called, and the King cited to appear, he published
 a long and sharp Protestation against that Council; in which he shewed,

The King and
 Clergy pro-
 test against
 the Council
 at *Mantua*.

the

A **N** **N** **O** the Pope had no Power to call one. It was intituled, *A Protestation in the Name of the King and the whole Council, and Clergy of England, why they refuse to come to the Pope's Council at his Call.* Which may be read in *Fox's Acts and Monuments.* The Convocation now sitting, declared also against this Council, in a Decree signed by *Crumwel*, and the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and Thirteen Bishops more, and Forty Nine Abbots, Priors and others of the Clergy. The Protestation was dispersed abroad in Foreign Nations, as in *France*, *Germany* and other Countries. And soon after, *Crumwel* gave Order to *Richard Moryson*, a Learned Man, whom he employed in such Matters, that he should cause the Protestation in some Places to be altered, and some Things to be left out, upon some pretended Politick Ends, as that it might be more agreeable with the Protestation of the *Germans*. and take in their Arguments against the said Council; which may be read in *Sleidan's Commentaries*: And so to be printed again, that more Copies might be dispersed. But this *Moryson* did not approve of, as reflecting upon the Constancy of the Nation, saying, That the Sentence of a Prince and a Realm should either not be printed, or once printed, not changed. He perceived, no doubt, this was a Fetch of *Winchester*, or some other secret Friend of *Rome*. Yet he had two or three Leaves to add, opening a Fraud intended by that Council, and shewing that these Papists Opposition of the Word of God, was a sufficient Argument, that they intended no good by that Council. And whereas in the former Copy it was said, that the Papacy was given by the Consent of the Kings of *England*, so now it was taken away by their Consent; the Manner of expressing this was disliked, and *Moryson* mollified it. For the further illustrating this Affair, *Moryson's* Letter to the Lord *Crumwel*, may be worth reading in the *Appendix*.

Numb.
LXXII.

A Protestation
of the Con-
vocation,
against Errors
and Abuses.

There was one thing more done by the Convocation of the Lower House, if so be, I lay it right, when I lay it to this Convocation, which indeed I do but by some Gueſſes, the Paper I use bearing no Date. The Ignorance of the Priests, and the gross and abominable Superstitions that were used, caused abundance of People in the Nation, to give an ear to those, that instructed them better, and laid open to them these Corruptions and Abuses. And many Preachers there were, as well as others, out of hatred to the Priests, and their Superstitions, uttered many indiscrete and disrespectful Words of sacred Things. Some said, 'the Sacrement was not to be esteemed at all; Others 'said, that Priests had no more Authority to minister Sacraments than 'Laymen: That God never gave Grace to any great or rich Men: 'That all things ought to be common: That Children might be 'christned in a Tub of Water, or in a Ditch, as well as in any Font: 'That the Water in the Font was conjured: That the hallowed Oyl 'was no better, than the Bishop of *Rome's* Grease: That the Stole 'about the Priests Neck, was the Bishop of *Rome's* Rope, and many 'such Expressions.' Many whereof might be but misreports and lies made by the Priests and their Creatures, to make the Preachers and Professors of the Gospel odious. But these Expressions and Sayings, true or false, they of the Convocation made their use of. And a Protestation was framed in the Name of the Lower House of Convocation in the Province of *Canterbury*: Wherein they drew out to a
very

very great Length, Errors and Abuses, to the Number of Sixty Eight: *A N N O*
Which they declared in their Consciences to be Causes of Dissension *1536.*
within the Realm. And herein, they foisted in, among the good and
wholsome Doctrines, owned by the Protestants, a great many hasty
and intemperate Speeches, that might perhaps be said by some un-
wary Men, or invented by themselves. And that they might make
an easier Address for their Protestation to the King, they ushered it in
with a Preface of their profound Loyalty to him, and of their own-
ing his Supremacy, and of renouncing the pretended Authority of
the Roman Bishop. The Protestation it self I have repositied in the
Appendix.

In the short Parliament, that sat this Summer, beginning in *June*,
and ending in *July* 18. a Statute was made against all Papal Dispensa-
tions, clearly annulling and vacating them: And that such of the Bi-
shops and Clergy, as held any Pluralities, Trialities, Commendams,
Exemptions, &c. by Virtue of such Bulls, or Dispensations, as should,
before *Michaelmas* next come Twelve Month, bring them before cer-
tain Persons of the King's Council, or the Masters of *Chancery*, to be
appointed by the King: and making humble Suit to have the Effects
contained in the Bulls, granted to them, they were to have them again
immediately from the King under the great Seal. Accordingly I find
Tunstal Bishop of *Durham*, (tho' somewhat long first) sent up Five
Bulls unto *Crumwel*: which were all delivered into his Hands: And
the Bishop fearing the King would take Advantage of his Delay herein,
to out him of his Bishoprick, he intreated *Crumwel*, ' To move the
' King to be good and gracious Lord to him, and to consider, if he
' should now in his Age leave his Bishoprick, which he trusted his
' Grace meant not to make him do, it should not only disappoint
' him of his Living, but many other his Servants, who had their
' Livings only by him: Who, if he should lose his Promotion, should
' be clearly destitute of Succour. Trusting the King would be as good
' to him as to other Bishops in the Realm, being in the like Case: as
' he wrote in his Letter to the said *Crumwel*.

For in the doing of this, it seems, the Bishops were so slow, that
Crumwel by his Visitors were fain to admonish them of it, and of their
Danger in neglecting it. But this calling upon the Clergy, to exhibit
their Dispensations from the Pope, displeased much the Province of
York. Insomuch that in their Convocation, they plainly desired, that
the Statute lately made for that Purpose might, in the next Parliament,
be revoked. And when Ten Articles had been sent to their Convocation,
for their Opinions upon each of them, and Concurrence therein, they
returned their Answer in that Manner, as shewed them immoveable
in their old Superstitions. And in the Conclusion they had the Hardi-
ness to desire, ' That the Laws of the Church might be read in the
' Universities, as before had been, [but it seems was discouraged and
' grew into Disuse.] That such Clerks as were in Prison and Exile
' for opposing the Supremacy might be restored: That Books for the
' Pope's Supremacy might be safely read and kept, and such like. This
' was boldly done after the Acts of Parliament to the contrary. For
' their Answers to those Articles at large, I refer the Reader to the
' *Appendix.*

Numb.
LXXIII.
Papal Bulls
annulled.

Bp. of Dur-
ham sends up
his Bulls.

Cleopatra E. 6.

The Northern
Clergy stick
to their old
Superstitions.

Numb.
LXXIV.

By

A N N O

1536.

A Royal Vi-
sitation for
York Province.

By this it may appear, that it was not without Need, that Dr. Layton some Months before, either in the Winter of the last Year, or the Beginning of this, had moved the King's Vicar General for a Royal Visitation of the Diocese of *York*, and the whole Province thereof, as that of *Canterbury* was visited the Year before. He was now returned to *London* from the Visitation of the Monasteries the last Year; and from his House or Lodgings in *Pater Noster Row*, he wrote of this Affair to *Crumwel*: Shewing him what great Want of Reformation there was in those Parts, and especially in the exempt Jurisdictions; and that nothing would beat the King's Authority sooner into the Heads of that People, besotted with the frantic Fancies and Sermons of the Religious Sort, than when they should see the King seriously intending their Reformation. That he had got the Articles for the Visitation ready wrote out by *Bartlet* his Secretary, and a Commissionall ready drawn for him to sign. And that he was ready to wait upon him to receive his or the King's Charge and Precepts for this Purpose, and promised what great Service he would do. And indeed the Archbishop of *York* did himself forbear Visiting, because he expected the King's Visitation, and left all that needed to be reformed to his Visitors. But to represent all this the plainer, I will exemplify *Layton's* Letter to *Crumwel*: which was as follows:

Dr. Layton to
Crumwel, to
hasten the
Visitation.
Cleop. E. 4.

' Please it your Goodness to understand, that forasmuch as *York*
' Diocese was not visited since my Lord Cardinal's Time, and many
' things there be within the said Province now much needful of Re-
' formation, and worthy Redress, and especially among the Exempts,
' the Archbishop hearing of the King's Visitation towards, carrieth
' only therefore, not intending in any wise to visit or meddle, but all
' reserving wholly to the King's Reformation, and his Visitors. If
' it might please you therefore now to send me into the said Province,
' and *Blitheman* your Servant to be Register, we might well finish all
' that Province by *Michaelmas*, or soon after. Ye might commit to
' Dr. *Lee* at his return, *Huntington* and *Lincoln* Shires with *Chester*
' Diocese, which he might also finish before the said Feast. If ye defer
' the setting forth of your Visitation, till ye may have thereunto con-
' venient Leisure, and as will, when that Day shall come, I come in
' great doubt. For me seemeth your Business increaseth daily more
' and more. Or if you tarry till *Lammas* next ensuing, till my Lord
' of *Canterbury* have fully finished his Visitation, then shall the Year be
' far spent. And I doubt not but my Lord of *Canterbury* and his Offi-
' cers would be right well content, that ye did not visit. For the
' Dean of the *Arches*, would have persuaded me to have moved you
' not to visit these two or three Years. In that methought, *Quod*
' *erat Orator, sed parum vehemens, & sine aculeo. Sed ut sim brevis*, If
' I were able to be of your Counsil, so God help me, I would advise
' you to set forth the King's Authority by all means ye could possible.
' And I am well and fast assured, and dare boldly say, that there can be
' no better Way devised for the rude People in the *North*, to beat his
' Authority into their Heads, than that they may plainly see, and
' evidently perceive, how his Grace being Supreme Head, intendeth
' nothing else than Reformation and Correction of Religion, with-
' out doubt more Superstitious than Virtuous, long time accustomed

to

to frantick Fantasies and Sermons, much more that regarding, than A N N O
 other God or their Prince, right far alienate from true Religion. 1536.

‘ If it be your Pleasure therefore with Expedition to tender the Pre-
 misses, the Book of Articles is clean written, and in the Custody of
 Bartlet your Clerk; and a Commission also ready drawn for the same.
 So that if it be your Pleasure, ye may shortly dispatch me towards
 the said Province. When as ye shall find me in the exercising of this,
 so shall I desire you to accept me at my Return, and no otherwise.
 Ye shall never know what I can do, neither what my serviceable
 Mind is toward you till, ye have had some Experiment thereof.
 What Charge or Precepts soever it shall please you to give me con-
 cerning the Premisses, shall not be in any wise transgressed. Or if it
 be your Mind that I shall repair to the King’s Grace for any Precept
 or Charge to be had or taken of his Highness, I am ready thereunto,
 to wait upon you at your next going to the Court, or to go immedi-
 ately if ye command me. Thus committing you to the Tuition of
 Christ; to whom I shall pray for your long Life and prosperous Con-
 tinuance. From *Pater Noster Row*, by the speedy Hand of your
 assured poor Priest,

Richard Layton.

But this Visitation, I suppose, however intended or begun this Year,
 received a stop by reason of the Rebellion that brake out this Summer
 in the North Parts.

This Layton, and some others were appointed by *Crumwel*, to be
 the Visitors of the *Religious Houses*; where very much Irreligion was
 found among those that professed Religion there, according to the Ac-
 counts brought in by them. Insomuch that a final Dissolution of those
 Places, all the Orders there being so corrupted, was thought on: For to
 let in some Light into the Lives and Practices of these, both Men and
 Women: Thus one that lived in those Times, tells the World in a
 Book written in *Italian*, that it might be the better known even in
 Rome; thus translated. ‘ That you may understand what was the just
 Occasion of the King’s Suppression of them: When his Highness had
 found out the Falseness of these Jugglers, [the Monks] who led the
 People to this Idolatry of worshipping Saints, believing of Miracles,
 and going on Pilgrimage here and there, as unto this Hour you see
 it used here in *Italy*, being persuaded, &c. that these abominable
 Friars were the very false Prophets (*Matthew 7.*) and ravening
 Wolves, whom Christ prophesied in the Gospel, should come under
 the Apparel of Lambs, to devour the Flock of true Christians; his
 Majesty for the better discovery of these Hypocrites, sent forth Com-
 missioners into all Provinces of the Realm, to examine the Manner of
 Living that those Ribaulds used. And here came the Matter fully to
 light. For when the Commissioners had taken upon them the Charge
 of this Examination, and began by one and one to examine those
 Friars, Monks and Nuns, upon their Oaths, sworn upon the Evan-
 gelists, there were discovered Hypocrisies, Murthers, Idolatries,
 [false] Miracles, Sodomies, Adulteries, Fornications, Pride, Envy,
 &c. And not Seven, but more than 700, 000 deadly Sins. Alack!
 my Heart maketh all my Members to tremble, with another manner

The irreligi-
 ous Lives of
 the Religious.

Pelerin by
 Will. Thomas.

A N N O

1536.

of Fear than is the *Quartan*, when I remember the Abominations that there were tryed out. O! Lord God, (speaking under Correction) what canst thou answer to the Five Cities, confounded with Cælestial Fire, when they shall alledge before thee the Iniquities of those *Religious*, whom thou hast so long supported. Note well these few Words, said I, and I shall tell you. In the dark and sharp Prisons, there were found dead so many of their Brethren, that it is a Wonder. Some crucified with more Torments than ever were heard of. And some famished unto Death, only for breaking their Superstitious Silence, or some like Trifles. And especially, in some Children, there was used a Cruelty, not to be spoken with human Tongue.

There was of the *Heremits* some one, that under the Colour of Confession, had used carnally with mo than 2 or 300 Gentlewomen, Women of Reputation: Whose Names, enrolled by Commandment, they shewed unto the Commissioners. Insofmuch that some of the self same Commissioners found of their own Wives, titled among the Rest. With what Conscience, I report me unto you; there was working of Wonders. The Friars and Nuns, were as Whore and Thief in the open Stews. And there were Saints, that made the barren Women bring forth Children. Unto whom there wanted no Resort from all Partes of the Realm. Alas! alas! what should I say, when *Ptolomy* his Discourse, *Pliny* his Memory, and *Augustin* his Pen, joined in one Man, should not suffice to make him an apt Author of so detestable an History, as this Abomination requireth?

Well, to my Purpose; in Conclusion, upon the Return of these Commissioners, when the King was fully informed of the Cause, incontinently he called his Parliament. But or ever the Counsellors of the same could assemble together, here came that Abbot, and that Prior: Now came that Abbess, and then came that Friar from all Partes of the Realm, unto the King, offering their Monasteries into his Hands; beseeching him to pardon them their Sins, *de Poena* only, and not *de Culpa*. Insofmuch that his Majesty accepted of them: and pardoned them all, except a few only of the most notable Ribaulds: whom, for the others Example, he caused to suffer Death, in divers wise, as their horrible Causes diversly merited. And thereupon followed the said Parliament: in the which all these Matters were not only published, but also confessed by the false *Religious* Persons, brought openly in Judgment; it was concluded both by the Barons, and also by the Commons of the said Parliament, that these Monasteries should be extirped; and the Goods and Revenues thereof disposed, as the King and his Council should think it expedient: These were their Crimes, and these their own Acknowledgments: and these therefore the just Proceedings against them.

But Mr. *Thomas*, for these and such like his free Discoveries of them thus in Print, however he was honoured and esteemed in the next Reign by King *Edward* himself, he was not forgotten in the succeeding, when Poperie prevailed again, being put to Death as a Traytor; how truly, I cannot say. Of this Man we shall say more, under the Reign of King *Edward*.

To which add, what another very grave and worthy Writer, not long after the Former, shewed, concerning the First Foundations of these Monasteries, and what the Visitors detected of them. ' Truth ' it is, saith he, that the Foundations of Abbies and Chauntries, *Pro redemptione animarum Fundatorum suorum, & Progenitorum ipsorum,* &c. as in the said Foundations appeareth more at large, were so unsure and weak, or rather wicked, that they could no longer bear such huge Superstructions and Buildings as were laid upon them. For the Idolatry, Superstition, Hypocrisy and Wickedness of Monks, Nuns and Priests themselves, were grown so great and so heavy now, that no Foundations, though sure and good, were able any longer to bear and abide them. Let the horrible History, of their dark, dreadful and most devilish Doings, notified to King Henry VIII. and after to the Parliament House, by the Report of the Visitors, returning from their Visitations of Abbies; and the Monks and Nuns themselves in their own Confessions, subscribed with their own Hands, be a Proof thereof. Which being registred in a Black Book, might more justly be called *Doomsday*, than any Record this Day remaining in *England*: Revealing such Matters as they thought should have remained hid, until the great Day of Revelation of all Secrets, if ever they looked for it. No truly, the monstrous Lives of Monks, Friars and Nuns have destroyed their Monasteries and Churches, and not we. — These be the true Causes of such horrible Destructions and Desolations as have in *our Time*, come upon *Monasteries and other Houses and Churches*.

A N N O
1536.
The Wickedness of those religious Foundations, the Cause of their Ruin
Noel's Re- proof. fol. 14.

C H A P XXXV.

A Visitation of the Religious Houses. Visitors appointed by the Lord Crumwel. Their Instructions and Commissions. Many surrender their Houses. The Visitors divers Letters, giving Accounts of the Monasteries; Viz. of Reading; Glastenbury; Maiden Bradley; Bruton; Ferley; Relicks in those Places. Leicester. Wolstrobe, a Pious Monastery. Nunneries of Catesby; Stixwold. Monasteries in Litchfield Diocese; in Kent, Folkston, &c. Pensions allowed the Monks, &c. Suiters for some Religious Houses. Sir Richard Gresham, Lord Maior, for the Spittals. Ramsey Abby. Fountains and Rivax. Papers preparatory to a Suppression. Value taken of all Monasteries and Benefices Ecclesiastical.

NOR are these horrible Deeds, the Relations only of some private Persons, and depend upon their Credit; but one may see Abundance of the sinful State of those Monasteries, and them that inhabited

A N N O habited there, by the Testimonials those Visitors sent up, which are
1536. very many: And are still remaining under their Hands, in our Repositories of MSS. and Archives: Where we may see, in what Condition they found those Houses; what Superstitions were there used by the Relicks, and the Numbers of them kept within their Walls, and the Cheats put upon the People by the Means of them. And of the Voluntary Surrenders the Superiors of those Places made. I will specify some from the Originals.

The Visitors
Letters of the
vile State of
the Monasteries,
extant.

Gray Friars of
Reading, their
surrender.
Cleopatra E. 4.

London, one of the Visitors, sent up this Letter following to the Lord *Crumwel*; shewing the Surrender of the Abby of *Reading*; with an Inventory of their Relicks, and of the Discharge of the Friars. ‘ In my most harty manner, I have me commended unto your good Lordship, with my assured Prayer and Service. I have sent up to your Lordship the Surrender of the *Gray Friars of Reading*, with their Plate, such as it is. I have inwardly defaced the Church and Dorter. The residue of the House I have left whole, till I know your further Pleasure; and clearly dispatched all the Friars out of the Doors, in their secular Apparel: And have given to every one of them, Money in their Purfes, and have clearly paid their Debts. This is a Town of much poor People. And they fall to stealing so fast in every Corner of the House, that I have been fain to tarry a whole Week here, to set every thing in due Order. And have and shall receive to the King’s Grace, as I trust, above XL *l.* in the Mansion wholly reserved.

Relicks of
Idolatry sent
up.

‘ I have sent up the principal Relicks of Idolatry within this Realm. An Angel with one Wing is brought to *Caverfham*.

‘ The Spear-head that pierced our Saviour’s Side upon the Cross. It was conveyed home to *Notly*. But I sent my Servant purposely for it.

‘ I have also three Coats of the Image, with such Things as I found upon them, with the Dagger, which they say slew King *Henry VI.* And the Knife that killed King *Edward*: With many other like holy Things.

‘ I have defaced the Chapel inward. And have sent home the Chansons to the Master to *Notley*.

‘ I have required of my Lord Abbot [-of *Reading*] the Relicks of his House: Which he shewed unto me with good Will. I have taken an Inventory of them: and have locked them up behind their High Altar; and have the Key in my keeping: and they all ready at your Lordship’s Commandment. They have a good Lecture in Scripture daily read in their Chapitre House, both in *English* and *Latin*. To the which is good Resort: and the Abbot is at it himself. In any other thing I can do your Lordship’s Service, I am, and always shall be ready, [God willing. Who with Encrease of much Honour, long preserve your good Lordship. At *Reding*, the xvij. of *September*.

Your bounden Orator and Servant,

JOHN LONDON.

The

The Inventory of the Relicks of the House of Reading.

<i>Imprimus</i> , Two Picces of the Holy Crofs.	A Bone of S. <i>Blase</i> , with other mo.
S. <i>Jame's</i> Hand.	A Bone of S. <i>Osmund</i> , with other mo.
S. <i>Phillip's</i> Stole.	A Piece of S. <i>Ursula's</i> Stole.
A Bone of <i>Mary Magdalene</i> , with other mo.	A Jawbone of S. <i>Ethelmoyn</i> .
S. <i>Anastafius</i> his Hand, with other mo.	Bones of S. <i>Leodegary</i> and of S. <i>Herenei</i> , [<i>Irenij</i> perhaps]
A Piece of S. <i>Pancrate's</i> Arme.	Bones of S. <i>Margaret</i> .
A Bone of S. <i>Quintin's</i> Arme.	Bones of S. <i>Arnal</i> .
A Bone of S. <i>David's</i> Arme.	A Bone of S. <i>Agas</i> , with other mo.
A Bone of <i>Mary Salome's</i> Arme.	A Bone of S. <i>Andrew</i> ; and two Pieces of his Crofs.
A Bone of S. <i>Edward</i> the Martyr, his Arme.	A Bone of S. <i>Frideswyde</i> .
A Bone of S. <i>Hierom</i> , with other mo.	A Bone of S. <i>Anne</i> . With many other.
Bones of S. <i>Steven</i> , with other mo.	

Another Visitor sent up to *Crumwel*, his Account of *Glastenburg*, and the Covents in *Bristow*; and withal sent up to him the Relicks found in them. Take Dr. *Layton* the Visitors own Letters: Which will give more satisfaction to the Reader, than the bare Contents extracted from it. ‘Pleasyth your Mastership to understand, that yester-

Glastenburg
and Convents
in *Bristow*
visited, Re-
licks there.
Cotton Libr.

‘day Night late we came from *Glastenburg* to *Bristow*, to S. *Austins*; whereas we began this Morning: intending this Day to dispatch both this House here, [*Viz. S. Austin*] being but xiiij. Chanons: and also the *Gawntes*; whereas be iv. or v.

‘By this Bringer, my servant, I send you Relicks. First, two Flow-ers, wrapped in white and black Sarcenet. That on *Christen Mafs* Even, *Horâ ipsâ, qua Christus natus fuerat*, will spring, and burgen, and bare Blossomes. *Quod expertum est*, saith the Prior of *Mayden Bradley*. Yee shall also receive a Bag of Relicks, wherein ye shall see stranger Things, as shall appear by the Scripture, [*i. e. the Writings upon them.*] As, God’s Coat; or Ladie’s Smock; Part of God’s Supper, *In Cæna Domini: Pars petra, super qua natus erat Jesus in Bethlehem*. Besides, there is in *Bethlehem* plenty of Stones, and sometimes Quarries, and maketh their Mangers of Stone. The Scripture of every thing shall declare you all. And all there, of *Mayden Bradley*. Where is a Holy Father Prior: and hath but Six Sons, and but one Daughter married yet, of the Goods of the Monastery: Trusting shortly to marry the Rest of his Sons, being tall Men, waiting upon him. And he thanketh God, he never meddled with married Women; but all with Maidens, the fairest could be gotten. And always married them right well. The Pope, considering his Fragility, gave him his Licence to keep a Whore: and hath good Writing *sub Plumbo*, to discharge his Conscience: and to choose Mr.

The Holy
Prior of
*Maiden Brad-
ley.*

‘*Underhill*

A N N O Underbill to be his Ghostly Father: and he to give him *plenam re-*
1536. *missionem, &c.*

Bruton. ' I send you also our Ladies Girdle of *Bruton*, Red Silk. Which is
 ' a solemn Relick, sent to Women travailing, which shall not miscarry
 ' in *Partu*.

' I send you also *Mary Magdalene's* Girdle: and that is wrapped and
 ' covered with White: sent also with great Reverence to Women tra-
 ' vailing. Which Girdle *Matilda* the Empress, Founder of *Ferley* gave
 ' unto them, as saith the Holy Father of *Ferley*.

*Ferley Mo-
 nastery.*

' I have *Crosses* of Silver and Gold. Some which I send you not
 ' now: because I have mo that shall be delivered me this Night by the
 ' Prior of *Maiden Bradley* himself. To morrow early in the Morning
 ' I shall bring you the Rest, when I have reviewed all, perchance I
 ' shall find something here. In case ye depart this Day, may it please
 ' you to send me word by this, being my Servant, which way I shall
 ' repair after you.

Charter-House.

' They within the *Charter-House* have protested, and done all things,
 ' according as I shall declare at large to morrow early.

' At *Bruton* and *Glastonbury* there is nothing notable. The Brethren
 ' be so steit kept, that they cannot offend: but fain they would, if
 ' they might, as they confels: and so the Fault is not in them. From
 ' *S. Austins* without *Bristol*, this *S. Bartilmew's* Day, at four of the
 ' Clock in the Morning, by the speedy Hand of your most assured
 ' poor Priest,

RYCHARD LAYTON.

*The Monaste-
 ry of Leicester
 surrendered.*

Another Visitor, named *Francis Cave*, took the Surrender of the
 ' Monastery of *Leicester*. The Account whereof, and of the State and
 ' Value of of the Houses, he sent to *Crumwel* in these Words. ' We took
 ' the Surrender of the Abbot and Convent. And the Writings
 ' thereof be in my Custody. By your Lordship's Goodness towards me,
 ' I am now in the Possession of the House, and all the Demean;
 ' which was unlet at the Time of our Repair thither. Wee also found
 ' the House indebted to divers Creditors, 411 *l.* 10 *s.* over and besides
 ' certain Sums of Money the House was indebted to the King's
 ' Highness. For the Discharge whereof, we have made sale of the Stock
 ' and Store, with the Household Stuff, and Ornaments of the Church.
 ' Which amount unto 228 *l.* The Plate is unfold: And is valued at by
 ' weight, 190 *l.* The Lead by Estimation, valued at 1000 *l.* The Bells
 ' at 88 *l.*

' For the discharging of the Abbot, Convent and Servants of the
 ' said Monastery, there hath been paid 149 *l.* And forasmuch as the
 ' Abbot hath not received of his in ready Money, but xx *l.* or xx *Ma:*
 ' more, his Church and House is remaining as yet undefaced. In the
 ' Church many things to be made sale of.

' Let me know your Pleasure, as well for the further Sale to be
 ' made, as for the Defacing of the Church, and other Superfluous
 ' Buildings, which be about the Monastery. A Hundred Mark yearly,
 ' will not sustain the Charges in repairing this House, if all Buildings be
 ' let stand. Written at the late Monastery at *Leicestre*, the xxix of
 ' *August*.

By your Lordships most bounden,

FRANCIS CAVE.

But

But among these Herds of Sinners in the Convents, covering their *ANNO*
Wickedness under their Religious Professions, the Visitors met with *1536.*
one House, that had another Character sent up to the Lord *Crumwel*, and
an earnest Petition on that Account for their Continuance. It was the
House of *Wolstrepe*. In the Behalf of which, one *Gifford*, a Visitor, *A pious good*
writ after this Manner: 'The Governor thereof is a very good Hus- *Convent pe-*
'band for the House, and well beloved of all the Inhabitants there- *titioned for to*
'unto adjoyning. A right honest Man; having right Religious Per- *continue.*
'sons, being Priests of right good Conversation, and living religiously:
'having such Qualities of Virtue, as we have not found the like in
'no Place. For there is not one Religious Person there, but that he
'can and doth use, either embrothering, writing Books with very fair
'Hand, making their own Garments, carving, painting or graving.
'The House without any Slauder or ill Fame; and standing in a wet
'Ground, very solitary: keeping such Hospitality, that except singular
'good Provision, it could not be maintained with half so much Land
'more, as they may spend. Such a Number of the poor Inhabitants
'nigh thereunto, daily relieved, that we have not seen the like, having
'no more Lands than they have: God be even my Judge, as I do write
'unto you the Troth, and none otherwise to my knowledge. Which
'very Pity alone causeth me to write.

'The Premisses considered, I beseech you to be a Mean unto the
'King's Majesty, for the standing of the said *Wolstropp*. From *Garadon*
'the xix Day of *June*.

Your bounden Bedeman at Commandment,

GEORGE GYFFARD.

The like Commendation was given by this Visitor, as well as the *A good Cha-*
Rest, of the Nunnery of *Catesby*. 'Which House we found (as they *rafter of the*
'writ in their Letter to the Lord *Crumwel*) in very perfect Order. *Priocess and*
'The Prioress, a sure, wise, discreet and very religious Woman, with *Nuns of*
'Nine Nuns under her Obedience, as religious and devout; and with *Catesby.*
'as good Obedience, as we have in times past seen, or belike shall see.
'The said House stands in such a Quarter, much to the Relief of the
'King's People, and his Graces poor Subjects there likewise more re-
'lieved; as by the Report of divers worshipful, neer thereunto
'adjoyning, as of all others, it is to us openly declared. Wherefore
'if it should please the King's Highness to have any Remorse, that any
'such Religious House shall stand, we think his Grace cannot appoint
'an House more meet to shew his most gracious Charity and Pity,
'than on the said House of *Catesby*.

'Furthermore, ye shall understand, that as to her bounden Duty
'towards the King's Highness in these his Affairs: Also, for discreet
'Entertainment of us, his Commissioners, and our Company, we have
'not found, nor belike shall find, any such of more Discretion, &c.
'From *Catesby* the xii Day of this present Month of *May*. From the
'King's Commissioners, at your Commaundment,

4.

Edmond Knightly,
John Lane.

George Gyffard,
Robert Burgoyne.

How

A N N O 1536. How these Intercessions succeeded for the Continuance of these Houses, I cannot tell. But sometimes the King was prevailed with, as I find it happened for the Nunnery of *Styxwold*, though upon pretty hard Terms; and such Payments, as, if exacted rigorously, the Nunnery could not subsist. For thus was Mr. *Heneage*, one of the Visitors, addressed to by the said Nunnery.

The Nunnery
of *Styxwold*
continued.

‘ Right Worshipful Sir, As your poor and daily Bede-Women, we
‘ humbly commend us unto you. Advertising you, that by the Good-
‘ ness of my Lord Privy Seal, and by his only Means and Suit to the
‘ King’s Majesty, our House doth stand, paying to his Highness 900
‘ Mark for a Fine, besides our First Fruits: Which is 150 *l.* and also
‘ a Pension of 34 *l.* by the Year for ever. Good Mr. *Heneage*, we most
‘ humbly pray and desire you in the Way of Charity, and for God Sake,
‘ to be mean to my Lord Privy Seal, that he will of his Goodness be
‘ Suitor to the King’s Majesty, for to remit and forgive the said Pension
‘ of 34 *l.* by Year; or else we shall never be able to live, and pay the
‘ King the aforefaid Money.

‘ We be Eighteen Nuns, and a Sister in our House; besides Officers
‘ and Servants, to the Number of Fifty Persons in all. And our Stock
‘ and Cattel being delivered up this Year past; which was our chief
‘ Hope and Living. And if, by my Lord Privy Seal’s Goodness, and
‘ yours, we may obtain Redemption of the said yearly Pension, we
‘ shall take pains, and live poorly, and serve God, and pray daily for
‘ the King’s Majesty, my Lord Privy Seal and you, during our Lives.
‘ And if at your Contemplation we cannot obtain Grace of the said
‘ Pension, we shall upon necessity, for that we shall not be able to pay
‘ and perform all such Payments as we be bound, give up the House
‘ into the King’s Highness Hand. Which were great Pity, if it pleased
‘ God and the King otherwise. And thus we pray God send you much
‘ Worship. From *Styxwold* the viij Day of *Fannary*.

By your poor Bedes-Women,

The whole Convent of Styxwold.

From these Visitors of the Religious Houses came divers Letters more from time to time to the Lord *Crumwel*, with Bills and Certificates of the State of those Foundations as they found them, with the Values of them, their Debts, and among the rest, of their Superstitious Cheats, imposed upon the People by the many Relicks, preserved in their respective Houses: together with their abominable Uncleaness and Pollutions; and the Names of those Monks and Friars that were guilty thereof. And these Certificates sent as aforefaid, after what manner they were drawn up, may appear by another of them for the Diocese of *Litchfield*: as I took it from the Original. *Viz.*

COMPERTA *Ecclesia Cathedral. de Litchfield.*

Then follows a full Account of all the Uncleanesses, *Sodomy*, and Superstitions of the Members in the Cathedral Church. Next in the Monastery of *Repindon*, alias *Repton*. For *Sodomy*, are Four, with their

their Names. And then under the Title, *Superstitio*, is thus written; *A N N O*
Huc fit Peregrinatio ad S^{um} Guthlacum, & ad ejus Campanam: Quam 1536.
solent Capitibus imponere ad reslinguendum dolorem Capitis. Then
 follows: *Nicolas petit dissolvi a Religione.*

Redditus annuus CLXXX li.

Domus debet C Marcas

Fundator Dns. Rex.

In another Monastery, named *Giradon*. Under the Title *Sodomites*, *Giradon*.
 Five with their Names, and particular Filthiness: whereof one named
Robert Wekeston, is said to have to do, *cum decem pueris*. Whereof
 one of these desired to be freed from their Religion.

In the Nunnery of *Grace Dieu*, many Nuns had been brought to *Grace Dieu*.
 Bed. For their *Superstition*, they worshipped the Girdle, and Part of
 the Coat of *S. Francis*. Which they believed did help Women in
 Labour.

S. Mary in *Darby*, a Nunnery. The Nuns here have a Piece of *S. S. Mary in*
Thomas's Shirt. Which is worshipped by Women big with Child. *Darby.*

The Abby of *Dalle*. *John Staunton*, the Abbot, was incontinent *Dalle*.
 with one single Woman, and another married. And *John Braunston*
 with five married Women. Here they worshipped Part of the Girdle
 and Milk of the Blessed Virgin; And the Wheel of *S. Katharine* in
 Silver.

Thurgarton, a Priory. Here were Twelve *Sodomites*. Whereof *Thurgarton*.
Richard Newark with Four Boys: *John York* with divers Boys: *Thomas*
Detbick, Prior, with divers Women: *William Kimberly* with two single
 Women, and as many married. Five incontinent with single and mar-
 ried Women. Eight of this House desired to be free from Religion.

Rifford. Here were Six *Sodomites*: Three incontinent. Six desired *Rifford*.
 to be free of Religion. A great deal more follows in these *Comperia* in
 the other Monasteries and Nunneries there mentioned. But this *Speci-*
men is enough, and too much.

We may observe hence, how weary many of these Monks were of
 this idle and wicked Life, and how desirous to be released of their Re-
 ligion, and from the Iniquity and Temptations there. I have met with
 a Letter of one of this sort, named *Beerly*, a Monk of *Persbore*,
 written to the Lord *Crumwel*, so full of Self-Condernation and Re-
 morse of Conscience, and Discovery of Sin and Ignorance there, that
 it may deserve to be read, now we are upon this Subject. It was as
 followeth.

‘ Most Reverend Lord in God, Second Person in this Realm of Eng- A Penitent
 ‘ land, endowed with all Grace and Goodness; Y submit my self unto Letter of a
 ‘ your Grace and Goodness. Desiring you myckely to be good and Monk to
 ‘ gracious Lord unto me, a sinful and poor Creature. My lowely and *Crumwel*,
 ‘ myck Scribling unto your noble Grace at this Time is, grudging in *Cleopatra E. 4*
 ‘ my Conscience, that the Religion which we do observe and keep is
 ‘ no Rule of *S. Benet*, nor yet no Commandment of God, nor of no
 ‘ Saint, but lyzth and foolish Ceremonies, made some in old Time, and
 ‘ some in our Time, [by] lyzth and undiscrete Faders; which have
 ‘ done their Duties, and fulfilled their own Sermons, and let the Pre-
 ‘ VOL. I. L-1 cepts

A N N O

1536.

cepts and Commandments of God go. And so have I done this Six Years, which doth now grieve my Conscience sore. That I have been a Dissembler so long time. The which Religion, says S. James, is in vain, and bringeth forth no good Fruits. Better out than in the Religion; except it were the true Religion of Christ.

Also, we do nothing search for the Doctrine of Christ, but only follow our Sensuality and Pleasure. And this Religion, as I suppose, is all in vain Glory, and nothing worthy to be accept, neither before God nor Man.

Also, most Gracious Lord, there is a secret Thing in my Conscience which doth move me to go out of the Religion, and if it were never so perfect; which no Man may know, but my Ghostly Fader: The which, I suppose, if a Man mothe judge, [is] in other Young Persons, as me selfe. For Christ saith, *Nolite judicare, & non judicabimini.* Therefore I will judge mine own Conscience first. The which Fault he shall know of me hereafter more largely: And many other foul Vices done among Religious Men. And Religious Men I suppose, they ought not to be called, but dissemblers with God. Now, most gracious Lord, and most worthy Visitor, that ever came among us, help me out of this Religion: and make me your Servant, Handmaid and Bedeman: and save my Soul, which should be lost, if ye help it not. The which ye may save with a word speaking; and make me which am now naught, to come unto Grace and Goodness.

Now I will instruct your Grace somewhat of Religious Men; and how the King's Grace Commandment is kept, in putting forth of Books of the Bishop of Rome's Usurped Power. Monks drink and bull after Collation, till x. or xii. of the Clock, and come to Matins, as drunk as mys. And some at Cards, some at Dice and at Tables, some come to Matins beginning; some at the midst; and some when it is almost done. And would not come there so, only for bodily Punishment: Nothing, for God's Sake: With many other Vices: the Use which I have no leisure now to express.

Also Abbots, Monks, Priests, done little or nothing, put out of Books the Bishop of Rome's Name. For I myself do know in divers Books, where his Name, and his usurped Power upon us, is. No more unto your noble Grace at this time; but *Jesu* preserve you to pleasure. Amen.

Your Commissary desired me to write my mind unto your noble Grace, by my Oath I took of him in our Chapter House.

By me your Bedeman Dan Ri. Beerley,
now Monk in the Monastery of Persthorpe.

To my Noble and Gracious Lord
Visitor, in the King's Court be this
Bill delivered, in Hast.

Bat

But by the total Dissolution of these Monasteries one Evil was like to follow, namely, the Misery and Starving perhaps of abundance of poor Families: who had been greatly relieved with Food and other Necessaries from these Houses which commonly maintained Hospitality. In-
 somuch that it was once moved by *Latymer*, the good Bishop of *Worcester*, (and probably by others too) that two or three of these Foundations might be spared in each Diocese, for the sake of Hospitality. Changing their Property from being Harbours for lazy Monks and Friars, to be Places for such pious Men as might go about preaching and teaching God's Word to the People: and to do such like good Offices of Religion; and to follow their Studies. Which gave the foresaid Bishop Occasion to move the Lord *Crumwell* once in the behalf of the Priory of *Malvern*; the Prior, that seemed to be a good Man, endeavouring for those good Purposes, the Continuation thereof, now that the Monasteries were ready to be suppressed, in the Year 1538: moving the Bishop therein: whose Priory was within his Diocese. And for his better success with the King and *Crumwell*, he offered 500 Marks to the King, and 200 Marks more, as an acknowledgment of his Thanks, to the said Lord *Crumwell*. But that the Reader may more fully apprehend this Matter, I shall here give it in Bishop *Latymer*'s own Letter, where after a few Lines of another Affair, thus he addresseth himself.

A N N O
1536.

Latymer
moves for
continuing
Malvern
Priory. And
why.

' But now Sir, another Thing, that by your favour I might be a Motioner unto you, at the Request of an honest Man, the Prior of *Great Malvern* in my Diocese, though not of my Diocese; referring the success of the whole Matter to your only approved Wisdom, and benign Goodness in every Cause. For I do know that I do play the Fool. But with my Foolishness I somewhat act no unwise Man, and mitigate the Heaviness which I am bold to do with you. For that I know by Experience your Goodness, that you will bear with Fools in their Foolishness. This Man both heareth and feareth, as he saith, the Suppression of his House. Which though he will be conformable in all Points, to the King's Highness Pleasure, and yours once known, as both I advertised him, as also his bounden Duty is to be: Yet nevertheless, if he thought the Enterprize should not be mistaken, nor turn to any Displeasure, he would be an humble Suitor to your Lordship, and by the same to the King's good Grace, for the up-
 standing of his foresaid House, of the Continuance of the same to many good Purposes: Not in Monkeny, he meaneth: Not so, God forbid: but any other ways, as should be thought and seem good to the King's Majesty. As to maintain, touching Preaching, Study with Praying, and (to the which he is much given) good Housekeeping. For to the Virtue of Hospitality he hath been greatly inclined from his Beginning: and is very much commended in these Parties for the same.

This Letter to
the Lord
Crumwell.

' So that if CCCCC Mark to the King's Majesty, with CC Mark to your self, for your good will, might occasion the Promotion of his intent, at least wise for the Time of his Life, he doubteth not to make his Friends for the same; if so little could bring so much to pass. The Man is old, a good Housekeeper, feedeth many; and that daily. For the Country is poor, and full of Penury. And alas! my good

ANNO ' Lord, shall we not see two or three in every Shire changed to such
1536. ' Remedy?

' Thus, Lo! this honest Mans Importunity hath brought me beyond
' my Duty, saving for the Confidence and Trust, that I have always in
' your Benignity. As he hath knowledge from you, so he will prepare
' for you; ever obedient to your Advertisement. Sir *William Kyngston*
' can make Report of the Man. God prosper you, to the uttering all
' hollow Harts of *England*. Blessed be God, that worketh all. Whose
' Instrument you be, &c. 13. December.

H. L. Wigor.

Hist. Reform.
Book 1. p. 237.

This Matter the Author of the History of the Reformation briefly touched: where the Priory is miscalled *Malverine*.

Surrenders.

When the Monasteries were thus Visited, they were for the most part
Surrendered to the King by the Abbots, Abbesses, Priors and Prioresses
thereof respectively: Conscious of their Crimes, and willing to have
some Subsistence, the rather for their voluntary Submissions. The
Commissioners appointed to visit, duly sent in to the Lord Privy Seal
Accounts of what they did, and how they took their Surrenders, with
the Endowments and Revenues thereof, taking into their Hands all their
Convent Seals, Evidences and Muniments; to be sent up. For the
shewing this, I will add another Letter from some of these Visitors in
Kent.

The House of
Folkston,
Langdon, and
Dover surren-
dred.

' Right Worshipful Sir, it may please you to understand, that we
' receiving your Letters this present *Tuesday*, at night about Seven of
' the Clock, by the Hand of *John Antony* your Servant: Advertiseing
' you, that before the Receipt thereof, we have been at the Monasteries
' of *Langdon*, *Dover* and *Folkston*. And have taken a clear Surrender
' of every the said Monasteries, under their Convent Seal, being all re-
' cognized in their *Chapter Houses*, according to your Will and Com-
' mandment. Whereupon divers Tenants, belonging to the said Mo-
' nasteries, have openly attuned unto the King's Grace.

' Wee have also received into your Custody the Convent Seals of the
' said Monasteries: and have in like manner received all the Evidences
' belonging to the Monastery of *Langdon* and *Folkston*. And have
' likewise received Part of the Evidences, belonging to *Dover*: such
' as we thought most expedient. And the Residew we have put into
' a sure Chest; under the Lock whereof we have the Key in our
' Custody.

' Wee have also left the Chanons and Monks still in their Houses,
' without any clear Discharge of them. But have put them at their
' Liberty and Choise, whether they will abide their, untill the King's
' Graces Pleasure be further known therein. Or else to go from thence
' to their Friends. Whereof the most Part desire to have Capacity:
' and some to be assigned over to other Places of Religion. Which
' Monks and Chanons, at the time of the Receipt of the said Letters,
' as we trust and think, are remaining still in their Houses.

' Advertiseing your Masterhip further of the State of the said Mo-
' nasteries. First the House of *Langdon* is in sore Decay, and no
' manner of Grain, or other Victuals for the Relief of the House: the
' Abbot

Abbot thereof, as is reported, a very unthrifty ill Husband, and of evil Rule; and his Convent very ignorant, and poor.

1536.

The House of *Dover* is a goodly House, and well repaired in all Places, as far as we could perceive. And that the Prior, as it was reported unto us, found the House, at his first coming thither, indebted 900 l. and hath reduced and brought that to an 100, as it is said. Of whose own Case, divers of the honest Inhabitants of *Dover* shew themselves very sorry.

The House of *Folkston* is a little House well repaired. And the Priory a very honest Person, and a very good Husband, and no less beloved among the Neighbours, &c. And thus the Holy Ghost, &c. Written at *Canterbury*, the xvi. Day of *November*.

Your own, Thomas Bedyl.

Your Servant, Henry Polsted.

Your Servant, John Antony.

But these Religious People thus outed of their Houses, were not wholly left to shift for themselves, but had sparing Pensions allowed them for their Lives: and some had small Vicarages or Curacies presentable by their Houses, conferred on them. And this will be explained to us by a Letter of some of the Visitors to the Lord *Crumwell*, upon a Surrender made of *St. Andrews* in *Northampton*.

Pensions allowed to the Monks and Friars discharged.

It may please your Lordship to be advertised, that this Second Day of *March*, we have taken a Release, and a Deed of the Feoffment of the Monastery of *St. Androse* in *Northampton*, to the King's Use; and an humble Submission of the Priory and Convent, as we suppose, to the King's Honour and Contentation; referring our Diligence and Doing therein to your Judgment. Wee have also compounded with the whole Convent, for their Pensions, except the Prior and Subprior. Which desire to abide your Order in the Assignment of theirs.

A Feoffment of *St. Androse* to the King from that House.

Here enclosed, your Lordship may perceive our Order taken with the rest of the Convent; having a Respect therein to the Age, Quality and Discretion of the Persons. And by your Lordships better Advice, we think it expedient, the Pensions to be paid by the Hands of the particular Receiver of the suppressed Lands in this County of *Northampton*: And their Pensions payable at our *Lady Day* next ensuing. And for that Cause we have dispatched them with less Money in Hand. Wee have also assigned a Vicarage of 7 l. now at this time vacant, to one of the Convent, for his Pension. Which most humbly desireth to have Remission of the First Fruits thereof. Which we judge necessary to be granted by the King's Highness; lest the poor Man should begg in the mean time; the Thing being of so small Value, that every of them having this Pension, shall be in better Case, than he.

Their Pensions allotted by the Visitors.

In the Hall, Chambers ceiled, with the best Part of the Edifices; are covered with Lead. Whether the King's Pleasure is, we shall discover the same, or not, we desire to be certified by this Bringer.

For the Survey of the Lands, we shall do therein what we may. Wee find many Leases granted unto you by the old Prior, much unthrifty, with much tangulling [Tangling] and Business. With

we

A N N O ' we shall defer unto your Lordship at our Coming. Thus our Lord
 1536. ' send you long Life, with Encrease of Honour. From *Northampton*.
 ' By your Lordships most assured to Command,

William Parre.

Your Servant, *Rychard Layton* Priest.

Your poor and most bounden old Servant, *Robert Southwel*.

Your humble and obedient Servant, *Thomas Myldmay*.

Then follows,

An Order taken the 2. Day of March, the xxix Year of the Reign of our Sovereigne Lord King H E N R Y the Eygth, by his Hyghness Commissioners, with the Religious of th' late Monastery of St. Andrew the Apostle in Northampton; for their annual Pensions: Geven unto them only of the King's Charity, during the Term of their natural Lives. To begin at the Feast of th' Annunciation of our Lady next ensuing. As on his Grace's behalf is to them promised by the said Commissioners.

' First, *Francis Leyceter*, late Prior, and *Tho. Bettes*, Subprior of the said late Monastery, been by the said Commissioners respited till my Lord Privy Seal's Pleasure therein be known.

Thomas Smith of the Age of LII. Years for his Yearly Pension, — 4 l.

Thomas Gowlestone of the Age of L. Years, for his yearly Pension, — 4 l.

Robert Martin of the Age of XLI. Years, &c. ——— 4 l.

James Hopkins of the Age of LII. Years, &c. ——— 4 l.

Richard Bunbery of the Age of XL. Years, &c. ——— 4 l.

John Rose of the Age of XXXV. Years is assigned by the said Commissioners to the Vicarage of *St. Giles* in *Northampton*, being of the yearly Value of VII l. and of the Gift of the said Monastery, in Recompence of his yearly Pension.

John Harold of the Age of xxxii Years, ——— lxvi s. 8 d.

John Barber of the Age of xxxi. Years, ——— lxvi s. 8 d.

William Ward of the Age of xxix Years ——— liii s. 4. d.

Thomas Atbury of the Age of xxvii Years, ——— liii s. 4 d.

William Southcote of the Age of xxxi Years, ——— liii s. 4 d.

Signed,

William Parre. Richard Layton.

Robert Southwel. Tho. Myldmay.

Suiters for
these Re-
ligious Houses,
and the Re-
venues of
them.

And when vast and immense Treasures were now flowing in to the Crown from these Houses, richly endowed, many of them; there wanted not Suitors to obtain some Shares of the Wealth for themselves. And the Lord *Crummel*, to whom many made their Addresses for his favourable Recommendation of them to the King, they made acquainted both with their Merits and their Needs. Divers of this Sort

of

of Letters are still extant in our *Archives*. One or Two whereof I A N N O will set down from their *Autographs*.

1536.

One shall be of Sir *Tho. Eliot* Kt. a very Learned Man, as his Books still extant do testify; (and a great Acquaintance of Sir *Tho. More*) who had been the King's Ambassador to *Rome*. He thought his former Services had deserved some Compensation from the King, especially his Domestick Concerns being somewhat strait. But it was an Objection made to him by *Crumwel*, that he was lookt upon to be somewhat on the Pope's Side. And having prefaced thus much, we come to the Letter of this great and wise Man, Which, as a lasting Remembrance of him, follows.

My most special good Lord: Whereas by your continual Exercise in weighty Affairs, also frequent Access of Suitors unto your good Lordship; I could not find Opportunity to give to your Lordship due and convenient Thanks for your Honourable and gentle Report to the King's Majesty on *Wednesday* last pass in my Favour: I am now constrained to supply with my Pen my said Duty; offering unto your Lordship all hearty Love and Service that a poor Man may owe and bear unto his good Lord, and approved Friend. Which altho' Hability lacking in me, I cannot expresse by any Benefit, your Wisdom notwithstanding, which I have always honoured and trusted, will I doubt not, accept my good Intent; being, I thank God, ever sincere and without Flattery, and evil Dissimulation; I wishing unto your Lordship the Honourable Desires of your Heart, with the continual Favour of God, and of your Prince.

Sir Thomas Eliot to the Lord Crumwel, for some suppressed Lands.

My Lord, forasmuch, as I suppose, that the King's most gentle Communications with me, and also his most comfortable Reports unto the Lords of me, proceeded of your afore remembred Recommendations; I am animate to importune your good Lordship with most hearty Desires to continue my good Lord, in augmenting the King's good Estimation of me. Whereof I promise you before God, your Lordship never shall have Cause to repent. And where I perceive, that ye suspect, that I favour not truly Holy Scripture, I would God, that the King and you might see the most secret Thoughts of my Heart. For ye should then perceive, that the Order of Charity saved, I have in as much Detestation, as any Man living, all vain Superstitions, superfluous Ceremonies, slanderous Janglings, counterfeit Miracles, arrogant Usurpations of Men, called *Spiritual*, and masking Religions, and all other Abusions of Christ's Holy Doctrine and Laws. And as much I joy at the King's godly Proceedings to the due Reformation of the said Enormities, as any his Graces poor Subjects living.

And therefore, I beseech your good Lordship now to lay apart the Remembrance of the Amity betwixt me and Sir *Tho. More*, which was but *usq; ad Aras*, as is the Proverb: Considering, that I was never so much addicted unto him, as I was unto Truth, and Fidelity towards my Sovereign Lord, as God is my Judge. And therefore my special Trust and only Expectation is, to be holpen by the Means of your Lordship. And natural Shamefastness more reigneth in me, than is necessary; so that I would not press to the King's Majesty without your Lordship's Assistance: unto whom I have sin-

dry

ANNO 1536. dry Times declared mine Indigence, and whereof it hath happened. I therefore most humbly desire you, my special good Lord, so to bring me into the Kings most Noble Remembrance, that of his most bounteous Liberality it may like his Highness to reward me with some convenient Portion of the *suppressed Lands*: Whereby I may be able to continue my Life according to that honest Degree, whereunto his Grace hath called me. And that your Lordship forget not, that neither of his Grace, nor of any other Person, I have Fee, Office, Pension or Farm; nor have any Manner of Lucre or Advantage, besides the Revenue of my poor Lands, which are but small; and no more than I may therewith maintain my poor House.

And if by your Lordship's Mean I may achieve good Effect of my Suit, your Lordship shall not find me ingrate. And whatsoever Portion of Land that I shall attain by the King's Grace, I promise to give to your Lordship the First Year's Fruit, with my assured and faithful Heart and Service. This Letter I have written, because that I heard that your Lordship went to the Court. And as for my first Suit, I shall, at your Lordship's better Leisure, recontinue it: Trusting in your Lordship's Favour therein. Written at my House by *Smithfield* this *Monday*.

Your most bounden,

T. ELYOT, Kt.

Audley, Lord
Chancellor
sues for St.
Osiths.

Tho. Audley, Lord Chancellor, made his Address likewise to the Lord *Crumwel*, to obtain (as it seems) the Abbey of *St. Osiths* in *Essex* for him, considering the Burthen and Charge of his Office the King had put him in; who had given him the House and Parks only during Pleasure. His Letter ran in this Form. After my right hearty Commendations to your good Lordship, I send to you a true Copy of the Value of the Goods of *St. Osyes*, and of the Particularities thereof, delivered to me by *Myldmay*, the Auditor, one of the Commissioners. Whereby your Lordship may perceive the Contents of all the same Goods, with the Estimate of Lead and Bells. I was not at the Dissolution of the House, nor have a Penny-worth of the Goods: but I think the Commissioners have served the King's Majesty both honestly and truly. The Commissioners were Sir *John Seynteler*, Sir *Will. Pyrton*, *Mildmay* and *Jobson*: Which be Two of the Court of Augmentation; and a Master of the Chancery with them, to take the Surrendry.

Indeed I sent for the Abbot before the Dissolution, and induced him to yield the House to the King's Majesty, with his good Will: And that he should exhort his Convent, to conform to the same. Who by my Advice and Exhortation conformed themselves, as humble Subjects without Murmur or Grudge. Wherein I trust, I have not for my Part, served the King's Highness amiss.

And now I beseech your good Mastership to further my Suit. His Majesty granted all my Suit in Effect, during his Grace's Pleasure. And my Bill is for Term of Life. There be Offices and Fees, that must be given. And I trust to serve his Grace honestly in them. I have no Fee nor Office of his Highness, but the Chancellorship.

And

‘ And altho’ that be high and honourable, yet it is cumbrous and chargeable. Praying your Lordship to know his Majesty’s Pleasure of this little Suit. To the Intent I may know the End thereof: Whereby your good Lordship shall administer to me a right great Pleasure and Quietness, &c. *ANNO 1536.*

‘ I hartily desire your Lordship’s good Will, to put me to an End and Quietness in this Matter. And for the Travail your Lordship takes in my Suits at this Time, I will, according to my last Letter, give you xx*l.* towards your Pains, and my poor hartly good Will, during my Life, &c. Thus fare your good Lordship as well, and with as long Life as I would my self. Scribled at *Esston*, at the Earl of *Essex* his House, the xii. Day of *August*. Thanks be to our Lord, the Countrey is in good Order and Quietness about me, and there where I have been, and begin to fall to good Quietness without Contention.

Your Lordship’s assured to his Power,
THOMAS AUDELEY, Chancellor.

Whether *Audeley* obtained *St. Osyth’s*, or some Benefits of it only, I cannot tell: which afterwards was the Seat of the Lord *Darcy of Chich.* But Two other rich Monasteries became his: Namely, the Priory of *Christ’s Church*, or the Holy Trinity within *Algate*; *London*: And that of *Saffron Waldon*. Whereon he built that most stately Edifice, called by his own Name; *Viz. Audeley End.*

But the most commendable Suit I find made for one or more of these Foundations, was that of a Lord Maior of *London*, viz. Sir *Richard Gresham*. Whose Desire of them proceeded from a truly good Principle, and shewed him to have been a worthy Magistrate, and that consulted for the Publick Good: Namely, that the great City of *London* might be provided with some convenient Place or Places for the harbouring of poor, needy, diseased People, or Vagrants to be employed and set on Work. And particularly for the Grant of certain antient Hospitals in or near *London*, to be set apart for that Purpose. The Letter of the said Maior was not directed to the King’s above said great Officer and Vicegerent, but the King himself. Which deserving to be preserved and recorded, I here present from the Original.

‘ Most redoubted; puissant and noble Prince, my most dread, beloved, and natural Sovereign Lord, I your poor, humble and most obedient Servant, considering, and ever more and more perceiving by your virtuous Beginnings and charitable Proceedings in all your Causes, your Person and Majesty Royal to be the elected and chosen Vessel of God: By whom not alone the very and true Word of God is, and shall be set forth, and according to the Truth and Verity of the same; but also to be he whom God hath constituted and ordained, to redress and reform all Crimes, Offences and Enormities, being repugnant to his Doctrine, or to the Detriment of the Commonwealth, and Hurt of the poor People, being your natural Subjects; and further to foresee, and vigilantly to provide for the charitable Reformation of the same. Which Thing hath, and yet doth encourage me; and also my bounden Duty

The Lord Mayor sueth to the King for the Hospitals.
His Letter for obtaining the same to the King. Cleopatra E. 4.

VOL. I. M m obligeth

A N N O 1536. obligeth me in special, being most unworthy your Lieutenant, and Maior of your City Royal of *London*, to inform and advertise your most Gracious Highness of one thing in special, for the Aid and Comfort of the poor, sick, blind, aged and impotent Persons, being not able to help themselves, nor having no Place certain, where they may be refreshed or lodged at, till they be holpen and cured of their Diseases and Sickneses.

So it is, most Gracious Lord, that near, and within the City of *London*, be three Hospitals, or *Spittals*, commonly called, *St. Mary Spittal*, *St. Barthnew's Spittal*, and *St. Thomas Spittal*; and the *New Abby of Tower Hill*; Founded of good Devotion by auncient Faders; and endowed with great Possessions and Rents, only for the Relief, Comfort and Helping of the poor and impotent People, not being able to help themselves; and not to the Maintenance of Chanons, Priests and Monks, to live in Pleasure; nothing regarding the miserable People, lying in every Street, offending every clean Person, passing by the Way, with their filthy and nasty Savours.

Wherefore may it please your marcifull Goodness, enclined to Pity and Compassion, for the Relief of Christs very Images, created to his own Similitude; to order by your high Authority, as Supreme Head of this Church of *England*, or otherwise by your sage Discretion, that your Maior of the City of *London*, and his Brethren, the Aldermen for the Time being, shall and may for henceforth, have the Order, Disposition, Rule and Governance, both of all the Lands, Tenements and Revenues appertaining and belonging to the said Hospitals, and every of them; and of the Ministers, which be, or shall be, within every of them. And then your Grace shall plainly perceive, that where now a small Number of Chanons, Priests and Monks be found for their own Profit only, and not for the common Utility of the Realm, a great Number of poor, needy, sickly and indigent Persons shall be refreshed, maintained and comforted, and also healed and cured of their Infirmities, frankly and freely, by Physicians, Surgeons and Potecaries: Which shall have stipend and salary only for that Purpose. So that all impotent Persons, not hable to Labour, shall be relieved; and all sturdy Beggars, not willing to Labour, shall be punished.

For the which doing, your Grace shall not alonely merit highly towards God, but shew your self to be more charitable to the Poor, than your noble Progenitor King *EDGAR*, Founder of so many Monasteries; or King *HENRY III.* Renewer of *Westminster*, or King *EDWARD III.* Founder of the *New Abby*, or King *HENRY V.* Founder of *Shene*; but also shall have the Name of Conservator, Protector and Defender of the poor People; with their continual Prayer for your Health, Wealth and Prosperity long to endure.

Your humble and most obedient Servant,

RYCHARD GRESHAM.

The

The abovementioned King *Edgar*, the great Monastery Founder, A N N O
1536. reminded me of *Ramsay* Abby of his Foundation. Where was remaining at the Dissolution of it, among the Muniments, the original Charter of King *Edgar*, in such antique Characters as could scarce be read by *Bedyl*, the Visitor. Which being such a Piece of Antiquity, he concluded would be very acceptable to acquaint the Lord *Crumwell* with: And the Letter of the Visitor concerning it, I would not let go, without joyning it with the rest, for the sake of our Antiquarians now Living. To whom such Remains will find Acceptance.

‘ Please it you to understand, that in the reading of the Muniments and Charters of the House of *Ramsay*, I found a Charter of King *Edgar*, written in a very antique *Roman* Hand, hardly to be read at the first Sight, and light enough after that a Man hath found out 6 or 7 Words; after comparing Letter to Letter. I am sure you would delight to see the same, for the Strangeness and Antiquity thereof. In the End thereof is subscribed this;

Signum Æ D G A R I Incliti & serenissimi Anglorum Imperatoris. ✠
‘ Whereby it may be well noted, that after his Conquest the said King wrote himself to be *Emperor of England*. Item, it is to be noted of the Subscription of the said Charter, that in *England* were Six Dukes at that time. For they subscribe this.

Ego Alfwold Dux.

Ego Oslac Dux.

Ego Athelstan Dux.

Ego Britbmoth Dux.

Ego Alfre Dux.

Ego Ethe weard Dux.

‘ And at that Time the King had two Sons, *Edward* and *Ethelred*. Which be subscribed not as Dukes, but under this manner;

Signum Edwardi ejusdem Regis Filij.

Signum Ethelredi fratris ejus.

‘ I have seen also there a Charter of King *Edward*, written after the Conquest. Which beginnieth thus, *In onomate summi Kyriou*. And soon after the same, he writeth this:

‘ *Ego Edwardus totius Albionis Dei moderante Gubernatione, Archiepis, Epis, Abbatibus, Centenaris, cunctisq; sanctæ, fidelis Ecclesiæ Clericis & Laicis, insuper & omnibus post me futuris, Regibus, Salutem, perpetuamq; pacis felicitatem.* Whereby ye may note, that King *Edward* nameth himself of all *Albion*, both, and by the Name of *England*.

‘ Also in the said Charter is written this. *Imprimis Ecclesiam beate Dei genetricis, quæ Ramisæ nuncupatur, ita liberam & quietam, tam ab omni Exactione Episcopali, quam a Seculari esse volo. Ut neq; nos, neq; successores nostri, neq; quilibet Epus, neq; quicumq; de judiciaria potestate in ipsam sanctam Basilicam, vel in manentes in ipsa, vel in homines, qui cum suis Terris, quibuscumq; substantiis, ad ipsam tradendam vel devovend. Se voluerint, nisi per voluntatem Abbatis & suorum omnium Monachorum, ullam unquam habeant Potestatem.*

A N N O

1536.

‘ Of this may be noted, that if King *Edward*, by his Kingly Power could except this Monastery of *Ramsay* from all Bishops Powers, the King’s Grace may as well all other Abbies, or as many as he will, from the Bishops Powers.

‘ And to this Charter subscribed four Dukes, *Leovricus, Haroldus, Leofwinus, & Eadwinus*.

‘ Further, in the said Charter, when I overlooked it again, I noted these Words following, *Ipse Abbas soli Regi Serviens, atq; ei soli Os ad os respondens, commissum sibi gregem, Spirituali & Temporalis pastu, abundantius foveret. Solum Regi ergo, nulli alii subiectus*.

‘ For which Goodness of Kings to this House above all other, in my Opinion they be most bounden to do their Love, Faith and Obedience to the King’s Grace, above other Religious Houses, which be not so exempted only to the King, immediately. And as far as I can yet perceive, the Abbot and his Brethren here, be as well contented to renounce all the Bishop of *Rome* his usurped Jurisdiction, and to accept the King’s Grace for the Supreme Head of the Church of *England*, as any Man may be. And the Abbot caused to be shewed, after my coming hither, his Charter of King *Edgar* in the Parish Church, in the Pulpit, to the Multitude of the Parish. Whereby was declared, that the King’s Grace is Emperor of this his Realm, as King *Edgar* was. Which was Token of a good Mind.

‘ What I shall further do, or find here, or in other Places worthy writing, I shall ascertain you from time to time. To whom I hartily commend me to be had in your Remembrance, in this my long Absence. From the Abbey of *Ramsay*, the xiii. Day of *January*.

By your own,

THOMAS BEDYL.

This Letter he sent to the Lord *Crumwel* by his Nephew *Richard Crumwel*, also a Visitor in those Parts.

A few Days after in another Letter writ by the same Visitor, the Regularity, Sobriety and Obedience of the Monks of this House, is shewed to *Crumwel*, and of their Desire to be discharged: A Matter the more to be remarked, so much Wickedness and Impiety, and such Zeal for the Papal Power over that of the King, rendring them of the Convents so obnoxious *Bedyl’s* Words of these *Regulaars* are these.

Commendation of the Abbey of *Ramsay*.

‘ In my hearty wise I commend me unto you; doing you to understand that I am now at *Ramsay*. Where in mine Opinion the Abbey and Convent be as true and as faithful Obedientiaries unto the King’s Highness, as any Religious Folks in this Realm, and live as uprightly as any other after the best Sort of Living, that hath been among Religious Folks these many Years. That is to say, No more given to Ceremonies than is necessary. I pray God, I may find other Houses in no worse Condition: And then I would be right glad that I took the Journey, &c. Here in the Monastery of *Ramsay* be Two Brethren, which have given their Bills inclosed unto me, very effectuous, desiring to have Liberty to go from their Cloister by the King’s Grace his Authority; or else to have License to

to repair to my Lord of *Canterbury*, to sue their Capacities. [These *Capacities* were Faculties to go out of their Cloisters:] I have stayed them as well as I can, with such Counsels and Exhortations as I could give them. But I fear, if they can have no Liberty granted, they will take it of their own Authority. I beseech you to write a Word or Two, how I shall behave my self towards them, and all other; which will make like Suit in no small Numbers, as I think. Whereof some Occasions hath been given by that Dr. *Lee*, now at *Christmas*, gave Liberty to half the House of *Sawtre* to depart, as I am informed. Which *Sawtre* is within Five Miles of *Ramsay*. The Religious Men think, that I have like Authority with Dr. *Lee*; and that moveth them to make this Suit. Nevertheless I will no longer do therein; or presume such high Matters without your Authority and Counsel; beseeching you to write your Mind in this Behalf; and to such other Things which you would have me do in this Journey.

Shall I add one Letter more from some of these Visitors: Which will further open Matters in this notable Visitation of the religiously professed Sort. As we have seen, how compliant some of them were, so we may find some of them more refractory, refusing to be visited, and questioning their Authority. This the following Letter from *Legh* to *Crumwel* will explain, and shew, in the Visitation of *Fountains* and *Rivax*.

Pleasith your Mastership to be advertised, that according to your Commandment, with most Diligence I have delivered your Letter, also at Times most convenient referred unto the King's Commissioner at *Rivax*, with such Credence as your Pleasure and Equity would. Which upon the Abbot of *Funtanes* Part, was but lightly regarded; and plainly expressed of the same: That such Letters as I delivered and Credence related, was from Mr. *Crumwel* only, and not from the King's Highness. Whereupon by the Counsils of Dr. *Spenser* and *Royear* a Proctor, after evident Proof by Witnesses, and the Abbot of *Rivax* Confession published; the said Abbot among other Parts, did lay this Expression, *Quod rigore Literarum nullo Commissionariis, nec ullorum alicui competit, aut Competere potest contra præfatum Abbatem de Rivalle; pro eo Videlicet: & ex eo, quod dict. Literæ Regiæ fuerint, & sunt dolosè surreptitiæ, quod tacita Veritate, & expressa falsitate, per dolum & fraudem, ac hujusmodi Sereniss. Principis nostri circumventionem impetratæ.* Who in his Obstinacy and perverse Mind, adhering to the Rules of Religion, as he said, departed from *Rivax*, and would not according to your Letters, there remain, for the Accomplishment of the King's Commandment; notwithstanding that I oftentimes desired him, and commanded him in the King's Name to tarry, and make Process according to Justice, without further delay: Not only in him at this time is so radicate, but also in many of that Religion, as in the Abbot of *Rywax*, writing this Letter here enclosed to the Slauder of the King's Highness. And after the King's Letter, did imprison, and otherwise punish divers of his Brethren, which were against him, and his dissolute Living.

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Some refuse the Visitors, and question their Authority.

The Abbot of *Fountain's* Rejection of *Crumwel's* Letters.

Abbot of *Rivax*.

Also,

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‘ Also, did take from one of the same, being a very aged Man, all his Money; which he should have made his *Jubilee* withall.

‘ That as Persons, nothing regarding God, and very little our great Master, the King, under pretence of the Rules of their Religion, live as Persons solute, *ab omni lege, seu Obedientia, & Deo & Regi debita*: Being aboutwards, as it seemeth to rule the King by their Rules. Which is a perverse Order, that so noble a Head should be ruled by so putrid and most rotten Members. *Sed Cato inquit, obsta Principiis.* All the Countrey make Exclamation of this Abbot of *Rywax*, upon his abominable Living and Extortions by him committed; also many Wrongs to divers miserable Persons. Which evidently do appear by Bill corroborate; to be true; with their Oaths corporal in the Presence of the Commissioners and the said Abbot taken. And upon the same Sixteen Witnesses examined, affirming their Exclamations to be true.

‘ Therefore *Tempore jam instante*, the King’s Majesty considered; whom they have knowledged to be *supremum Caput totius Ecclesie Anglicane*; the Honour of my Lord of Rutland, in this Business, remembred, your Worship, and also our poor Honesty not forgotten; they would either quickly be lookt upon, and shortly; or else their dissolute Living, their rebellious Demeanor shall every Day increase more and more, to the Displeasure of God, Disquietness of the King’s Prerogative, and Reproach scandalous of their Religion, with Trouble of such Countrey as they are inhabited in.

‘ The Abbot of *Fountane* had Knowledge at his being at *Rywax*; the Earl of *Cumberland* to have Parties in a Commission to enquire upon his Demeanors. Which caused in their Business to play Two Parts. *Nam tunc sua res agitur, Paries cum proximus ardet.*

‘ These Premises considered, I trust ye will think him not worth to be Visitor of his Religion any longer by the King’s Authority. And in this Case of the Abbot of *Rywax*, the other Commissioners proceeded according to the Law, and your Credence by me to them related; and condignly have removed from the Rule of his Abbacy, and Administration of the same. With my slow writing I beseech you to take no Displeasure. And at the Cause thereof, I shall at my coming to *London*, make true relation unto you.. Written in hast, the First Day of *September*. From *Belver*,

By your Servant,

THOMAS LEIGH.

‘ I pray you note these presumptuous Minds, most alienate from Religion; having nothing of their own, ne may have their Accounts made. Which only to be called an Abbacie, will contend contrary to their Obedience with the King’s Highness, the Founders, and all other; to the great Slaunder of the Religion, Disquietness and extreme Cost and Charge of the House.

Now that I may bring the Things of this Nature together, I shall here shew the Consultations that were entred into, some time before, concerning the Retrenching, or wholly taking away of the Revenues of the Clergy, and the Religious; considering, how strongly inclined the

the most Part of them were towards the Authority of the Pope in these Realms, and their Backwardness to acknowledge the King Supreme Head. By which course might accrue vast Wealth to the King, and many others about him: that hoped hereby to enrich themselves: and withal chiefly, and in the first Place, be a Means of laying aside many gross Superstitions, practised in the Worship of God, and bringing to pass a Reformation of Religion so much desired.

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And here follow some Writings, preparatory to a Suppression, containing matters to be deliberated upon by those whom it concerned. And this was one, drawn up by one without a Name, but by the Hand I verily believe it to be done by Dr. *Richard Cox*, a very memorable Man, afterward Tutor to Prince *Edward*, Dean of *Westminster*, and lastly Bishop of *Ely*. He grounds his following Discourse upon the Probability of the Fall of *Turcism*, and the Hopes of the further Propagation of the Christian Religion; and the necessity of Unity and Concord of *Christendom*. And the way to that, a Reformation of the Abuses introduced into it. The Paper follows, as I transcribe it out of the Original.

Deliberation
about suppression
of Abbies.

‘ It is very like, that *Mabomet’s* Sect shall shortly be destroyed, and the People converted to Christ’s Faith. And that cannot be, but that Peace be first had and established in Christen Realms; and that good Reformation be had of such Things as have been brought in against the Purity and Truth of Christen Religion. For what should it profit to have them converted thurgh the Abusions among Christen Men? They should be brought after their Conversion to greater Damnation, than they should have been before. For that would be like to the Words of our Master Christ, which he spake to the *Pharisees*, *Matthew* xxiii. when he said, that they went about by Lond and Sea to make a Profelyte: And that when they had done so, they made him the Son of Hell double more than themselves.

A Writing
drawn up by
way of Advice
about it.
Cleopatra E. 4.

‘ And among other things, the Abundance of the Possessions, and the Riches of the Clergy, would be reformed. For as long as they live so far from the Example of Christ and the Apostles, as they have done in times past, it will be hard to bring the People fully to follow their Doctrine. And howbeit, I mean not therefore, that I would that the Clergy should live only by Almes of the People, and in extreme Poverty, but that they should have sufficient without Abundance: whereby they might quietly and meekly exercise their spiritual Ministration to the People, according to their Duty. And forasmuch as the worldly Honour and Riches of the Clergy have been greatly born up in time past by the Power of *Rome*, which now, thanked be our Lord, is avoided out of this Realm, and so with his Mercy shall continue for ever; it is to trust, that the Clergy will now, of their own free Will, relinquish and forsake the great Burthen that they have had in time past by great Abundance, to the great Let and Hindrance of their spiritual Ministration, as is touched before. And that Party will also froforth by diligent Prayer, own to have all other Abusions and untrue Doctrines universally reformed thurgh the Realm. And if the King’s Grace, with the said Abundance, will cause some notable Acts to be done for the Commonwealth, and for the Ministration of Justice; as, to set vagrant Vagabonds to Labour, and to relieve such as be

The Abun-
dance of the
Clergy to be
reformed.

ANNO 1536. Works of Charity to be done therewith.

poor and impotent, and may not Labour : To new-build Towns and Villages decayed : To turn the unprofitable Numbers of Parks to Tillage : To make Highways thurgh the Realm, where need requireth : And to do such other good Deeds : Hee shall undoubtedly highly please our Lord thereby : And also get to himself a right Gracious Name thurgh all Christen Realms. And if they will not with their Consent, God will do it. The King by his Parliament may in this Case with good Conscience compel them to it.

And if the Emperor would do likewise, it is very like, that they Two should in short Time convert all the Countries that be toward the Turk, with much less Daunger and Cost, than how Men would esteem it could be done.

And for Supplies of the Crown.

Furthermore, as it seemeth the King's Grace hath already, that is sufficient for the Crown in Time of Peace ; but if War should happen, (which our Lord prohibit) it would not suffice without Aid of the People. And therefore if the King should take into his Crown the said Abundance, it should be also to him more than needed in Time of Peace. And forasmuch as that Abundance might happen sometime to lack sure keeping, it should follow thereupon, that in Time of Need the People should be loth to bear Charges, because the Treasure of this Realm was negligently spent ; and what Danger might follow thereupon, no Man can tell. And tho' it be not like that such mispending should happen in the King's Time, yet it might be that such Chance should happen after his Decease. And Rulers of Commonalties are not only bound to do that in them is, to prevent Daungers that might come to the People, that they have Rule of in their own Time, but are bounden also to do that in them durably is, to prevent all Daungers that might come to the People after their Death, even to the End of the World.

Wherefore it seemeth to sound more to the Pleasure of God, to the Honour of the King, and to the Surety of Peace, and Tranquility of the Realm in Time to come, that the said Abundance be disposed in such charitable Uses as I have before rehearsed, than that the King should take it all into his Crown. And the Builders of the said Towns and Parks to have such sufficient Recompence of the said Abundance, that they shall be very well contented to build without grudging. And if the King's Grace do thus, then if it should happen any Man hereafter to say, as peradventure some will, that it is Pity, that such a House, or such, is suppressed ; it may be answered, and of Likelihood may be answered, that the Building again of such a Town, or such, or laying to Tillage of such a Park, is more to the Honour of God, and to the more Profit and more Surety of the Realm, than the standing of an House of Religion suppressed was, when it was in his highest Prosperity.

And this should seem to be the exalting and lifting up of the Son of a noble Mother, that is spoken of in a little Writing, that beginneth thus, *consurget furor contra Simplicem*, &c. Which writing, tho' it be not of Authority, yet I suppose verily, that it is true.

Conjecture of a certain Writing, propheticall.

And in the latter End of the said Writing, it is said thus, *Filius inclytæ Matris feliciter sublimabitur, & in Manibus ejus Potestas & Gloria. In utraque Insula fiet Pax Diebus ipsius, & Orrea [Horrea]*

Gleba

gleba implebunt. And those Words may, it seems, be conveniently applied to Queen *Elizabeth*, Mother to the King; and to the King himself; and also to Londs and Islonds. A N N O
1536.

And first, that the said Queen *Elizabeth*, [*Viz.* King *Henry VII.* his Queen] was a noble Mother, and a noble Woman, it may appear thus. She was the right Heir to the Bloud Royal of the *Saxons*, that were many Years Kings of this Realm. And she was also right Heir to *William Conqueror*, Duke of *Normandy*, that by his Conquest was King of this Realm. And over these, she was also right Heir to the Crown of *France*. And she was also Daughter to a King, Sister to a King, Wife to a King, and Mother to a King; and also to two Queens. And she was also noble in Virtue, and blessedly she departed out of this Life: And that in the Love of all the People, and to the great Heaviness and Lamenting of them all.

And may it not then be truly said, that she was a noble Mother? And, thanking be to our Lord, Peace is now in *England* and *Ireland*. And so it is very like to be, during the King's Life. And so it is very like, the Plenty of Corn shall be in both the said Countries. Wherefore, me seemeth, the very Words may conveniently be applied and expounded in such manner, as I have before rehearsed. And there is nothing that will more apparently make the said Application to appear true, than if the King's Grace will build Townes, and avoid Parks, for Encrease of the People. For it is said, *Proverbs xiv. In the Multitude of People, is the Glory of a King.* And also our Lord said, *Proverbs viij. My delight is to be with the Sons of Men.* Wherefore it should seem, that he doth much to the Pleasure of God, that doth, or causeth to be done, any notable Act, whereby the People of God, with whom he hath delight to be, is increased.

It is therefore very like, that if the King's Grace will increase his People, whereby the Delight of God, and the Glory also of himself shall be encreased, that the same Words, *Filius inclytæ Matris feliciter sublimabitur*, may for the Causes before remembred, be conveniently taken and understand to be spoken precisely of him.

The foresaid Writing, seems to have been some pretended Prophecy spread about in these times, perhaps by some of the Monks, Illwillers to the King and his Proceedings, which this Writer converted to a more favourable Interpretation on the King's Part.

Another Paper, in order to a Suppression of Monasteries, and diminishing the Revenues of the Bishops and Secular Clergy also, was drawn up, shewing the Convenience thereof, upon a more Politic Account; and was presented, I suppose, to *Crumwel*, being found among his Papers. Which bore this Title.

Another Paper in order to a Suppression.

Things to be moved to the King's Highness, for an Increase and Augmentation to be had, for Maintenance of his most Royal State; and for the Defence of his Realm, and necessary to be provided, for taking away the Excess; which is the great Cause of the Abuses in the Church. A Project for increasing the King's Revenues out of the Church.

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1536.

‘ First, that it may be provided by Authority of Parliament, by an Act in due Form to be made, that the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, for Maintenance of his State, shall have M M. [*i. e.* Two Thousand] Marks yearly; and not above. And that all the Residue of the Possessions, as pertaining to the said Archbishoprick, may be made sure to the King’s Highness and his Heirs, for the Defence of his Realm, and Maintenance of his Royal State.

‘ *Item*, that it may be likewise provided, that the Archbishop of *York* may have M. l. [*i. e.* a Thousand Pounds] yearly, and not above, for the Maintenance of his State. And the Residue to be to the King and his Heirs, in Form abovesaid.

‘ *Item*, That it be likewise provided, that every Bishop, that may dispend above a M. [Thousand] Marks yearly, to have assigned to him one M. Marks, but not above, for Maintenance of his Degree. And the Residue to the King, in Form abovesaid.

‘ *Item*, That his Highness may have further Maintenance of the State of the Supreme Head of the Church of *England*, to him, and to his Heirs, the *First Fruits* of every Bishoprick, Benefice, Dignity or Promotion Spiritual, for one Year next after every Vacation thereof; of whose Gift soever it be. And that the *First Fruits* to the Bishop of *Norwich* may cease, and no longer be paid, but to the King.

‘ *Item*, That the King’s Highness may have to him and to his Heirs, for the Maintenance of his Royal State, and theirs, all the Lands and Possessions of Monasteries, Abbies, Priories, and Houses of Religion, or Conventual; whereof the Number in any one House, is, or of late hath been less than a Covent, that is to say, under 13 Persons.

‘ *Item*, That in such Abbies and Monasteries of Monks, and other Religious Men, where the Number is above a Covent, be it provided, that for every Monk, being a Priest, there may be assigned of the Possessions of the House X. Mark; and for every Novice, not being a Priest, V. l. And to every Abbot, or Governor of his House, as much of the Possessions of his House in yearly Value, as the whole Convent shall have assigned among them all. To the Intent, that every such Abbot or Governor shall keep Hospitality, and the Reparations of his House. And the Residue of the Possessions of the House to be to the King, and to his Heirs.

‘ *Item*, If Abbies and Monasteries of Religious Women be above a Convent; be it provided, that every Nun of the House may have assigned to them for their finding yearly X. Marks. And the Abbess or Princess to have yearly as much as all the Nuns for Hospitality, and to the Reparation of the House. And the Residue to be to the King, and his Heirs.

‘ *Item*, That the King’s Highness may have the Moyety, and Halfendale of the Dividends in every Cathedral or Collegiate Church. And the other Moyety to go to the Residents, as it been accustomed.

‘ *Item*, That the King’s Highness and his Heirs may have the Third Part of the Revenue of every Archdeaconry within the Realm.

‘ *Item*,

‘ *Item*, That the Lord of St. *John's*, during his Life, may have one *A N N O*
‘ M. [*i. e.* Thousand] Marks, and not above. And the Residue of the 1536.
‘ Revenue to the King and to his Heirs. And immediately after the
‘ Decease of the said Lord of St. *John's*, to the King's Highness, to
‘ have all the whole Lands and Possessions, now appertaining to the
‘ said Lord of St. *John's*: and likewise all the Lands and Possessions of
‘ every *Commandry*, after the Decease of the Knights now living, and
‘ being in Possession thereof. To the Intent, that his Highness, after
‘ these Possessions shall fall and come into his Hands, may with the
‘ Profit thereof, devise and practise for the Maintenance of his Estate
‘ and his Children; and for Invasion, Defence and Enterprize against
‘ the *Irish* Men.

The Act for
the Dissolu-
tion of this
Order, was in
Year 1540.

‘ *Item*, That Justice may be truly and indifferently ministred by the
‘ Kings only Ministers and Officers, to all the King's Subjects; that all
‘ Franchises and Liberties to any Archbishoprick, Bishoprick, Cathedral
‘ Church, Church Collegiat, Monastery, Priory or other House, Con-
‘ ventual or Cathedral, may be resumed and annexed to the Crown for
‘ ever; Court Barons and Leets only excepted.

‘ And over this, that his Highness may have, as well towards the
‘ Charge of the Wars now present and begun, for the Defence of
‘ *Ireland*, [which happened *Anno* 1535.] as for the making of the
‘ Haven of *Dover*; and divers Piles, Fortresses, Blockhouses and other
‘ Munitions against *Scotland*, and other Confines of the Realm, neces-
‘ sary for the Surety and Defence thereof, these Rates following.

‘ First, of every Spiritual Person that may expend xx *l.* or above,
‘ 4 *s.* of the Pound, to be paid in two Years: that is to say, 2 *s.* of
‘ the Pound.

‘ *Item*, Of every Spiritual Person that may dispend under xx *l.* 2 *s.*
‘ of the Pound: that is to say, 12 *d.* one Year, and 12 *d.* another.

‘ *Item*, Of every Temporal Person, that may dispend in Land xx *l.*
‘ or above, or be worth in moveable Substance 100 *l.* or above, 2 *s.*
‘ of every Pound in two Year, that is to say, 12 *d.* every Year.

‘ *Item*, Of every Temporal Person that may spend xl *s.* or above,
‘ and under xx *l.* or be worth in moveable Substance, vi *l.* or above,
‘ and under x *l.* 12 *d.* in the Pound, in two Years, that is to say, 6 *d.*

‘ *Item*, That all Strangers inhabited, and resiant in the Realm, to
‘ pay double the Rate of the King's Temporal Subjects.

This Paper seems to have been drawn up to be laid before a Par-
liament. And it may appear hence, that the Statesmen were now
meditating to advance the King's Revenues by all Ways and Means,
though others in very great Numbers suffered, especially the Spirituality,
thereby; by withdrawing great Quantities of the Means settled upon
them from antient Times, to keep up their State, and maintain Hos-
pitality. And not only the Monasteries were to feel their Punishment,
where much Superstition and Wickedness was practised, but the Arch-
bishops and Bishops and all other dignified Churchmen were to bear
their Shares. Though all did not so roundly and fully yet take place,
as this Scheme propounded.

And for the same End and Purpose, *Viz.* for the Increase of the
King's Royal Estate, by advancing his Revenues, the Parliament had
given him the *First Fruits* and *Tenths* of all Ecclesiastical Preferments

Commission
for taking the
true Values of
First Fruits
and *Tenths*.

A N NO 1536. whatsoever, throughout the whole Kingdom. And accordingly proper Persons were appointed to go and take a true Account of them, by all the Ways and Means that could be. And Instructions were given them; according to which they should proceed in this great Work and Business. Which *Instructions* remain in the Original Parchment fairly written, in the *Cotton Library*. Where at the bottom of the first Page, (for the Value of it, I suppose) Sir Robert Cotton wrote, *Robertus Cotton Bruceus*, 1612. This was done pursuant to the Act, *For the Augmentation of the King's Royal State and Dignity of Supreme Head*: Whereby the First Fruits of all Benefices, Dignities, Offices, &c. Spiritual, was to be paid to the King; and a yearly Revenue, being the *Tenths* of all Livings. Which Act was made, *Anno Regni. 26*. The Title of these Instructions ran thus.

INSTRUCTIONS

‘ Devised by the King's Highness, by the Advice of his Council,
 ‘ for knowledge to be had of the whole true and just yearly Value of all
 ‘ the Possessions, Manours, Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments and
 ‘ Profits, as well Spiritual as Temporal; appertaining to any manner
 ‘ of Dignity, Monastery, Priory, Church Collegiate, Church Con-
 ‘ ventual, Parsonage, Vicarage, Chantry, free Chapel, or other
 ‘ Dignity, Office or Promotion Spiritual, within this Realm, *Wales*,
 ‘ *Calais*, *Barwick*, and Marches of the same, as well in Places exempt,
 ‘ as not exempt. Which his Pleasure is, that such as shall have Charge
 ‘ by his immediate Commission to survey the same, shall effectually,
 ‘ with all Uprightness and Dexterity follow and ensue, as they will
 ‘ answer unto his Majesty at their Péril.

‘ First, it is ordained, that several Commissions shall be made into
 ‘ every Diocese, Shire and Place within this Realm, and into *Wales*,
 ‘ *Calais*, &c. and to such Number of Persons as it shall please his
 ‘ Majesty to assign, &c. Tis long, and so I omit it.

I shall only set down the King's particular Commission to the Commissioners, for taking the Value of the Benefices in *London*,
Viz.

The King's
 Commission.
 for London.

HENRICUS Octav. Dei gratia Angliæ, &c. Rex, Fidei Defensor,
 Dominus Hib. & in Terra Supremum Caput Anglicanæ Ecclesiæ; Reverend.
 in Christo Epo. London. Ac dilectis & fidelibus suis, Johanni Champneis,
 M. Thomæ Crumwel, magno Secretario suo, Johanni Alleyn, Mil.
 Thomæ Bedel, Clerico, Johanni Baker, Henrico White, Johi. Onely,
 Thomæ Russheton, Willo. Bowyer, Paulo Withipol, Rico. Gressham,
 Henr. Myldmay, Thom. Burgoyn, Tho. Roberts, & Johi Noote,
 Auditoribus, Salutem.

‘ Sciatis, quod Nos de fidelitatibus, & providis Circumspectionibus vestris
 plenius confidentes, Assignavimus Vos, quinq; quatuor Vobis, ac quinq;
 quatuor, & tribus Vestrum, vel in majori aut minori numero, prout per
 discretiones vestras, vobis melius visum fuerit, plenam Potestatem &
 Auctoritatem, ad inquirendum, scrutandum & examinandum, viis,
 modis, quibus scire poteritis, infra Civitatem London, & Libertat.
 ejusdem, de omnib. & singulis Articulis, & Instructionibus presentib.
 annexis,

annexis, faciendis & exequend. cum effectu, prout in eisd. Articulis plenius continentur, &c. The Sum of that which followed was, ' That they should do this with Diligence, *absq; favore, fraude, dolo, corruptione.* And what they had done, to certify to the Treasurer, the Chancellor, Chamberlains and Barons of the Exchequer, under their Seals: Giving them Power to call before them, and to examine for this Purpose, *tales & tantos, scribas, Registrarios,* Scribes, Registers, Receivers, Auditors, and other Officers and Ministers, whatsoever, Prelates and Clergy of the Church. And to all Maiors, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Registers, and other Officers and Ministers, to be assistant to them in the Premises.

C H A P XXXVI.

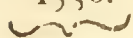
The Charter House in London. Queen Anne's Death. A Favourer of the Reformation. Her Discourse in the Tower. The Condition of the Lady Elizabeth her Daughter. The Lady Mary addresseth to the King. Articles for Her.

THE Monks of the *Charter House*, London, remaining refractory still, the King, being loth to go to the utmost Extremity, Endeavour was used to reclaim them, and enlighten them with a clearer Knowledge of the Nature of the *Supremacy*, being for the most Part young Men. It was thought expedient therefore to separate them from one another. Four of the Chief were disposed into two other Houses of the same Order, in the furthest Part of the Realm: And Eight more they sent to *Syon*, an House of the Order of *St. Bridget*. That they might there be persuaded to yield to the King. At last many of them took the Oath, having been threatned otherwise to have their House plucked down. But while they took the Oath, they said in their Hearts, ' Thou knowest, O God, how false and unjust this Oath is, that these Men wrest from us; Thou knowest what Exceptions, and Alleviations we have alledged. Thou seest the Streights of Time, and how we are threatned. *But skin for skin, and all that a Man hath will he give for his Life.* Evil is not to be done, that good may come. But since thou knowest the Hearts of all Men, and how willingly we resist them, we beseech thy Mercy not to respect the Manner which we perform outwardly, in laying our Hand upon the Book of the Gospel, and kissing it: Nor take it, as if we were assenting to the King's Will: but take this our outward Dissimulation as our Reverence to the sacred Word written in the Gospel, for the Preservation of our House, if it shall please thy Goodness.' But there were Ten Monks that thought not fit thus to dissemble. And they were put out of the Convent, in *June 1537.* and laid in Prison: Where, saith their Historian, they all died but one, named *William Horne*, who in 1541. was put to Death. Two of the Four, that were removed

The Monks of
the *Charter*
House.

Hist. Mart.
Angliæ, fol. 59.

A N N O
1536.



The Dissolu-
tion of that
House.

The Surren-
der of the
Charter House,
by the Prior.
Cleopatra E. 4.

removed from this House, were placed in a House of Religion near Hull; where they were busy in the Rebellion that happened this Year in the North; and so were executed, and hung in Chains at York, 1537. whose Names were *John Rochester*, and *James Wannert*. In the Year, 1539. all of them that remained, were expelled their House; consisting of Twelve professed Monks, Three Guests, and Six Converts Professed. In the Church, the King's Tents and Ammunition were laid. The House was afterward given to Sir *Edward North*, who there built himself a fair Dwelling, and made a Parlour of the Church: pulling down most of the Cloisters.

The State of the Monks of the *Charter House* that were still against the King's Supremacy, Anno 1537. when the Surrender of it was made, may appear from *Thomas Bedyl*, the Visitors own Letters to *Crumwel*: giving an Account of a great Mortality among them. ' My very good Lord, after my most harty Commendations; It shall please your Lordship to understand, that the Monks of the *Charter House* here at London, committed to *Newgate*, for their treacherous Behaviour continued against the King's Grace, be almost dispatched by the Hand of God, as it may appear to you by this Bill enclosed. [which follows at the End of the Letter.] Wherefore considering their Behaviour, and the whole Matter, I am not sorry; but would that all such as love not the King's Highness and his worldly Honour were in like case.

' My Lord, as ye may, I desire you in the way of Charity, and none otherwise, to be good Lord unto the Prior of the said *Charter House*, which is as honest a Man as ever was in that Habit, or else I am much deceived: and is one which never offended the King's Grace by Disobedience of his Law: But hath laboured very fore continually, for the Reformation of his Brethren. And now at the last, at mine Expectation and Instigation, constantly moved, and finally persuaded his Brethren to Surrender their House, Lands and Goods into the King's Hands, and to trust only to his Mercy and Grace. I beseech you, my Lord, that the said Prior may be so intreated by your help, that he be not sorry and repent, that he hath feared and followed your fore Words, and my gentle Exhortation made unto him, to Surrender the said House, and think that he might have kept the same, if your Lordship and I had not led him to the said Surrender. But surely I believe, that I know the Man so well, that whatsoever he be ordered, he would be content without Grudge. He is a Man of such Charity, as I have not seen the like.

' As touching the House of the *Charter House*, I pray God, if it shall please the King to alter it, that it may be turned into a better Use; seeing it is in the Face of the World, and much Communication wol run thereof, throughout this Realm. For *LONDON* is the common Country of all Lands: from whence is derived to all Parts of this Realm, all good and evil Accidents here. From London, the xiv. Day of June,

By your Lordships at Commaundment,

THOMAS BEDYL.

2

There

There be departed,

There be even at the Point of *A N N O*
Death, *1536.*

Brother *William Grenewood*
Dane *John Davye.*
Brother *Robert Salte.*
Brother *Walter Peerfon.*
Dane *Thomas Grene.*

Brother *Thomas Scriven*
Brother *Thomas Reading.*

There be Syck,

Dane *Thomas Jonfon.*
Brother *William Horne.*
One is whole,
Dane *Bird.*

These had been all committed to *Newgate*, being Monks of the *Charter House*, that would not take the Oath to the King.

This Year, [1536.] in the Month of *May*, *Queen Anne Boleyn* was *Queen Anne's*
beheaded: A great Friend and Patroness of the Reformed Religion. *Death.*

She was very nobly Charitable, and expended largely in all manner of Acts of Liberality, according to her high Quality. And among the rest of her ways of shewing this Christian Virtue, she being a Favourer of Learning, together with her Father, the Lord *Wiltshire*, and the Lord *Rockford* her Brother, maintained divers ingenious Men at the Universities. Among the rest, were these Men of note, Dr. *Hethe*, afterward Archbishop of *York*, and Lord Chancellor; Dr. *Thirlby*, afterward Bishop of *Ely*; and Mr. *Paget*, afterward Lord *Paget*, and Secretary of State: All which in her time were Favourers of the Gospel, though afterwards they relapsed. Of *Paget* one hath observed, that he was a most earnest Protestant, and being in *Cambridge*, gave unto one *Ryngold West*, *Luther's Book*, and other Books of the *Germans*, as *Franciscus Lambertus de Sectis*: And that, at that time he read *Melancthon's* Rhetorick openly in *Trinity Hall*; and was a Main- tainer of Dr. *Barnes*, and all the Protestants then in *Cambridge*, and helped many Religious Persons out of their Cowles.

This Queen was also a great Favourer of those that suffered for Re- ligion. Let this Letter ensuing, writ by her to *Crumwel*, stand upon Record here, shewing both her Love to such Sufferers, and her high Esteem of the Word of God. *And such as*
were perse-
cuted for it.

By the Queen.

' *Anne the Queen.* Trusty and Right well beloved, wee greet you well. And whereas, we be credibly enformed, that the Bearer hereof, *Rychard Herman*, Merchant, and Citizen of *Antwerp* in *Brabant*, was, in the Time of the late Lord Cardinal, put and expelled from his Freedom and Fellowship of and in the *English House* there, for nothing else, as he affirmeth, but only for that, that he did, both with his Goods and Policy, to his great hurt and hindrance in this World, help to the setting forth of the New Testament in *English*. Wee therefore desire and instantly pray you, that with all Speed and Favour convenient, ye woll cause this good and honest Merchant, being my Lords true, faithful and loving Subject, to be restored to his

Her Letter to
Crumwel.
Cleop. E. 5.

ANNO^{1536.} his pristin Freedom, Liberty and Fellowship aforeſaid. And the ſooner at this our Request: And at your good Pleſure to hear him in ſuch things as he hath to make further relation unto you in this behalf. Yeven under our Signet, at my Lord's Mannor of *Greenwich*, the xiv. Day of *May*.

Divers Sayings
of Q. Anne in
the Tower.

Such a material Piece of History in the King's Reign, beſides what is written by our Hiſtorians, may deſerve divers particular Remarks to be ſhewn, concerning this Queen's Behaviour and her Speeches, from the Time of her Commitment to the *Tower*, to her Execution. Which I am enabled to give from five or ſix Letters of Sir *William Kyngſton*, Conſtable or (as others) Lieutenant, of the *Tower*, to Secretary *Crumwel*. And I do it the rather, to repreſent Matters concerning this Queen in her Afflictions the more largely, exactly and diſtinctly; which Biſhop *Burnet* hath ſet down from the ſame Papers, more briefly and imperfectly. And perhaps upon the reading of what follows, ſome things which that Reverend Author attributes to Fits and Vapours in the Queen, may find a better and truer Interpretation. The Lord *Herbert* alſo has given us only ſome ſhort Hints of theſe things.

H. B. Reſor.
Vol. I. p. 192.

Life of King
Henry, p. 416.
Her Words at
her firſt coming
to the
Tower.

After the Duke of *Norfolk*, and ſome other of the King's Council who had conducted Queen *Anne* to the *Tower*, (which was on the 2d of *May*) were departed, the ſaid Conſtable of the *Tower* went before her into her Lodging. And then ſhe ſaid to him, Mr. *Kyngſton*, ſhall I go into a Dungeon? He answered her, No, Madam; you ſhall go into your Lodging, that you lay in at your Coronation. Upon which ſhe ſaid, It is too good for me. And further ſaid, *Jeſu! Have mercy on me*. And then kneeled down, weeping a great pace. And in the ſame Sorrow, fell into a great Laughing. And ſo ſhe did ſeveral Times afterwards. Then ſhe deſired Mr. *Kyngſton*, to move the King's Highneſs, that ſhe might have the Sacrament in the Cloſet by her Chamber. That ſhe might pray for Mercy. *For I am as clear*, ſaid ſhe, *from the Company of Man, as for Sin, as I am clear from you*: And again, *the King's true wedded Wife*. And then ſhe ſaid, Mr. *Kyngſton*, do you know wherefore I am here? And he ſaid, Nay. And then ſhe asked him, When he ſaw the King? He ſaid, not ſince he ſaw him in the Tilt Yard, [which was but the Day before at *Greenwich*, when he ſeemed firſt to take a Diſpleaſure againſt her.] And then ſhe asked him, I pray you tell me, where my Lord, my Father is. He told her, he ſaw him afore Dinner in the Court. O! where is my ſweet Brother? [For ſhe feared the King's Diſpleaſure againſt her, would reach unto all her Relations.] *Kyngſton* replied, I left him at *Tork Place*: Thinking it convenient to conceal it from her, though he was committed the ſame Day. I hear ſay, ſaid ſhe, that I ſhall be accuſed by three Men. And I can ſay no more, but, Nay: though you ſhould open my Body; and therewith ſhe opened her Gown. Adding, O! *Norris*, haſt thou accuſed me? Thou art in the *Tower* with me. And thou and I ſhall die together. And *Mark*, [another that accuſed her] thou art here too. And then with much Compaſſion ſhe ſaid, O! my Mother, thou wilt die with ſorrow. And then ſhe much lamented my Lady *Worceſter*, (being with Child) becauſe her Child did not ſtir in her Body. And when the Conſtable's Wife, being preſent, asked, what might be the Cauſe, ſhe ſaid, It was for the Sorrow ſhe took for me.

Kyngſton's firſt
Letter Cot. Li.

Then

Then she said, Mr. *Kyngston*, shall I die without Justice? To which he replied, The poorest Subject the King had, had Justice. And therewith she laughed. All these Sayings happened that Night. The next Morning in Conversation with her, these Speeches happened; related by Sir *William Kyngston* in his foresaid Letter. Mrs. *Cosins*, a Gentlewoman appointed to wait upon the Queen here, and that lay on her Palate Bed, said, That *Norris* (one of those that were accused about her) did say on *Saturday* last unto the Queen's Amner, that he would swear for the Queen, that she was a good Woman. And then the said Gentlewoman added, speaking to the Queen, [as minding to enquire of her concerning the Occasion of her present Trouble] Madam, why should there be any such Matters spoken of? Marry, said the Queen, I bade him do so. For I asked him, why he did not go through with his Marriage, [with some Lady, it seems, *Norris* courted] And he made Answer, He would tarry a time. Then said she, you look for dead Men's Shoes. For if ought should come to the King, but good, you would look to have me. Then he said, If he should have any such Thought, he would his Head were off. And then she said, she could undo him, if she would. And therewith they fell out.

And then she said, I more fear *Weston*, [another that was cast into the *Tower* about her Business.] For *Weston* had said unto her, that *Norris* came more unto her Chamber for her, than he did for *Mage*; [the Name, I suppose, of one of the Queen's Maids, that he courted.] And further, *Kyngston* related another saying, which the Queen spake to him concerning *Weston*, [whom also she had sometimes Talk with; coming often in her way; which might create a Jealousy concerning him] That she had spoke with him, because he did love her Kinswoman, Mrs. *Skelton*. And said to him, that he loved not his Wife, [spoken by way of Reproof.] And he made Answer to her again, That he loved one in her House better than them both. And the Queen said, Who is that? He gave this Answer, It is your self. And then she desired him, as she said to *Kyngston*, [in Scorne and Displeasure, as reflecting upon her Honour, undoubtedly.] These Passages between the Queen and them, was the Cause of all their Deaths; coming some way or other to the jealous King's Ears. For she, being of a free and courteous Nature, would exchange Words sometimes, and enter into some Talk with such as she met in the Court; and with these Gentlemen, who were of the Privy Chamber: and so happened often to come where she was. And some of their Discourse happened to be brought to the King by some officious Person, that owed her no good Will.

In another Letter to Secretary *Crumwel*, he wrote these Passages concerning the said Queen: That she much desired to have there in her Closet the Sacrament; and also her Amner for one Hour, when she was determined to die, [that is, to suffer Death.] After an Examination of her at *Greenwich*, before some of the Council, the said *Kyngston* sent for his Wife and Mrs. *Cosins* (who both were appointed to be always with her) to know of them, how she had done that day. They said, she had been very merry, and made a good Dinner: and after, called for a Supper. And then called for him, and asked him, where he had been all Day. And after some Words, she began Talk, and said, she was cruelly handled at *Greenwich* with the King's Council: Namely,

She desires
the Sacrament
in her Closet:
And her Al-
moner with
her.
Kyngston's Se-
cond Letter.

ANN O with my Lord of *Norfolk*, [who was indeed her Enemy.] And that he
 1536. said, [to what she had spoken, as it seems in her own Defence] *Tut, Tut, Tut* ; and shaking his Head three or four Times. And as for Mr. *Treasurer*, he was, said she, in the Forest of *Windsor*. You know, added the Writer of the Letter, what she meant by that. And then named Mr. *Comptroller* (another of the Council) to be a very Gentleman. But She to be a Queen, and so cruelly handled, it was never seen. *But I think the King doth it to prove me.* And then laughed withal: and was very merry. And then she said, I shall have Justice. Then said the Constable, have no doubt therein. Then she said, if any Man accuse me, I can say, but *Nay*. And they can bring no Witness.

She wishes
 for her Eps.
 to go to the
 King for her.

And in some Communication with the Lady *Kyngston* and Mrs. *Cosins*, I would to God, said she, I had my Bishops. For they would all go to the King for me. For I think the most Part of *England* prayeth for me. And if I die, you shall see the greatest Punishment for me within this Seven Years, that ever came to *England*. [This she spake no doubt in the Confidence of her Innocency ; and God's righteous and visible Judgments for the most Part, for shedding innocent Blood. And indeed within the Seventh Year following, happened a dreadful Pestilence in *London*, and many Commotions and Insurrections to the End of this Reign.] And then, said she, *shall I be in Heaven.* For I have done many good Deeds in my Days. Then she took notice of divers Women set about her, that she liked not ; saying, I think much Unkindness in the King to put such about me, as I never loved. Then *Kyngston* shewed her, that the King took them to be honest and good Women. But I would have had of my own Privy Chamber, replied she, which I favour most, &c.

In another Letter of *Kyngston* to *Crumwel*, he relates, how she desired of him to carry a Letter to the said *Crumwel*, [of whose Friendship she had a Belief.] But he, (it seems not thinking it safe for him to carry Letters from her) said to her, that if she would tell it him by Mouth, he would do it. For which she gave him thanks: and added, that she much marvelled, that the King's Council came not to her, as seeming to be ready to justify her self. The same Day she said, we should have no Rain, till she was delivered out of the *Tower*: it being a Season that wanted Rain: [Thinking probably that God (who takes care of Innocency) would vindicate her, by giving, or withholding the Clouds of Heaven.] To which *Kyngston* replied, I pray, it may be shortly, because of the fair Weather: adding, you know what I mean [that is, the King's Reconciliation to her.]

Women set
 about her,
 disliked.

Other occasional Speeches of hers, were these. She said concerning such Women as was set about her, that the King wist what he did, when he put two such about her, as my Lady *Bolen*, and Mrs. *Cosins*. For they could tell her nothing of my Lord, her Father, and nothing else. But that she defied them all. [Meaning any about her whosoever, to be able to charge her with any dishonourable Act.] But then upon this, my Lady *Bolen* [her Kinswoman] said to her, *Such desire as you have had. to such Tales*, [Tale-Carriers or Tellers, as some perhaps of her Women were] *have brought you to this.* Then said Mrs. *Stoner*, [another Gentlewoman about her] *Mark* [*Smeton*, the Musician, another committed to the *Tower*, an Accuser of the Queen] is the worst cherished

of any in the House. For he weareth Irons. The Queen said, that was because he was no Gentleman. And he never was at my Chamber; [and so could know less, she meant, than any, what was done by her, or any with her there] but at *Winchester*, and there she sent for him, to play on the Virginals: For there my Lodging was above the King's. And I never spake with him since, but upon *Saturday* before *May* day, [that fatal Day, when the King first conceived his Jealousy.] And then I found him standing in the round Window in my Chamber of Presence. And I asked him, why he was so sad. And he answered and said, It was no matter. And then she said, you may not look to have me speak to you, as I would do to a noble Man: because ye be an inferior Person. No, no, said he, a Look sufficeth me: And thus fare you well. This shews him to be some haughty Person; and thought the Queen gave him not Respect enough. And so might take this Opportunity to humble her; and revenge himself by this means on her: not thinking it would cost him his own Life.

A N N O
1536.

Another Letter of Sir *William Kyngston* to *Crumwel*, giving an Account of this Queen's Behaviour at her Execution, is published in the History of the *Reformation*. Which began thus; 'Sir, this shall be to advertise you, that I have received your Letter; wherein you would have Strangers conveyed out of the *Tower*. And so they be, by the Means of *Richard Gresham*, and *William Loke*, and *Witbepole*. But the Number of Strangers past not Thirty; and not many hothe [other.]' *Armed* is added in the said History, which Word is not in the Original Letter. Other Mistakes there, this more exact Transcription will rectify thus far in the Letter.

Vol. I. p. 204.

Otho C. 10.

Another Letter of hers to the King, beginning, *Sir, your Grace's Displeasure*, &c. is published in the said History. But this Passage following wrote at the End of her Letter, I think worthy to be transcribed, and set here, the Reverend Author of that Book relating it imperfectly, *Viz.*

Her Letter to the King.

The King sending a Message to the Queen *Anne*, being Prisoner in the *Tower*; willing her to confess the Truth, she said, 'She could confess no more, then she had already spoken. And she said, she must conceal nothing from the King, to whom she did acknowledge her self so much bound for many Favours: for raising her first from a mean Woman to be a Marquess; next to be his Queen. And now, seeing he could bestow no further Honour upon her on Earth, for purposing to make her, by Matrydom, a Saint in Heaven.

I add one Remark more concerning this Queen: That at this Time of her being in the *Tower*, a former Charge was revived against her: Namely, the Contract of Marriage between her and the present Earl of *Northumberland*, before her marrying with the King: Designing, if they could prove this, to make her former Marriage with the King unlawful and void; and to make the smooother Way for his marrying with the Lady *Jane*. But whatsoever the afflicted Queen confessed to save her Life, or to change the Way of her Execution, from Burning to Beheading, that there never was any such Precontract, the said Earl protested solemnly in a Letter to Secretary *Crumwel*: Who it seems had now desired to know the Truth from himself. Therein telling him, how he had formerly before the Two Archbishops, *viz. Warham*

No Precontract between her and the Earl of Northumb.

A N N O and *Wolfey* utterly denied it upon his Oath, and the receiving of the
 1536. Sacrament: So he now confirmed it in this Letter. Which the Bishop
 of *Sarum* saying he saw, but entred it not in his History, Vol. I. yet
 in his Third he hath. To which Recourse may be had by such as are
 pleased to peruse it: Which I find is correctly set down from the
 Original.

Hist. Reform.
 Vol. III. Coll.
 p. 113.

This Letter was more shortly entred by the Lord *Herbert* in his History: leaving out something in the Beginning and End of the said Letter, and the Earl's Subscription.

The Condition of the Lady *Elizabeth*.

In what ill Case the young Lady *Elizabeth* now was, any one may guess; she being degraded into a meaner Condition upon the Queen her late Mother's Divorce and Death. And what it was, will in Part appear by a Letter of the Lady *Margaret Brian*, Governess of the King's Children, sent to *Crumwel*, now Lord Privy Seal, from *Hunsden*; For his Instructions, how she should now manage the Lady *Elizabeth*: and to know, how she should be served with Diet and Attendance: And withal acquainting him with her present Need; and praying for a Supply of Cloaths for her Mourning. Mr. *Shelton*, who was one of the chief of the House there, and calling himself Master of that House, was for the said young Lady, not being much above Three Years old, to dine at a Table of State. Which this discrete Lady Governess thought by no Means convenient, considering her Age; lest she sitting at so plenteous a Table, furnished with Wine, Fruit, and other Dainties, by eating and drinking thereof too freely might overcharge her Stomach, and be an Occasion hereby of Sickness to her self. And that she might rather be appointed to have a Mefs or Two in her own Lodging: Where she might be more under the Oversight and Care of her, the said Lady Governess, as to her Diet. And the Reversion of her Table might go to her Women, Gentleman Usher and Groom, Eleven Servants in all. And in short, she advised that the same Course of Diet might be observed towards her Grace, as was towards the Lady *Mary's* Grace. And this she judged the better managing of her House: And withal save the King much Expence. And then praying, an Order agreeable hereunto should be sent from him the Lord *Crumwel*, or the King, to the said Mr. *Shelton*, without letting him know that this Advice came from her.

Great promising Hopes of her.

And what Hope there was, that this young Lady *Elizabeth* would afterwards prove an excellent accomplished Woman, and of whom the King should in all Probability have great Comfort; the Lady *Brian* added, That altho' by Reason of her Pain in Breeding her Teeth, she, her Governess, gave her a little more her Will, she was as Toward a Child, and of as gentle Conditions as ever she knew any in her whole Life. These are but the short Contents of the Letter of the Lady *Elizabeth's* Governess, concerning that Princess's State and Circumstances at this Time: Who afterwards proved one of the greatest and wisest Princes that ever ruled this Land. And the Letter deserveth to be preserved for some Supply of her History in her youngest Years. Read it in the *Appendix*, as I transcribed it from the Original.

Numb.
 LXXI.

The Lady *Mary* lues to be reconciled to her Father.

So that after the beheading of Queen *Anne*, the Lady *Elizabeth* her Daughter came under the like Inconvenience with Queen *Katharine's* Daughter, the Lady *Mary*: both declared Princesses successively, and both

both successively degraded of their Titles, and declared Illegitimate. *A N N O*
 But the Lady *Mary*, thinking this to be a good Opportunity to attempt *1536.*
 the being received again as the King's Daughter and Heir, was advised
 by some about her to solicit and apply to the King her Father, to take
 her into his Favour. And accordingly she sent her Message to him,
 acknowledging her former Obstinacy, and begging of him to be reconciled to her. Whereupon were several Articles, Seven in Number, drawn up, and brought to her by the Duke of *Norfolk* to sign. The Contents of them were, ' Whether she recognized the King, and submitted to all his Statutes and Laws: Whether she acknowledged him ' Supreme Head, under Christ, of the Church of *England*. Whether ' she refused the Bishop of *Rome's* pretended Authority: Whether she ' took and thought it in her Heart, the Marriage of her Mother to be ' unlawful and indispensible, and the Divorce justly done: And whether ' she accepted her self illegitimate and a Bastard: Why she held out in ' her Obstinacy thus long, and what Causes induced her now to submit ' her self.' These Articles shall be fully set down in the *Appendix*, as I found them among certain MSS. of the Lord *Burghley*; and I have the rather Transcribed them, because they are very much curtailed in the Lord *Herbert's* History, and one of them, namely, the Fifth Article, which relates to her Acknowledgment of her self a Bastard, wholly left out.

Vid.
Numb.

LXXV.

Life of King
Hen. p. 450.

The four first of these she signed, saith that noble Author, and, I suppose, the fifth too by him omitted. For it is certain, either now or soon after, she acknowledged her Mother's Marriage incestuous and unlawful: which was to acknowledge her self illegitimate, as may be seen in the Transcript of a Writing by her subscribed, preserved in the *Cotton Library*, and printed by the Right Reverend Author of the *History of the Reformation*. But she would make no Discovery of Persons or Causes, as she was required in the two last Articles. But one of the Causes that inclined her to make the abovesaid Acknowledgment, might be the Prospect of a Marriage, that was soon after moved by the *French King's* Ambassadors, to be celebrated betwixt his Second Son, the Duke of *Orleans*, and her: An Intimation whereof the Lord *Herbert* gives. But upon some great Passion King *Henry* was put into by the Ambassadors, he tells us, that matter of Marriage was scarcely propounded. But by a Memorial thereof, which is among the aforesaid MSS. it appears, there were some considerable Transactions concerning it, between the Two *French Ambassadors*, and some of the King's Council. Wherein may be seen, that the King was very inclinable to it, and required for that Purpose, that the Young Duke should be sent over into *England*, to live here, to learn the Customs, Language and Manners of the *English Nation*; the King's Intentions being hereby to use him as his own Son, in order to the Advancing him to the Crown of *England*. But read the *Memorial* it self.

The Lady
Mary subscribes
 to certain Articles.

Vol. I. p. 207.

Vid.
Numb.

LXXVI.

The Papists
 glad of Queen
Anne's Death.

Queen *Anne's* Death, as it was probably of the *Romanists* procuring, so it was good News to them. For they reckoned her, (and that truly enough) a great Instrument in putting the King forward to what he had done in reforming Religion. *Pole*, in a Letter to the King, wrote within two Months after her Death, takes leave to call her the King's ' *Domestick Evil*, which God, as he said, had rid him of: and

that

A N N O
1536.

‘ that she was thought to be the Cause of all his Errors. And that with her Head [cut off] he trusted, God had cut away all Occasion of such Offences as had separated the King from the Light of God: And that from her descended all *Disorders*.’ As he had itiled the Orders made for the Correcting and Regulating the Corruptions of Religion.

Favourers of
Religion per-
secuted.

When therefore the Papists had got this good Queen out of the Way, they made account the Doctrine of the Gospel would decline and languish with her. Hereupon they began to bestir themselves, to accuse and depress all that inclined to Reformation. I find this Year several Clergymen and others brought into Trouble by the Papists: as one *Gale*, Parson of *Twait* in *Suffolk*, indicted before the Justices of Assize for Heresy and Treason, together with *Broman* and *Kemp*. These were forced to accuse several others, Clergymen and Friars; as Dr. *Barret*, a White Friar of *Gipswich*, *Bale*, a White Friar and Prior of *Doncaster*, and divers others. The Matter of the Accusation may be understood, if we do but read this following, as I took it out of a *Cotton* Volume.

John Gale.
Cleopatra.
E. 5.

‘ 28 Hen. Sir *John Gale*, Clark, Parson of *Twaite* in *Suffolk*, Indicted before the Justices of Assize of Heresy and Treason; and so was committed into the Hands of the High Sheriff *William Drury*. Who kept him without Bail or Mainprize, and sent up to *Crummel*, to know what he should do with him. He was indicted by the Grand Jury, for saying before divers of his Parishioners and others, That a Temporal Man may consecrate the Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, and hath as great Power as any Priest, if the Temporal Man can speak the Words, the which the Priest speaketh: And that Holy Water, and Holy Bread is of no Strength; nor he will make neither Holy Water, nor Holy Bread the next *Sunday* after. And also he persuaded his said Parishioners, that they should not take neither Holy Water, nor Holy Bread. And after that, the same Day, the foresaid Parson, and one *John Augustine*, of the same Town, Husbandman, like Schismatics and Infidels, brake up certain Iron Work, which was long before set in the Wall of the Church, afore the Images of our Lady, and St. *Erasimus*; that all Men and Women might set up Lights in Honour of God and the Holy Saints. And in derision, the same Parson and *John Augustin* turned the Face of the Picture of St. *Erasimus* towards the Wall, *Contra pacem Domini Regis*. This for his Heresy; and then for his Treason; that consisted in his saying, *I will not declare the Articles, which be commanded by the King's Grace, for the half of them were nought*.

Will. Broman.

William Broman was also brought into Trouble at this Time. ‘ He saith, that he hath learned by the Teaching and Doctrine of one Dr. *Barret*, sometime a White Friar of *Gipswich*, about 3 or 4 Years past, that the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar is but a Figure, and a Remembrance of the Passion of Christ: Saying, That the lifting up of the Host betokeneth Nothing, but the sending down of the Son by the Father to suffer Death for Man: And the lifting up of the Chalice signified, that the Father of Heaven sent down his Son to shed his Blood in Earth for Man's Salvation.

Bale.

‘ Also he saith, that one *Bale*, a White Friar, sometime Prior of *Doncaster*, taught him about Three Years ago, that Christ would dwell

‘ dwell in no Church, that was made of Lime and Stones by Men’s *ANNO*
 ‘ Hands, but only in Heaven above, and in Men’s Hearts in Earth. *1536.*

‘ Also he saith, that in *Lent* last the Parson of *Hotbfield* taught the *Parson of*
 ‘ same Doctrine that is exprest in the First Article: Adding thereto, *Hotbfield.*
 ‘ That Men ought to put no Trust in the Host, when it is lift up, but
 ‘ forthwith to remember the Passion of Christ, and to put whole Trust
 ‘ in that. And he saith, that he heard it reported by a dozen at the
 ‘ least, that the said Parson of *Hotbfield* preached, that our Lady was
 ‘ not Queen of Heaven, but the Mother of Christ; and that she could
 ‘ do no more for us, than another Woman, liking her to a Saffron
 ‘ Bag. And, over that saith, that when the said Parson preached af-
 ‘ ter this Sort, the Bailiff of *Folstan* bad the Vicar pull him out of
 ‘ the Pulpit. Whereunto the Vicar answered, that he durst not do
 ‘ so, for fear of losing all that he had; For that, as the said Parson
 ‘ said, he had a License under the King’s broad Seal to preach in all
 ‘ Places. And further he saith, that the said Parson of *Hotbfield* by
 ‘ the said Sermon turned an Hundred Hearts to his Opinion and De-
 ‘ votion.

‘ Also he saith, that one *Wyne* his Servant, dwelling in *Folston*, said, *Wyne.*
 ‘ That Christ being received by a sick Man, it was an unfit thing for
 ‘ Christ to be buried with him, when he is dead. [Thus could il-
 ‘ literate People frame notable Arguments against the gross Presence of
 ‘ Christ in the Sacrament.]

‘ *Stephen Kemp* saith, that he heard the Parson of *Hanworth* preach *Parson of*
 ‘ at *Kingston*, about Twelve Months past in *Lent*, that whosoever *Hanworth.*
 ‘ came to Church to seek God, he should not find him there, except
 ‘ he brought him with him. And that Men ought to put their Trust
 ‘ in God’s Word, and to have better Regard to good Sermons and
 ‘ Preaching, than to the Sacrament of the Altar, Mas-matters, or
 ‘ Even-song.

‘ The said Parson of *Hotbfield* preached, that the Sacrament of the
 ‘ Altar was not to be regarded, and that it was but a Similitude. That
 ‘ *Latimer* and *Cromer* preached, that we should trust only in God’s
 ‘ Word, and that we should not honour any Saints, nor trust in any
 ‘ Ceremonies of the Church.

This Year Mr. *Hierome*, Vicar of *Stepney*, was fain to make his *The Vicar of*
 Recantation for a Sermon preached at St. *Paul’s* Cross. One *Henry* *Stepney’s*
Dowes in a Letter dated from *Stepneth*, (Curate, I suppose, there) *Recantation.*
 on *Easter* Monday wrote unto *Gregory Crumwel* Esq; an Account of
Hierome’s Recantation Sermon, which he made that Day at *Paul’s* Cross.
 Wherein he revoked a Doctrine that he had preached at the same Place
 not long before, concerning Justification by Faith, without any other
 Condition. Whereas now he confessed Penance and other Sacraments
 must be joynd thereunto. There was a Recantation made and sub-
 scribed by Dr. *Barnes* in the Year 1540, to which this *Hierome* also
 subscribed: Which is extant in the History of the *Reformation*. He
 with *Barnes* and *Gerard* were burnt for Heresy the next Year. *Vol. I. Collect.*
P. 244.

Nor did they strike no higher than at some of the Friars and Priests; *Bishop of St.*
 but the Bishops also that went not along with them in their Errors and *David’s*
 Superstitions, could not escape the Notice of their Accusations. *Bar-*
low, Bishop of St. *David’s*, was charged with four Articles of false *preaching*
 Doctrine *false Doctrine.*

A N N O 1536. Doctrines, preached by him in a Sermon at *St. David's*. Which were, ' that two or three meeting together in God's Name, though they were Weavers and Coblers, was the true Church of God. That it is expedient to confess only to God. That there was no Purgatory, but that it was only an Invention of the Bishops of *Rome* and the Priests, for their own gain. That a learned Layman might be as good a Bishop as any of them, if he was called thereunto by the King.' Information was made against him for these Sayings and Assertions; as also against one *Tally*, who had preached some Doctrines of this nature in the same Church the Sevenight after: And being drawn up into Articles, was sent unto the Bishop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, then Lord President of the Marches of *Wales*: And he the next Opportunity sent them up to *Crummel*. Whose Letter with the Articles themselves are in the *Appendix*.

Tally.

Vid.

Numb.

LXXVII.

Seditious Books.

Hortulus Animæ.

There were about this time many Books brought into the Realm, printed abroad, that favoured the Gospel, and inveighed against the Superstitions and Corruptions of *Rome*. The Popish Prelates, and favourers of the old Religion did what they could to seize and suppress them. One of these Books called, *Hortulus Animæ*, fell into the Hands of the Bishop of *Durham*, being seized in *Newcastle*. And in a Kalendar of that Book, at the Day of the Decollation of *John* the Baptist, were it seems some favourable Things said of Queen *Anne* lately beheaded. That Bishop taking Occasion from hence to bring that whole Book, and all such like Books, into dislike at Court, sent up an Information to the Lord *Crummel* of the Book, and bad him read that place; saying, that it was an Insinuation against the late Act of Parliament for the Succession; wherein the Children of Queen *Jane* were made Heirs only to the Crown. He desired the said Lord to consider this to the King, and that he would move him that Orders might be issued out, diligently to search in *Newcastle*, and *Hull*, and other Sea-Port Towns, and Places, for such Books; and particularly, to write his Letter to the Maior of *Newcastle*, and to other Towns for this intent. The Bishop of *Durham's* Letter may be read in the *Appendix*.

Vid.

Numb.

LXXVIII.

A Contest between the Bp. of *Lincoln* and the Archdeacon.

Under this Year a Contest happened between the Bishop of *Lincoln*, and his Archdeacon, about their Dues and Privileges: the Bishop requiring the *Synodals*, (which the Archdeacon claimed as his Fees time out of mind) Because the Bishop found in his Register, that the Archdeacon paid yearly *Prestations* to the Bishop. Wherefore they were fain to appeal to my Lord *Crummel*, the King's Vicar General, and Lord Privy Seal. The Archdeacon charged the Bishop with Avarice, and drew up his Business in a Paper, which he intituled, *Instructions for my Lord Privy Seal, concerning the Bishop of Lincoln, and his Archdeacon touching the Bishop's demand for Prestations*. Wherein is shewed what appertained to the Office of an Archdeacon, and whereupon his Revenues in former times grew: namely, Procurations, *Synodals*, *Peter-pence*, Pensions or Indemnities, Fines of Testaments, Vacations of Benefices, Installations of Abbots. What all these were, and wherein lay the Cause of this said Contest, may be seen in the *Appendix*. Where the Original Paper is transcribed; and worth perusing.

Vid. *Numb.*
LXXIX.

C H A P. XXXVII.

ANNO

1537.

Letters to and from Reignald Pole. His Book, De Unione Ecclesiasticâ. Starkey's Letter to the Lord Privy Seal.

T H E R E was an Interchange of Letters begun the last Year between Pole and Starkey, by the Lord Crumwel's Means: and which continued this Year. Starkey had wrote to Pole in Answer to a former Letter of his 22. of April: Which was so penned by Pole, that some Expectations were gathered thence, that he would gratify the King in writing concerning his great Cause, according to his mind. And Starkey so conceiving, signified as much to the King. And now that he was to return an Answer to Pole, Mr Bainton, Vicechamberlain to the Queen, and Pole's old Friend, desired Starkey to tell him from him, ' That he should well consider, how the King's Highness devised (and ever had done) a convenient Means, to set him in such case, that he might, according to the Fame of his Virtues and Merits, handle and entreat him: And that he should also consider, how much the King gave to his Learning and Judgment; whom the said Bainton knew much willing to have his consent in his great Causes, although they were defined already. Inasmuch that his Judgment thereto could little avaunce, except peradventure in some part to the Confirmation thereof.

Hopes conceived of Pole.

Pole had, as it seems, in another Letter to Starkey, (which he shewed the King) wrote a Letter concerning the King's Cause, more like a Statesman, than Divine. Wherein he shewed the Dangers that might follow; but the Matter it self, as it was most sharply judged of the King, he did not at all touch. Wherefore the King again desired his learned Judgment, and that he should leave his Prudence and witty Policy, till he were required to shew it. Thus Starkey wrote to him again, and there laid down before him the Point, in two Questions, Viz.

Two Questions propounded from the King to Pole, to answer.

I. *An Matrimonium cum Relicta Fratris, ab eo cognita, sit jure divino licitum.*

II. *An Superioritas, quam multis in seculis Romanus Pontifex sibi vindicavit, sit ex jure divino.*

This Letter of Starkey will be found in the Appendix. These Messages from the King and Crumwel by Starkey at last produced Pole's Book, *De Unione Ecclesiastica*, so much surprizing to the King, and his Correspondent Starkey: And whereby he drew so much the King's Displeasure upon him, and his Family; which had such a Tragical End, in the Execution of his Mother and several others of them. In which Book he threw out many unworthy Reflections upon the King, and upon Dr. Sampson, the Author of a Book aforesaid, wrote against the Pope, which was sent to him by Crumwel's Order.

Numb.

LXXX.

The occasion and issue of his Book De Unione.

Of this Book of *Ecclesiastical Union*, (which was wrote to the King) and of the Author, thus speaks one, that lived in those times, and of great Learning and Fame. ' That in his persuasions he was very

Account of this Book.

Latimer in his 5th Sermon before King Edward.

homely,

A N N O

1537.

Luke v.

Sermon the 6.

The King

sends for Pole.

homely, quick and sharp with the King. That he extolled unmesurably the Pope, and too much undervalued Kings. He said, that a King was an odious Word, and touched the place, where God was offended with the *Israelites* for calling for a King. That he seemed very lightly to set forth the Title of a King; as though he should mean, What is a King? What should a King take upon him to redress matters of Religion? It pertaineth to our Holy Father of *Rome*. A King is a Name and a Title, rather suffered of God as an evil thing, than allowed as a good. And thus he went about to persuade the King from his *Supremacy*. So *Latimer* in a Sermon before King *Edward*. In another place of the Book, *Pole* useth very impertinently, for the Pope's Authority, a Text out of St. *Luke*, of Christ's going into St. *Peter's* Ship, and preaching out of it; and afterwards bidding him launch out into the Deep, and catching a miraculous Draught of Fishes. Which he understood all Allegorically; wresting several Passages in it on the Pope's Side. As, that it was *Peter*, the chief Apostle's Boat, that Christ came into. Hence he framed an Argument for the Bishop of *Rome's* Supremacy. And by virtue of those Words, *Duc in altum, Launch out into the Deep, and let down your Nets for a Draught*, *Peter* was made a great Man, and all his Successors after him; because he spake to *Peter* only. To him he spake in the Singular Number: *Ergo*, he gave him preeminency above the Rest. The rest indeed he bad to let down their Nets, but to him only, *Launch out*. This Passage *Father Latimer* thought fit to confute in one of his Sermons before King *Edward*, in these Words: 'I dare say, there is never a Wherry Man at *Westminster-Bridge*, but he can answer to this, and give a natural Reason of it. He knoweth that one Man is able to shove the Boat; but that one Man is not able to cast out the Nets; and therefore Christ said in the Plural Number, *Laxate retia*. He said in the Singular Number to *Peter*, *Launch out the Boat*: he spake to the other in the Plural, *Let down your Nets*. Because *Peter* was not able to convey the Boat, and cast out the Net too. This would a Wherry Man say, and that with better Reason, than to make a Mystery of it, as none can espy, but themselves. As though Christ by that Expression intended to give *Peter* the Supremacy over the Rest.

Thus I have given a Taste of this famous Book of *Pole's*, wherein he declared himself so roundly for the Pope to the King's Face. Hereupon Letters were sent from the King to him, to come over and explain his Book to him. *Pole* sent an Answer to the King, and his Messenger to carry it, with Instructions to him, what account he should give him of his Reasons and Intent in writing it. In the said Answer, 'He wished the King, that he would let the Bishop of *Durham*, *A sad and learned Man* (as he called him) read his Book over, and give his Majesty a true Account of it. For though in some places it might seem harsh to his Majesty, yet if it were all read over, it would appear otherwise. The King, as *Pole* desired, did let *Durham* peruse it. Whereat that Bishop writ a Letter to *Pole*, signifying that he had read his Book, but disallowed it much. This occasioned another Letter from *Pole* to the said Bishop. It was conjectured here, that Cardinal *Contarini*, and another Bishop were *Pole's* great Counsellors in what he wrote. His

Mother

Mother and Relations in *England* disapproved the Book, and more in A N N O
dread of what would follow.

But being now writ, *Starky* sent a long and earnest Letter to him :
therein partly confuting it, and partly expostulating with him for it. *Starky* amazed
Which being a notable Letter I have, dispensing with the Length at the Book.
thereof, transferred into the *Appendix*. Numb.
LXXXI.

By which Letter it appears, that when *Pole's* Book was brought to
the King, *Starky*, as *Pole's* true Friend, desired the King that it might
be committed to the reading of some learned Men, that might in-
differently report their Judgments of it ; which the King allowed, and
Starky was joined with them. But in the Reading of it together, they
met so many Expressions, favouring of such gross Ingratitude towards
the King his gracious Master, and containing such corrupt Judgment of
the Matters treated on ; that though they all loved *Pole* very well, yet
they could not but abhor what they read : And *Starky* particularly was
amazed and astonished ; and was ready to judge it to be none of *Pole's*
Oration. Because of all others, he had known him to be ever one
that shewed himself to be earnestly affected towards his King and
Country. *Starky* desired he might have leave to read it all over by
himself. Which he did seriously, and compared it from the Beginning
to the End : and considering well the whole Circumstance of the
Matter, he professed (as he told *Pole* himself in his Letter) that therein
appeared to him the most frantick Judgment, that ever he read in his
Life, of a learned Man. The main Argument of his Book was, that
because the Nation was gone from the Obedience of *Rome*, therefore
they were separate from the Unity of the Church, and to be no Member
of the Body Catholick. And hereupon he railed upon the King most
vehemently, as though he was departed from the Christian Faith, and
pursued him with as much Reproach as *Gregory* had done *Julian* the
Apostate. But *Starky* shewed him, ' That he did but abuse himself to
' think the Nation was separate from the Unity of the Church, because
' it had rejected the Pope's Superiority : And that the Christian Unity,
' according to *St. Paul's* Doctrine, consisted in the Unity of the Faith
' and the Spirit, and in a being knit together by Love.

But notwithstanding all this Pains *Starky* took with him, the Matter
falling out so much contrary to the King's Expectation, and to what
Starky had put the King upon believing, being vexed with this Book,
and fearing the publishing of it, he in his Displeasure with *Pole* frowned
upon *Starky* too : Suspecting him to have given him some secret Counsel
to write what he did. It added to the King's Suspicion, that he lately
preaching against the Pope, had used too much mildness, and wanted
more sharpness of Expressions, as though he had secretly favoured his
Primacy. This caused great disquiet and trouble of Mind to him. In-
somuch, that both the Lord Privy Seal and the Archbishop of *Can-*
terbury were fain both to comfort him, and assure him of the
King's good Will. During which time he added this Letter to the
former.

' My Lord, though as well by the Relation of my Lord of *Canter-*
' *bury*, as also by the few Words which you spake to me the last Day Lord Privy
' at *Stepney*, I am restored to a great Part of the Quietness of my Mind ; Seal.
' for as much as thereby I am persuaded fully, that you took my pur- *Cleop. E. 6.*
pose p. 380.

ANNO 1537. pose and intent even as it was; and that you be my good Lord after your wont and accustomed Manner; yet thorowly quieted I nother am, nother yet can I be, until I may be assured, that the King, my Sovereign Lord and Master, is by no wrong Information, nor contrary Suspicion otherwise perswaded of me, than my Heart, Will, and Deed deserve. For albeit the Testimony of my own Conscience be indeed sufficient to countervail against all outward Displeasure, yet to my Weakness and Infirmary it is no small grief to be in doubt, that my Lord and Master otherwise should judge me, than my Heart deserveth. The which also is much more grief to me, because that I am well assured both by the King's own Words, and also by his Deeds, that he was good Lord to me, and gracious. Wherefore since there is of my Part no Occasion given to the contrary, but rather cause why his Goodness should be increased towards me, and benevolence; (forasmuch as I have travailed to put in Effect such Things as were of his Grace's Will well approved and allowed, the which before time I by writing only touched: That is to say, to endeavour my self to the inducing of the People to their Office and Duty, concerning the Obedience of his Laws, and the conceiving of such Things, as were set forth for the Maintenance of God's Truth.) All the which considered, I cannot but sorrow, and plainly confess my Weakness and Imbecillity, utterly to be unable to bear and sustain of my Sovereign Lord any contrary Suspicion.

* Meaning
Pole's Writing.

Wherefore, my Lord, I shall beseech you, as you be my special good Lord, so to declare it now at this time, and not to suffer my Purpose and Desire, which I have long suffered in my Heart to serve my Master withal, now to be hindred and drowned with any wrong Information, nor to be blotted with any other Man's Act, * whereof I never ministred Occasion. For of your Lordship I take witness, that I never studied nor laboured Thing more earnestly, than I did, to bring that Man, (for whose Fault I now perceive I am blamed,) to his Office and Duty, and to pluck from him all sturdy Obstinacy. And whereas, peradventure it may be thought, that I was the Occasion of the Demanding of his Sentence, you know, my Lord, it was an Occasion taken, and not upon my behalf given. For I never moved the King, nor yet you, to the Ensearching of his Judgment at any time. Troth this is, that I never thought him to be of so corrupt a Judgment and Sentence in this matter of the *Primacy*. And therefore I put you in hope and Expectation: And so I did the King also, after he had commanded me to write unto him his Pleasure and Request. Of the which Hope that I am so deceived, he liveth not which is more sorrowful, than I am: Nor his own Mother which bare him, and now repenteth of his bringing forth to Light: Nor yet his most dear Brother, who by his Act is deprived of a great Comfort of his Life. Therefore, my Lord, to blame me for his Deed cannot be without injury.

And as touching my own Judgment of this *Primacy*, this I may truly say, that if there be any Men within this Realm, which ought to want Suspicion of this matter, but sincerely doth approve it without Dissimulation, I think I may be of that number. For of this, my Lord, I shall assure you, (and you shall never find me feigned) that before

before this matter was moved here in our Country, I much and oft desired it to be reformed, considering the damnable Heresies annexed to it. Infomuch that I was then noted and blamed of many Men, which otherwise judged. And this I once declared unto the King; before whom I never yet dissembled, nor never shall, during my Life. And though peradventure some such which knew the Familiarity betwixt Master *Pole* and me, (whose Amity and Friendship I did not a little Esteem, so long as he forsook not the Judgment of his Country, the Service of his Sovereign Lord, and Love to his natural Friends) have induced you to an injurious Suspicion; yet, my Lord, he liveth not, nor looketh upon the Light, that ever shall justify in me, towards my Lord and Master, any point of Dissimulation. Wherefore, my Lord, if I should otherwise be taken, it were no small Grief to me, standing in this Truth and Sincerity.

And as concerning my Preaching, one Word I am yet constrained to speak to you again, and I am constrained by the Desire I have to the setting forth of the Truth, not moved by any vain Glory: The word is this, That if my Intent and Purpose in my Preaching had been well taken, and indifferently considered, I should rather have been judged worthy of Thanks, which I sought not, than of Reproach, which I deserved not. For, my Lord, you know, it is not the right way of Preaching, to bring Men thereby unto the Light, with great Reproaches to condemn their Blindness suddenly; but that is the way rather to exasperate Men's Hearts, and so to confirm them in their Follies more stedfastly. Wherefore, my Lord, I have wished many times lately, and for the Love that I bare to the Truth, and to the Quietness of the City, wherein I have chosen my Dwelling Place, and I do yet wish daily, such Preachers to be elected, chosen and picked out, which without contention and study of Glory, shall set forth the Truth sincerely, and, after the Counsil of *St. Paul*, in things indifferent should have consideration of the Weakness of Men, and Infirmary; whereby they should promote and advance the Truth with Charity, and not exasperate and stir one Part to the Hate of the other, by light Suspicion, and foolish Contention, moved upon such Things as be indifferent, and nothing necessary to Men's Salvation. Such Preaching, my Lord, as me seemeth, were much to be desired: And now in this time most especially, wherein the King and you, with the other Counsellors, study to the setting forth of such a tempered Doctrine, whereof, as I am persuaded, all our Country ought not a little to Rejoyce in. For the Doctrine of our Country is now so tempered with Truth, that it is both purged from the old Abuses and foolish Superstitions, and also defended from the Errors of this Time and from all false Religion. The which thing hath caused me now so to apply my self to Preaching, and, I witness God, no glorious desire of Fame and Vanity. For if I were persuaded that this Doctrine, approved in our Country, were Erroneous, I would yet rather lose my Life shortly, than be one of those, which should set forth the same openly.

Nor think you not, my Lord, that I am so bleared with the Shadows of this Life, that I prefer the Life among them, above the Light of the Truth: Neither yet that I am, *Neq; frigibus neq; calidus,* sed

A N N O
1537.

Starky vindicates his Preaching.

A N N O 1537. *sed tepidus*, in the setting forth thereof, as peradventure by some Information you may conceive. For it is my daily Prayer to him that is the Fountain of Light, that I may by his Benefit both see the Truth, and also constantly to stand in the Defence of the same. Wherein I trust he doth, and will maintain and strengthen me continually, and give me his Grace not to stand therein coldly.

And though, my Lord, you judge me more to be travailed in Philosophy, than in the Trade of Scripture; and in the Writers thereupon, wherein peradventure your Lordship judgeth not much amiss; yet this I shall to you, my Lord, say, (I shall say it without arrogancy) that of the continual Reading of Scripture it self, wherein certain Years I have accustomed my self, I have gathered a certain Judgment. wherewith I long have examined such Writers as I have read thereupon. From the which I propose not to slip, during my Life. And in case I feel the Writers of this time to swerve from the same, I have them suspected. For in the old Authors, I find thereto a great Conformity. The Sum of my Judgment tends to these two Points. First, to a Contempt of this Life, and of the vain Pleasures thereof, and to a sure Trust and Confidence of another; looking up always to those Things which are not seen, with a clear Eye; not dazled with the Glittering of such Things as are present, and subject to our Sight. The other is, to a certain Unity and Concord, yea, and to a certain Band and Knot of Charity; whereby Men must knit themselves together as Members of one Body, and walk in an Obedience to the Order of the World: Despising all things, which other Men so much contend, and strive for; and bearing all trouble with Patience and Humility. To these two Poynts tend my Judgment, gathered of Scripture. The which, though they may peradventure appear vulgar and common, and to be but of small Moment and Weight; yet by them I do examine all the Writings, Sayings and Doings of this Time. The which not favouring hereof I do utterly condemn, and will do, while I live. For I abhor all such Seditious Acts and Doctrines, which, under the Pretence and Colour of the Truth, moveth upon Trifles such Controversies, whereby is broken the Order of Christian Charity.

Wherefore, my Lord, I do not a little rejoyce, to see here among us in our Country, by the common Consent of our Clergy, maintained and confirmed all true Ecclesiastical Polity, and no notable and necessary Order broken, nor infringed, by the plucking away of this Primacy, as many have greatly feared. Insomuch, my Lord, that if I may in this Rest of my Life, be in any Part a Minister to set forth this Order, approved by the Judgment of my Country, with Concord and Unity, I shall think my self not to be born utterly in vain. Wherefore, my Lord, I beseech you, as you judge me to be one of those, which intend to serve my Master and Country faithfully, so to help, that my Heart, Will and Mind may be taken of my Sovereign Lord, as it is, sincerely. Whereby I may be the better encouraged, to do that thing, which pertaineth to mine Office and Duty. To the which I shall endeavour my self most diligently; strengthened, as I trust, by him, who governeth all. To whose Governanc I shall now commit your Lordship. Beseeching you to pardon

Chap. 37. under King HENRY VIII.

pardon me of this Importunity, to which I am by Sortow constrained. *ANN O*
Written at London, the 24. of July. 1537.

Your Lordships,

THOMAS STARKY.

To the most Honourable, and my Singular
good Lord, my Lord Privy Seal.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

The King sends for Pole. Who refuses to come. Pole's Letter to the Bishop of Durham, about his Book.

BUT to look a little back to what hapened upon the King's Receipt of his Kinsman's Book, which he had sent to him by a Messenger. *Pole refuses to come over to the King, who sent for him.* However nettled the King was with the Writing (insomuch as he thought of bringing Pole under the Guilt of a Capital Offence), he dissembled his Anger, and in the Letter he sent back, which was in the Month of June, he only commanded him to come over, and to repair unto his Presence, all Excuses laid aside, that he himself might be the Interpreter of his own Book, because there were many Places that he did not so well apprehend: The Secretary in a Letter sent to him at the same Time, more vehemently persuading him to come over without delay. This Command of the King, so full of Danger on Pole's Part, he thought fit to disobey, and in the Room of himself, sent a very humble Letter unto the King, dated from Venice. Wherein he told him, 'That he that commanded him to come to him, would not let him come; by putting such Impediments in his way, that he could not pass to him, unless he should rashly cast away himself. (He meant the Laws lately made.) And were it not for these Lets, he would not only go, but run to him.' It is a long Letter: and Pole spake of divers Things, about the Reasons of writing his former Book, and about Queen Anne, and the King's assuming the Supremacy, and Dr. Sampson's Book, too tedious to be here inserted: And therefore have laid it in the Appendix. *And why.* *Numb. LXXXII.*

There were also Instructions which Pole gave to his Messenger, that carried this Letter to the King. Which Instructions he ordered him to shew his Majesty. Which were to declare that his whole Intent and Purpose in writing his Book, was to manifest the Truth in that matter of the Supremacy, which the Secretary had required him to do; and so took it as the King's Command. And that otherwise he had not set Pen to Paper, there being such little hope of Persuasion. And partly to answer some Books, written on the contrary Part, that were sent to him: wherein he saw, as he said, the Truth marvellously Supprest and Choaked. These Instructions are entred among Bishop Burnet's Collection, Vol. III. of his History. Which therefore I omit.

Numb. LI.
And

A N N O

1538.

The Bishop of
Durham by the
King's Com-
mand reads
Pole's Book.

And because in those Instructions *Pole* propounded to the King, that some learned and sad Man might read over his Book, and then upon Oath, give his Majesty a true and imparial Account thereof; and for this Purpose had above all others, recommended the Bishop of *Durham* to him, as being the Saddest and most grounded in Learning; therefore the King so far condescended to *Pole's* Request, as to command the said Bishop to peruse his Book. And to prepare the Bishop, *Pole* had about thistime writ a Letter to him: therein giving him as fair an Account of his Book as he could, and excusing his Vehemency therein. But when the Bishop had read over the Book, he was so far from approving of it, that he wrote a Letter in *July* to *Pole* from *London*, much contrary to his Expectation. Therein he wrote, 'That it made him heavy in his Heart at the Reading of it, and much moved, when he had read it through: And that all through he ran wide of the Truth. That in his Book he took it for granted, the King was gone from the Church, and laboured to reduce the King back again to it, by Penance: taking this up by the Reports he heard in those Parts, which were untrue. That the Vehemency of his Book gave many Blows, but little or no Salve to heal them; and so at good Length answered *Pole* very learnedly; and vindicated the King in the Rejection of the Pope, and assuming the Supremacy.' The Letter I had transcribed from the rough Draught thereof, of the Bishop's own Hand-writing: But finding it entred into the Third Volume of the History of the *Reformation*, I omit it here. See Collect. Numb. LII.

Pole to *Dur-*
ham in de-
fence of him-
self.

To this Letter *Pole* framed a very long Answer, (after his tedious way) dated in *August*, from a Place beside *Padua*. Wherein, 'He stoutly defended himself and his Book: and justified the Vehemency and Sharpness of his Stile; by saying, That it was no time to Sleep, when the Head of the Realm attempted such Things, as never did Prince, since the Christian Faith was received among Princes. And that he could not forbear doing this out of that Love he bare to him for all his Benefits, in bringing him up in Virtue and Learning. That the King did so amiss, that all the World cried out against it. That there was need he should plainly tell the King his Faults, because those about him were so negligent in it; and that they, whose Office it was, when the King demanded their Sentence, did not declare to him the Bruteness and Danger of the Thing. That he was forced to be so large to the King, and to write a long Book rather than a Letter, because the King should see fully the Evil of his late Acts, and abhor them. That whether his Book came abroad to the Sight of the World, or no, the King's Deeds were well known to all People; and that they were rehearsed commonly every where with more Slander, than he, or any Man in writing, could express. That before he set Pen to Book, they were talked of, with more dishonour to the King, than Pen could tell, and indeed they were written *stylo Adamantino*, as the *Jews* Sins were. And whereas the Bishop had earnestly desired him to burn the Original, for the securing both himself and the King from Slander; he said, The Verity thereof should stand; which he intended not so to abolish, nor to do that Injury to a Catholick Book, that is done to Heretical ones. That his Book could not be wrote *against the King*, as was urged, when it was tempered

in such a Manner, to shew him to avoid, with his Honour, the Dishonour of his Acts. That he well took it for the Ground of all his Books, that the King was swerved from the Unity of the Church, though the Bishop of *Durham* had said, that he had therein ran wide of the Truth: For what could it else be, but separating from the Unity of the Church, to take upon himself, in his Realm, the Name and Office of him, who as Head, did indeed keep the Unity of it. That it ever was the concurrent Consent of the Church, that there should be one Head-Pastor of the whole. That however the People rejoiced at the abolishing of the Pope's Authority, as a Deliverance from a grievous Burden; all the Popes together, that exercised their Authority in the Realm before, never so pressed the Spirituality, as they were pressed during that little time, since his Authority was suppressed. That there was never matter of greater Importance to the Wealth of the Realm, and the whole Church, than the Matter of the Papal Authority, now rejected. And that the Loss of the *East*, and the Falling of it into the Hands of Infidels, and all the Miseries thereupon; the Ground thereof was this very Matter, *Viz.* Disagreeing with the Church, rather than the Sword of the *Turk*. That the like Misery was to be feared in *England*. That the Liberty so much boasted of to be gained to the Kingdom, by departure from the Pope, (call his Authority as much as they will a *Captivity*) was more truly a Captivity: and that no Nation wished for such a Liberty, nor envied it to the *English* Nation. That all this began upon the King's unluckly Marriage; when the King left the Noblest and Best Lady in the World, for the Vilest, as the Cause of her Death shewed. That for Expectation of any Favour from the King, he thanked God, that since he came to manly Years, he could not remember that ever he had estimation of any thing the King or any other Prince could give him. And that if he had come to the Court to serve the King, he had come to give; not to receive. But for the rest, I refer the Reader to the Letter it self in the *Appendix*.

A N N O
 1538.

Nimb.
 LXXXIII.

The 26. of *July*, being the Day before *Pole* received the Bishop of *Durham*'s Letter, the Pope sent for him to *Rome*: Being resolved that Winter, before the General Council was to meet at *Mantua*, in *May*, the Year following, to consult with learned Men of all Nations, as he pretended, for the making the better Preparation for that Council: and to have a Congregation at *Rome* for that end. Of this, *Pole* gave signification to the King's Secretary, and sent him a Copy of the Pope's Brief to him to cite him. And now to the Bishop of *Durham* he declared the same, and his Resolution of going thither, the Pope having, as he said, a just Power of commanding him in such a just and holy Cause.

The Pope
 sends for *Pole*
 to *Rome*.

The Knowledge of this still more rankled the King's Heart against *Pole*. He had, to please the King, hitherto kept himself at *Padua* or *Venice*, and never went to *Rome*; that he might not seem to visit the Pope, whom the King had so broke with. But now growing more careless of the Kings' Displeasure, he was preparing himself to repair to *Rome*, according to the Pope's Command. At which his old Friend *Starky* writ him another Letter, trying to dissuade him from going; which being penned somewhat sharply, gave *Pole* Offence. However

He prepares
 to go.

A N N O in the Month of *January*, *Starkey* backed it with another, (especially upon the Rumour of his being now nominated for a Cardinal,) to this tenor.

Starkey's Letter to him hereupon. Cleop. E. 6. p. 371.

‘ Sorry I am, Maister *Pole*, that both my Sentence and Sharpness of Writing used on the Hearing of your Journey towards *Rome*, offended your Stomach so much, and took so little Effect. For albeit that you peradventure, judging me herein otherwise than my Nature requireth, so known unto you by long Conversation plainly, that I am corrupt with Affection, and wrot contrary to my own Conscience, blinded with Ambition; yet this I shall say unto you, and call him your Witness, who is privy both of your Thoughts and mine, that as the Sentence, wherein I stand, springeth of the only Zele of the Truth, and of the Desire of the setting forth of God’s Honour and Glory; so the Sharpness of my Writing, used toward you, came of the sincere Love, that I bare to you, and to your Family. For I am neither so gross and base of Judgment, as to prefer any worldly Vanity above that thing, which appeareth to be Truth and Verity; neither yet so unkind, as to use such sharpness to my Friend without reasonable Ground. For upon such time, as upon the declaring of your Sentence to the King, you intended to *Rome*, I then conceiving, as well upon the one Part, the Increase of the Schism stirred in Christ’s Church, which might ensue thereby, if you should there open your Judgment in your writing comprized abroad to the World; as upon the other Part, the Displeasure of your Prince, which might succede the same, both towards you and others of your Family; thought it expedient to use such Sharpness, and that so to do it appertained to my bounden Duty: To the which you may impute it, if it so please you.

‘ But now, Sharpness set aside, I shall say unto you, Maister *Pole*, these Two Words friendly, moved by such things as I lately heard from you. Though here be great Rumours spread Abroad, that you be named to be a Cardinal, and entred into that Order, by the which the Doctrine of Christ these many Years hath been little promoted, yet persuaded I am fully, that the Love of your Country so sticketh in your Brest, and the Desire of serving your Prince so pricketh your Heart, that you will never accept that Dignity, before you consider well the State of Christ’s Church now in this time: Weighing well the Pleasure of your Master, and bounden Duty to his gracious Goodness and Liberality. For to me it appeareth, that without such Consideration, you take not the streit Path to the Thing, to the which above all other, I am sure you direct your Labours and Studies: That is, to help to pluck out this Schisme of Christ’s Church, and to restore again Christian Unity. But rather it seems the very high Way to augment this Division. Forasmuch as by such Writing and Eloquence, the Roots thereof may be much confirmed.

‘ Wherefore, Maister *Pole*, if you stay your self to this matter, I think you shall hereafter nothing repent thereof. For though Matters of our Country have been here lately in great motion, the which peradventure you will impute to this defection from *Rome*, judging us thereby to be slipped from God’s Order and Institution; yet by the high Providence of him, who governeth all, and by the high Wisdom

dom and Goodness of our Prince, I trust, you shall yet hear such
 way to be found and taken herein, that ever the same Thing which
 ye perceive hath been the chief Root of this motion, shall be
 so tempered and ordered with Equity, that not only the Sincerity of
 Christian Doctrine shall come to more clear Light thereby, but also
 the Order of Christ's Church shall be restored again with Unity, ac-
 cording to the first Institution. Whereof that my hope is not in vain,
 I trust, you shall hear more shortly. And glad I would be to see you
 a Minister to God, and to your Prince in such purpose. That which
 I fear you shall never be, if you once enter into that Order at Rome,
 and take upon you that Dignity. Wherefore Master Pole, my trust
 is, that you will consider this matter with your self earnestly; and
 yet great hope I have, that honest Ingenuity shall once meet together
 in such a Mean, whereby this odious Schism, which now reigneth in
 Christ's Church, shall be extinct utterly. For the which I shall not
 cease to pray unto him, who is the only Author of all godly Unity;
 to whose Governance I shall now commit us all. Written at London,
 the 16. of January.

A N N O
 1538.

Yours yet, I trust, after the old Manner,

THOMAS STARKY.

This was the Second time Pole saw Rome, as much now against the
 King's Will, as the former Time was with it, which was Anno 1525.
 when he went thither for the Improvement of himself by Travail and
 Learning. Then were Two English Men, and great Scholars with him,
 Thomas Lupset, and Richard Pace. At which the great Erasmus salu-
 ted him with a Letter from Basil, sent by one Charles, who came from
 Basil thither, with John A Lasco. And in the Year 1526. Erasmus
 wrote him another Letter from Basil also: Both which are extant in the
 Volume of his Letters.

Pole at Rome.
 Anno 1525.

Lib. 15. Ep. 16.
 and Lib. 21.
 Ep. 27.

The XI. of the Calends of January, that is, December 22. Pole was
 made a Cardinal, notwithstanding all the former Dissuasions, and the King's
 Disgust: And so became wholly a Creature of the Papal Chair. Now
 both Bishop Tonstal, and Bishop Stokesley wrote a Letter unto him, be-
 ing at Rome; 'That for the good Will that they had born unto him in
 time past, as long as he continued the King's true Subject, they
 could not a little lament and mourn, that he neither regarding the
 inestimable Kindness of the King's Highness heretofore shewed unto
 him in his bringing up, nor the Honour of the House that he was
 come of, nor the Wealth of his Country that he was born in, should
 so decline from his Duty to his Prince; that he should be seduced by
 fair Words and vain Promises to the Bishop of Rome, to wind with
 him: Going about by all Means, to him possible, to pull down, and
 put under foot, his natural Prince and Master, to the Destruction of
 the Country that brought him up. And for the vain Glory of a
 Red-hat, to make himself an Instrument to set forth his Malice, who
 had stirred up by all means that he could, all such Christian Princes,
 as would give ear unto him, to depose the King [Henry] from his
 Kingdom, and to offer it as a Prey to them, that should execute his
 V O L. I. Q q 2 Malice,

Pole made
 Cardinal.

Tonstal and
 Stokesley write
 to him.
 Bee. Reports.
 fol. 272.

A N N O

1538.

Malice, and to stir, if he could, his Subjects against him, in stirring and nourishing Rebellions in his Realm. Where the Office and Duty of all good Christen Men, and namely, of us that be Priests, should be, to bring all Commotion to Tranquility, and Trouble to Quietness, and all Discord to Concord. And in doing the contrary, they shewed themselves to be but the Ministers of Satan, and not of Christ; who ordained all that were Priests, to use in all Places the Legation of Peace, and not of Discord. But since that could not be undone that was done, the second Thing was, to make amends, and to follow the Doing of the Prodigal Son, spoken of in the Gospel; who returned home to his Father, and was well accepted; as no doubt he might be, if he would say, as he said, in knowledging his Folly; and do as he did, in returning home again from wandring Abroad, in service of them, who little cared what became of him, so that their purpose might by him be served. Then they descended largely, to confute the Pope's Primacy out of the Fathers, and History of the antient Church; which knew not of his Primacy: and to assoyl Pole's Arguments. As may be seen at large both in *Becon's Reports*, and *Foxe's Monuments*; where this Letter is recorded.

Soon after this the Pope sent this his new Cardinal, as his Legate to France, to stir up that King against King Henry, his natural Prince. But his Majesty sent to the French King, to seize upon, and deliver Pole his Subject, over to his Ambassadors there. Which he understanding, was glad to shift away to Cambray. And thence he wrote a Letter to the Lord Crumwel, dated in May, 1637. wherein he professeth his Loyalty to the King, and complaineth of his usage of him. There he said these Things, 'That such was the King's Indignation against his Person, that to have him in his Hand, he would be willing to violate both the Laws of God and Man, and to disturb all Commerce between Country and Country. That such was the King's Dealings towards him, for the procuring of his undoing, that never the like was heard of in *Christendom* against any that bare that Person that he did. That he was for his part ashamed, rather than angry, out of the Compassion he had for the King's Honour, that he coming not only as an Ambassador, but a Legate, and so in the highest sort of Ambassage, should be so used. That a Prince of Honour should desire another Prince of like Honour, *Betray thy Ambassador, betray the Legate, and give him into my Ambassador's Hands, to be brought unto me.* A dishonourable Request. But that when he heard of this in France, it was a Kind of Pleasure to him: And he then said to the Company about him, that he never felt himself to be a Cardinal before then. Now God sent him like Fortune, as he did to those Heads of the Church, (whose Persons the Cardinals represented) which was to be persecuted of them most, whose Wealth they most studied. In this case lived the Apostles: and the same was now happened to him. That if we were Infidels, yet the Law of Nature would teach, how abominable both the Desire of this giving up of an Ambassador were on the one part, and the granting of it on the other.' This whole Letter also I transcribed from the Original.

Numb
LXXXIV.

I

When

When the Cardinal departed from *France*, and dared not to treat with the King about the Welfare of *Christendom*, as he stiled it, committed unto him by the Pope; he sent the Bishop of *Verona* to the *French* Court in his stead. Which Bishop, returning back from the said Court, attempted to speak with King *Henrie's* Ambassadors, who were the Bishop of *Winton*, and Mr. *Brian*, then at *Abbeville*, (which lay in his way) that he might justify the Cardinal to them, to intend nothing by this his Legation, but the King's Honour. The Ambassadors would not speak with this *Italian* Bishop, but they sent to him their Secretary. To whom after he had sufficiently declared the Effect of the Cardinal's Legacy, the Secretary seemed to acknowledge, that there were sinister Reports made to the King of this purpose of the Cardinals coming into those Parts; and that the King might be evil informed: The Secretary adding, that when the King by Letter or Messenger were better informed, he would, no question, turn his Mind, as he saw the Deeds to justify themselves. This when that Bishop had reported to the Cardinal, he hereupon began to tell him, how he had endeavoured by all means to testify the King's Misinformations, both by Letter and by his Messenger, sent often for that purpose. But that he could never be admitted to have Audience of the King.

This Bishop of *Verona* was long known both to the King of *England* and the *French* King, and well accepted of both: He knew also *Pole's* Concerns, since his departure out of the Realm. And being so well acquainted with Affairs relating to him, and both Princes, the Pope engaged him to go along with the Cardinal in this Legation. This Man, the Cardinal now moved to go unto King *Henry*, and try to quiet his Mind, as to his Surmises and Jealousies against the Cardinal. To the which the Bishop answered, that he would be content at all Times to repair to the King, and take this charge upon him, if it were permitted; knowing the Cardinal's Matters as he did, and seeing what Conveniences might follow, and what Comfort it might be to all Parties, if the Cardinal's true and faithful Dealings were well signified unto the King.

This Passage Cardinal *Pole* in his Letter to the Lord *Crumwel* related, that he might intimate it to the King: Endeavouring to demonstrate thence his good Mind towards him; and to put him into a way to have all Suspicions he entertained of the Cardinal cleared, and things relating to him appear, and be brought to Light, which were somewhat obscure before. He added, 'that if he had born any other than a good Will unto the King, he should never have done as he had done; that is, making the King privy by Letter unto all his Actions and Processes, and of the Cause of his going to *Rome*, and of his present Legacy. Such Advices, he said, Rebels [among which the King reckoned him] were not wont to give. That once when Censures were ready to come forth against the King from the Pope, he stopped them from being published, lest it might cause more trouble to his Majesty; and that then he sent his Servants to him to offer his Service, to procure by all means he could, the King's Honour and Wealth, and Quietness: at which time he also encouraged his neer Kinsmen to remain constant in their Service to the King. So that if he had been

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1538.

Cardinal Pole
sends the Bp.
of Verona to
the French K.
and the En-
glish Ambas-
sadors.

This Bp. ap-
pointed by the
Pope to ac-
company Pole.

The Cardinal
declares his
Merits to-
wards the
King.

hired

ANNO 1538. hired by Rewards to do him Service at *Rome*, he could not have done him more. This Rebels, as he repeated again, were not wont to do. That he would not assent to many things, propounded at *Rome*, tending to the King's Disquiet. Insomuch that some judged him half a Rebel to God and his Country. His Loyalty also to the King appeared, in that he had suppressed certain Writings, which some, and they of Authority to command him, would have seen and published: Writings which would have caused most trouble of all. He concluded, that after this, he intended no further to labour, to justify himself: And that he had neglected his Service to God and the Catholic Church on this behalf, because he would not offend the King. And so expected to know the King's Pleasure, whether he would admit the Bishop of *Verona* to make his repair to him. Which I think he never did. But proceed we now to other Matters. The next Year we shall hear of the Cardinal again.

C H A P. XXXIX.

Instructions to the Bishops. Crumwel's Letter to them. State of Religion in York Diocese. The large English Bible, with Marginal Notes, first printed.

Preaching regulated.

Articles of Religion.

Addend. to the Coll. of Rec. Vol. I.

Instructions to Bishops. Cleopatra E. 5. p. 290.

THE King saw it necessary to look diligently after the Preachers. Some whereof preached bitterly against others, according as they stood affected to the Reformation of Popish Abuses, or favoured them. The evil whereof was, that the People were brought to a diversity of Opinion, and so into Contentions among themselves. There was also among the People much speaking against the Ceremonies and Customs of the Church. Hereupon the King somewhat before this time, had writ sundry Letters to the Bishops, to admonish them to preach God's Word sincerely, and to declare Abuses plainly; and in no wise to treat contentiously of matters indifferent. And this same thing, occasioned the King this Year to publish by his own Authority certain Articles of Religion, (as well as to conceive them by his own Pen;) as manifest and necessary to be read to, and taught his Subjects, for avoiding Contention, and bringing in Unity. But notwithstanding, there was much speaking against them, especially against the Use and Custom of the Ceremonial Things of the Church. Nor did that Quiet and Unity grow thereupon, as was desired. Whereupon, next the King issued out his Letters to the Bishops, directing them how to instruct the People. Which because it may be seen in the History of the *Reformation*, I shall only touch the Heads of.

These Instructions, (which were to be observed upon pain of Deprivation) were Five. I. That the Bp. should every Holy Day, read and declare plainly and distinctly the Articles, and in no wise vary a Word, to make the same doubtful to the People. II. Each to travel from place to place in his Diocese, and make a Collation to the People; and to set forth plainly the Text of Scripture; and to declare

clare that Obedience that is due by God's Law to the Prince; and to command and press the honest Ceremonies of the Church. Yet tempering his Discourse so, that the People might not put over much assistance in them. III. To use no word in their private Conversation, to the contrary of this the King's Commandment: Nor to keep any in his House, that shall speak in these Matters, of the Ceremonies contentiously, or contemptuously. And if there should be any such toward them, to send them up to the King and his Council to be punished. IV. To give streit Commandment to all Parsons, Vicars and Curates, and Governors of Religious Houses and Colleges, that they do as was commanded the Bishops in the indifferent Praise of Ceremonies, and avoiding Contentions, and contentious and contemptuous Communication. And that none should preach out of their own Church. V. To make secret Inquiry for such Priests, as have of late married themselves; and since used and exercised the Office of Priesthood; and to signify it to the Council.

These Instructions I should conclude, were sent by the Lord *Crumwel* to all the Bishops, enclosed in this Letter of his own, by and by to follow, had not the Difference of the Dates caused some hesitation: The King's Letter with the Instructions, bearing date *November 19.* and the Letter of *Crumwel*, *January* the 7th. But however the Matter of this Letter being such a Concordance with those Instructions, I will place it here. Wherein may be seen how roundly he dealt with the greatest Spiritual Men, and bore out himself in so doing, by the Office the King had laid upon him, *Of Supreme and Principal Officer and Minister in all Matters that might any thing touch the Clergy.* And this was the Tenor of his Letter.

After my right hearty Commendations to your Lordships. Ye shall herewith receive the King's Highness Letter addressed unto you, to put you in remembrance of his Highness Travails, and your Duty touching order to be taking for Preaching. To the intent, the People may be taught the Truth; and yet not charged at the Beginning with over many Novelties. The Publication whereof, unless the same be tempered and qualified with much Wisdom, doth rather breed Contention, Division and Contrariety in Opinion, in the unlearned Multitude, than Edify, or remove from them, and out of their Hearts, such Abuses; as by the corrupt and unfavoury Teaching of the Bishop of *Rome*, and his Disciples have crept into the same. The Effect of which Letter, albeit I doubt not, but as well for the Honesty of the Matters, as for your own Discharge; you will so consider, and put in Execution, as shall be to his Grace's Satisfaction on that behalf: Yet forasmuch as it hath pleased his Majesty to appoint and constitute me, in the Room and Place of his Supreme and principal Officer and Minister in all matters, that may any thing touch his Clergy, or their Doings; I thought it also my Part, for the Exoneration of my Duty towards his Highness, and the rather to answer his Grace's Expectation, Opinion and Trust conceived in me, and in that among others especially committed for my Fidelity, to desire and pray you, in such substantial sort and manner, to travail in the Execution of the Contents of his Graces said Letters; namely, for avoiding of Contrariety in Preaching, of the Pronunciation of Novelties,

A N N O
1538.

Crumwel's
Letter to the
Bishops.

Cleopatra E. 5;
p. 203.

A N N O
1538.

Novelties, without wise and discreet Qualifications, and the Repression of the Temerity of those, that either privily or apertly, directly or indirectly, would advance the pretended Authority of the Bishop of Rome: As I be not for my Discharge, both enforced to complain further, and to declare what I have now written for that purpose, and so to charge you with your own Fault, and to devise such remedy for the same, as shall appertain: Desiring your Lordship to accept herein my meaning, tending only to an Honest, Friendly and Christian Reformation, for the avoiding of further Inconveniences: And to think none Unkindness, though in this matter, wherein it is almost more than time to speak, I write frankly, compelled and enforced thereunto, both in respect of my private Duty, and otherwise for my Discharge. Forasmuch as it pleaseth his Majesty to use me in the Lieu of a Counsellor, whose Office is an Eye to the Prince, to foresee, and in time to provide remedy for such Abuses, Enormities and Inconveniences, as might else with a little Sufferance, ingender more evil in the publick Weal, than could after be redubbed with much Labour, Study, Diligence and Travail. And thus most heartily fare you well. From the Roulz, the viith of January.

Your Loving Friend,

THOMAS CRUMWELL.

What was
done in York
Diocese upon
this Letter.

This Letter, together with the King's Instructions before mentioned, brought many factious and busy Preachers of both Sorts into trouble. In York Diocese, the Archbishop there was so tender of offending the King, and his Vicar General, that there being a Friar in York, that preached of Purgatory, [that is, I suppose against it] before he knew the King's Will and Pleasure, he silenced him from preaching any more: And another Friar in Doncaster, who in preaching, reflected upon some of the late Articles of Religion, he silenced also: And a Third, being a Gray Friar, who preached New Things, as preaching against the old Superstitions were called. Here were also a few other Preachers of this sort, who it seems had the King's Authority to license them. Of these the Archbishop likewise informed Crumwell, and that at this preaching of Novelties, the People much grudged, being sometimes done also without both Charity and Discretion. There were indeed some few honest Friars and others even in those North Parts. And these the Archbishop chiefly complained of, and endeavoured to suppress, and rid those Quarters of, especially being fortified by the foresaid Letters: Though they were directed only against such as should preach up these new Things without wise and discrete Qualifications, and that, charged the People with too many of them at the Beginning. But towards those that were addicted to the Pope, and preached up his Authority (which sort most abounded there) he was more favourable, making no Complaints at all, as if there were none such in his Diocese. But he that is minded to see somewhat of the present State of Religion in Yorkshire, may read the said Archbishop's Letters in the Appendix.

Numb.
LXXXV.

I

About

About this time also, as near as I can guess, (for I am left to grope for the Date) one *Cootes* in the Bishop of *Wigorn's* Diocese, preached very zealously for Popery. He was a Man influenced much by *More's* Book; built much upon unwritten Traditions, and affirmed, that the Laws made by the Spirituality were of equal Authority with the Word of God, to oblige to the Observance of them. *Crumwel* hearing of him, sent for him up: The Bishop, who was *Hugh Latimer*, sent up the Sermon he preached, that gave the Offence, as *Cootes* himself had in his own behalf favourably writ it. The desire of the Bishop, in a Letter to *Crumwel* was, that he would so deal with him, as either to reform him, or to inhibit him his Diocese, and send another in his place. The Letter being short, I will here insert, which according to *Latimer's* witty way of speaking, ran in this tenor.

A N N O
1538.

One *Cootes*, in
Worcestershire
for preaching,
sent for up by
Crumwel.

' Right Honourable Sir, *Salutem plurimam*. And because I hear
' your Mastership hath sent for Master *Coots*, which preached at *Halls*,
' to come to you: therefore I do send now unto you his Sermon; not
' as he spake it, (if he spake it as his Hearers reported) but rather as
' he had modified and tempered it, since he perceived that he should
' be examined of it. And yet peradventure you will not judge it every
' way very well powdered. He seems to be very well studied in Master
' *Moor's* Book, and to have framed him a Conscience and a Judgment
' somewhat according to the same; and to avoid also Falsities, he ap-
' peareth to stick stiffly to unwritten Verities. I would fain hear him tell,
' who be those new Fellows, that would approve no Sciences, but
' Grammar. *Qui vos audit, &c. Obedite Præpositis, &c. Qui Eccle-*
' *siam non audivit, &c.* Serveth him gayly, for Traditions and Laws
' to be made of [by] the Clergy authoritatively, and to be then ob-
' served of the Laity necessarily, as equal with God's own Word, as
' some, saith he, both thinketh and heareth.

Bp. *Latimer's*
information
concerning
him.
Cleopatra E. 5.

' As far as I can learn of such as here commoned with him, he is
' willfully witty, *Dunsly* learned, *Moorly* affected, bold not a little,
' zealous more then enough: if you could monish him, charme him,
' and so reform him, &c. or else I pray you inhibit him my Diocese.
' You may send another, and appoint him his Stipend, which God
' grant you do. To whom I now and ever commit you.

Yours,

H. WYGORN.

A great Rebellion brake out in the *North* this Year, headed by *Ask*, and others; that superstitious People, (acted by Popish Zealots) not bearing to see the Lady *Mary* made Illegitimate, the Monks expelled their Houses, and the Pope deprived of his pretended Jurisdiction in *England*: the Reversal of these things, being the Chief of their Demands from the King. And if we may believe *Gardiner*, the Bishop of *Winchester*, in a famous Sermon he read at *St. Paul's Cross*, in the Year 1554. the King began to relent. For he was sure, he said, the King was determined to have given over the Supremacy to the Pope; but the Hour was not then come. But if the Hour then was not come, the most probable Reason was, because the King determined no such

The Rebellion
in the *North*.

A N N O matter. For nothing seemed so dear to the King, as this his Supremacy
1538. in his own Dominions.

The King
comes to
Canterbury.
August. Monk's
Journal.

St. Augustine's
Abby, Canter-
bury, visited.

Houses in Can-
terbury sup-
pressed.

Rebels ex-
ecuted.

The whole
Bible in En-
glish printed.

' The xxi. Day of *July*, King *Henry* came to *Canterbury*, with the
' Lady *Jane*, the Queen, who in the Monastery of *S. Augustin* was very
' honourably received: The Reverend Father, *Thomas Goldwel*, Prior
' of *Christ's Church* being present. Who from thence went to *Dover* to
' see the Peer, to his great Charge and Cost begun.

' The same Year, the 20th and 21th Day of *September*, Doctor
' *Peter* (being sent of the Lord *Crumwel*, to visit all the Clergy
' throughout all *Kent*) did visit this Abby of *St. Augustines* [*Canter-*
' *bury*:] making Enquiry of the Observing of the Injunctions, which
' were in the first Visitation received by Doctor *Leyghton*.

' In the Year of our Lord 1537, the 23d Day of *February*, the
' Monastery of *Saynet Gregories* was suppressed, and the Chanons were
' expelled; Mr. *Spitman* and Mr. *Candel*, being the King's Commis-
' sioners hereunto appointed.

' The same Day, the Church of *St. Sepulchre*, by the Authority of
' the same Commission, and by the same Commissioners, was suppressed.
' The Monks notwithstanding at that time were not removed. For
' they obtained Licence to abide there until *Easter*. Which notwith-
' standing, scarcely remained one Month afterwards. And so at the
' last, the Week before *Easter*, they were expelled.

' The same Year, divers Persons of *Lincolnshire*, which made the
' foresaid Infurrection, and also many Persons of *Yorkshire*, were put
' to Death, both there and also at *London*, about the Time of *Lent*
' and *Whitsuntyde*. The Captains of that Conspiracy were, the Lord
' *Hussey*, the Lord *Darcy*, Son of the Lord *L.* with other Gentlemen
' of those Parties. The Chiefest notwithstanding in that Conspiracy
' was a certain Lawyer, whose name was *Aske*; a Man of base Paren-
' tage, yet of marvelous Stomach and Boldness.

Among these favourable Proceedings towards a Reformation of
Abuses in Religion, the whole Bible translated in *English*, now came
forth in Print, by the Pains and Labour chiefly of *Tyndal* and *Coverdal*;
whereas before some Parts of it, as the five Books of *Moses*, some of
St. Paul's Epistles, the Gospels, or one of them, were obscurely set
forth. And that it was this Year printed, and that with Marginal
Notes, for the better Information of the Readers, in the Sense of more
difficult Places; one of these Notes fixeth us in the Year of the
Edition. *viz.* *Mark I.* Upon those words, *What new Doctrine is this*;
the Note in the Margin is, ' That that was then *New*, after *XV.C.*
' *XXXVI.* Years, is yet *New*. When will it then be old? This Note
was made to meet with the common Reproach then given to the Re-
ligion reformed, that it was a *New* upstart Religion, and called, *the*
New Learning. Another Marginal Note was at *Matthew xxv.* *And the*
wife answered, Not so, lest there be not enough, &c. where the Note is,
Note here, that their own good Works sufficed not for themselves; and
therefore remained none to be distributed unto their Fellows. Against
Works of Supererogation, and the Merits of Saints. And *Matthew*
xvi. *I say unto thee, that thou art Peter: And upon this Rock, &c.* The
Note is, *That is, as saith St. Austin, upon the Confession which thou*
hast made, knowing me to be Christ, the Son of the living God, I
build

build my Congregation, or Church. And again, I will give the Keys of *A N N O*
the Kingdom of Heaven. The Note is, Origen writing upon *Matthew* 1538.
in his first Homily affirmeth, that these Words were as well spoken to
all the rest of the Apostles, as to Peter. And proves it, in that Christ;
John xx. saith, Receive the Holy Ghost. Whose Sins soever ye remit,
&c. and not, thou remittest. And *Matthew xvij. Whatsoever ye bind*
on Earth shall be bound in Heaven And whatsoever ye loose on Earth,
&c. Margin; *Whatsoever ye bind, &c. is, whatsoever ye condemn by*
my Word in Earth, the same is condemned in Heaven. And what ye
allow by my Word in Earth, is allowed in Heaven. These and such like
Notes and Explications, giving offence no doubt to the Popish Bishops,
when the Bible was printed again, (which was in the Year 1540.) all
was left out.

Whatever Steps the King had by this time made in a Reformation
of Religion, by the Ministry chiefly of *Crumwel*, and the Archbishop
of *Canterbury*, (as the setting forth Articles of Religion, Injunctions
for the Clergy, and the Bible in *English*) the Bishops generally were
backward; and went little further than the denial of the Pope's Authority
above the King's, in his Kingdom. And therefore the Lord Privy Seal
writes again to them: Blaming them for their negligence, and pres-
sing the King's Injunctions upon them: and particularly, that the Bible
in *English* should be in all their Houses, and in all Churches, to be read
by all. But this whole Letter, as I transcribed it out of a Volume in
the *Cotton Library*, is worthy entring into this History. And was as
followeth.

The Bishops
but backward
in Religion.

' After my right hartly Commendations. Whereas the King's High-
ness, minding to set forth the Glory of God, and the Truth of his
Word, hath as well in his own Person, as by other his Ministers,
travailed to bring the same, plainly and sincerely to the Knowledge
of his Subjects: and for that Purpose, not onely in the late *Visitation*,
exercised by Authority of his Majesty, but also at other Times and
other Wayes, hath ordained many godly Ordinances and Injunctions,
and given also sundry strait Commandments, as well to you, as to all
other Persons Ecclesiastical, of all Sorts and Degrees within this his
Realm. Forasmuch as it is come to his Grace's Knowledge, that the
said Ordinances, Commandments and Injunctions have been very re-
missly hitherto observed, kept and obeyed within your Diocese: and
his Highness's People there for want of the Sincere and true Teach-
ing of the Word of God, suffered to live and dwell continually in
their old Ignorance and Blindness: His Grace's Plesure and express
Commandment is, that you, having a more vigilant Care, and better
Respect to his Highness's said Commandment and Ordinance, cause
the same, and every of them, to be duely published and observed:
Foreseeing as well in your own Person, as by the Archdeacons,
Chancellors, Officials, Deans, Curats, and other Ministers; that all
such Curates and other Persons Ecclesiastical, as after these many
callings on, shall be found negligent, remiss, or stubborn in the
following them, or any of them, receive for their Transgressions in
that behalf, such Punishment as in the said Ordinances is contained;
and more, as to the Directions shall be seen meet and con-
venient.

Excited by
Crumwel's Let-
ter to them.
Cot. Library.

A N N O
1538.

‘ And further, his Grace’s Pleasure and high Commandment is, that you with no less Circumspection and Diligence, cause the Bible in *English*, to be laid forth openly in your own Houses; and that the same be in like manner openly laid forth in every Parish Church, at the Charges and Cost of the Parsons and Vicars. That every Man having free Access to it, by reading of the same, may both be the more apt to understand the *Declaration* of it at the Preachers Mouth; and also the more able to Teach and Instruct his Wife, Children and Family at home. Commanding nevertheless all Preachers and other Curates within that your Diocese, that they at all Times, and especially now at the Beginning, exhort and require the People to use and read the Bible, so left among them, according to the Tenor of an Instruction, which ye shall receive herein enclosed: To be sent to every Curate, with a certain Day by you to be appointed; within the which the Bible in *English* be, as is aforesaid, laid forth in every Church.

Declaration
concerning
the Bible to
be read by
Curates to the
People.

The said *Instruction*, and *Declaration*, enclosed in the Lord Privy Seal’s Letter, which the Bishops were enjoined to send to all Curates, to be read by them, to their respective Parishioners, upon the publishing of the Bible, was to this Purpose: ‘ That the King, Supreme Head under God, of this Church, for a Declaration of the great Zeale he bare to the setting forth of God’s Word, and virtuous Maintenance of the Commonwealth, had permitted, and commanded the Bible in our *English* Tongue to be published, to be sincerely taught by them, the Curates; and to be openly laid forth in every Parish Church: That all his good Subjects, as well by the Reading thereof, as by the Hearing the true Explanation of the Faith, might be able to learn their Duties to Almighty God and his Majesty: and every one of them to use charitably one another. And that applying themselves to do according to what they should hear and learn, they might both speak and do Christianly. — — That his Majesty had willed and commanded this to be declared unto them, that his Pleasure and Commandment was, that in reading and hearing thereof, most humbly and reverently using and addressing themselves unto it, they should always have in their Remembrance, that all things contained in that Book, was the undoubted Will, Law and Commandment of Almighty God, the only and strait Means to know the Goodness and Benefits of God to us, and the true Duty of every Christen Man, to serve him according to his Will. And that if at any time by reading, any Doubt should arise to any of them, touching the Sense and Meaning of some part thereof, then not giving too much to their own Minds, Fantasies and Opinions, they should have recourse to such learned Men, as should be authorized to preach and declare the same.’ This whole Declaration is exemplified in the *Memorials* of Archbishop *Cranmer*, *Appendix*, Numb. XXIII.

Grafton printed
1500. of
these Bibles.

There were Fifteen Hundred of these Bibles, now printed in the large Volume by *Richard Grafton*: the Charge of the printing amounted to 500 l. This Holy Book being so acceptable to the People, some *Dutchmen*, that were good Printers, went about to print it in a small Volume; and so of a less Price, to enable the more to purchase it. *Grafton* therefore address’d to the Lord Privy Seal, that he would procure

procure him the License for his Allowance of it ; and to prohibit all others from printing it for three Years, lest he for his good Deed might be undone. And moved that Lord further, that for the better and speedier Sale of this Bible, every Abbot might be enjoined to cause Six of them to be laid in several Places of the Convent, for the Brethren to read ; and every Curate to have one ; that they thereby might learn to know God, and to instruct their Parishioners. And this no question, gave Occasion to the said Lord to write the above-mentioned Letter to the Bishops. *Grafton's Letter* is preserved in the *Memorials* of Archbishop *Cranmer*, Appendix, Numb. XX.

C H A P. XL.

Cardinal Pole goes back to Rome. His Legacy from the Pope discovered. Letters from Throgmorton and Legh concerning the Cardinal..

POLE some time after the writing of his Book of *Ecclesiastical Union*, was declared the King's Rebel to all Nations. Concerning him, *Crumwel* once uttered these threatening Words against him, (who had so angered the King by his Book) *That he would make him eat his own Heart.* Which *Latimer* had heard him say: And in a Letter of his, puts him in mind of, upon the Occasion of his being declared Rebel; and attainted. *viz.* ' I heard you say once, after you had seen that ' furious Invective of *Cardinal Pole*, that you would make him eat ' his own Heart : Which you have now, I trow, brought to pass. ' For he must needs eat his own Heart ; and be as Heartless as he is ' Graceless.

But the *Pope* however, as well deserving of this Man, made him Cardinal ; and sent him in the Beginning of this Year, into the Parts next adjoyning to *England*, in quality of Legate, to promote the *Pope's* Designs, and to stir up Enemies to the King. He knew of his coming, and ferreted him out of *France* : Writing to that King not to entertain him, but to deliver him up, as hath been remembred before. Thence he went to the *Low Cointries*, accompanied among others, with one *Michael Throgmorton* his Servant. *Hutton*, the King's Agent, acted his Part so dextrously, that he gained *Throgmorton*. The Queen Regent, Governess of the *Low Countries*, upon the Message of the King to her against the Cardinal, refused to allow him to tarry in her Dominions. And having before dispatched a Letter to the Lord *Crumwel*, to clear himself of ill Designs against the King ; now in another to the Regent, he told her his Message chiefly was to dispute the Errors of the King's Reformation.

The Cardinal held his Correspondence with *England*, by close and secret Methods : Whereof the aforesaid *Throgmorton*, and *Peyto*, a *Franciscan*, gave Intelligence in some Part, as the Lord *Herbert* found in some Records. *Throgmorton* certified also his Return to *Rome*, in *November* this Year, where he was received with much Triumph. For he was revoked about this time to *Italy*, against the sitting of the General

Cardinal Pole
not suffered in
France nor the
Low Countries.

Recalled to
Rome.

Hist. of King
Henry, p. 482.

A N N O General Council; which was appointed to be on the first of *November*.
 1537. Yet I find this *Throgmorton*, and *Peyto*, together with *Goldsnel* and
Hilliard Clarks, all, as it seems, *Pole's* Servants, attainted with him in
December the next Year, for casting off their Duty to the King, and
 Subjecting themselves to the Bishop of *Rome*.

Throgmorton's
discovery to
Crumwel con-
cerning Pole.

Cleop. E. 6.
p. 382.

Throgmorton being now gained, was to be employed by the Lord
 Privy Seal, to learn as much of *Pole's* Designs and Affairs as might be.
 The said Lord therefore seems to have sent him to *Rome*, to see the
 Bottom of this Legacy of *Pole*, and to know *Pole's* Mind. To take all
 from *Throgmorton's* own Pen, as I find it in a Letter of his writ to the
 said Lord Privy Seal, dated from *Liege*, *August* the 23. this Year.
 From the Letter it appears, ' That *Throgmorton* came with *Pole* from
 ' *Rome* to *Paris*, sent thither by the Pope: that the King took him for
 ' a much greater Rebel, than either *Throgmorton*, or *Pole* himself
 ' thought, at their departure from *Rome*. And *Throgmorton*, seeing
 ' him to be accounted for such by the King, prayed *Pole* to give him
 ' his dispatch. So *Pole* told him, that he thought it not convenient to
 ' send him with Letters of Credence to the King's Grace, who he had
 ' perfect Knowledge took him, as he said, undeservedly, for so grievous
 ' an Adversary or Rebel, as he would never have thought, finding no
 ' cause why, in all his Actions and Purposes. That his Grace took all
 ' things to the contrary, that ever he did, said, or wrote. And here-
 ' upon *Pole* delayed his dispatchment, till he came to some settled place;
 ' and soon after arrived at *Cambray*. Where being himself in great
 ' Danger through the King's procurement, thought it neither Time nor
 ' Place, to commune further concerning *Throgmorton's* Dispatch.

' Being here at *Cambray*, he declared to *Throgmorton* more fully than
 ' ever, the Effect of his Legacy; which he said; had that ground, that
 ' concerned the Difference of his Opinion concerning the Unity of
 ' the Church. Wherein he said, that for fear, Favour, or Love of any
 ' Creature living, he would never change: But that in the rest he
 ' was never, that favoured more the King's true Honour and Wealth,
 ' nor that could do more to the Maintenance and Furtherance thereof;
 ' than he both did, shewed, and purposed in his whole Legacy to do.
 ' That if he had been minded to the contrary, he began to shew what
 ' Occasions he had to hinder the same, both by force of his Lega-
 ' cy, and in this especially, which they could never persuade him to:
 ' Which was, that at the Point of his Departure, they would have had
 ' him to have left his Book in the Pope's Hand, who in his Absence
 ' would have put it forth and published it. And herein was made such
 ' violent Instance, that without Force, there could be no more shewed.
 ' That when they saw his so stiff and obstinate Resistance, alledging
 ' divers Causes therefore, and this in special, how it might be hurtful to
 ' the Cause, (if the King's Grace were inclined to return) so to irritate
 ' by such a Book put forth in the mean Time, when he went about a
 ' Reconciliation: But yet with that they would in no wise be satisfied,
 ' unless he put them in some hope, that at his Return, in case he retur-
 ' ned desperate of the King's Mind, he would be content that they
 ' should do what they and he thought best: And thereupon they were
 ' willing to defer all things till his Return.

' That

‘ That he refused now a Second Time, the Exercise of Censures *A N N O*
 ‘ against the King. That touching the Matters he had to treat with *1537.*
 ‘ Princes, to whom his Legacy was directed; he affirmed with constant
 ‘ Asseveration, that he never thought nor meant to treat with them,
 ‘ but what should be most for the King’s Honour, if his Grace’s Mind
 ‘ did any thing incline to that Part, that other Princes did, touching
 ‘ the Unity of the Church: That it might seem most to come by the
 ‘ Request and Desire of other Princes, for the Wealth of *Christendom*:
 ‘ that they would demand the same of the King’s Grace, by Request
 ‘ and Prayer. And that he did this the more, because of the Violence
 ‘ that the People had used of late, in that behalf. *

* In the Re-
 bellion in the
 North.

‘ That for this one great Cause he had desired the Bishop of *Verona*
 ‘ to accompany him in this Legation, as an Instrument most meet for
 ‘ this Purpose, both for the great Favour he had ever been in with the
 ‘ *French King*, and our King likewise, through the good Pleasure and
 ‘ Service he had done for them both in times past, (when he was in
 ‘ Office and Place) also, for the good Practice and Wisdom and good
 ‘ Opinion the said Bishop was in; most of all known in governance of
 ‘ his Bishoprick. That for the foresaid Causes, he thought him the
 ‘ more meet Person to intreat these Matters betwixt these Princes.
 ‘ And for this, he told *Throgmorton*, he was now called, and taken as
 ‘ a Rebel.

‘ In Conclusion, *Pole* said, he feared lest at the last, the King con-
 ‘ tinuing his Persecution in publishing him as his Rebel to all Princes,
 ‘ that he should be constrained both before all Princes, and in face of
 ‘ all *Christendom*, to declare himself, what a Rebel he is, and for what
 ‘ Causes. Wherein he said, that for his own Part, if he sought
 ‘ Honour, he would desire no more, than to make it to be openly
 ‘ known, after what fashion he was rebelled from his Grace.

Throgmorton wrote also, ‘ That the Pope, as he had sent Indulgen-
 ‘ ces through all *Christendom*, to pray for Deliverance, from the Dan-
 ‘ ger of the *Turk*, so he would send also through *Christendom*, Indul-
 ‘ gences to pray for the King, with the State of *England*, for their
 ‘ Return to the Unity of the Church; rehearsing what charitable Means
 ‘ had been used to that intent, but without taking Effect. They in-
 ‘ tended moreover in these Indulgences, to describe many of the
 ‘ King’s Acts. And for *Pole*’s Justification in relation to his Book,
 ‘ they about the Pope, intended at his Return, to put it in Print, if he
 ‘ would consent thereto: as it would be hard for him to deny, for the
 ‘ great Confidence they had therein, more than in all the rest; for the
 ‘ virtuous Life and other great Qualities, they had conceived of the
 ‘ Writer thereof.

‘ That upon *Pole*’s Return, hanged both the divulging of the
 ‘ Censures, putting forth the Book, and sending the new Ambassadors
 ‘ to all Christen Princes, if he refused to take on him to commend
 ‘ unto them the Case of *England*.

‘ That many were grettly astonied to see the great Diligence and
 ‘ Procurement many wayes on the King’s behalf, for the utter Ruin
 ‘ and Destruction of this Man: which daily came to his knoweldge
 ‘ divers wayes. And yet notwithstanding all such Irritation, he con-
 ‘ tinued and persevered in the same Love and constant Mind to the
 ‘ King’s

ANN O King's Honour and Wealth, that he had ever hitherto shewed: Declining to no Man's Requests or Desires in any thing as yet, that might put his Grace to any Dishonour, Hindrance or Trouble. Which made many Men so much the more to marvel, to see the King's Grace so highly bent rather to his Ruin and Destruction, than to take some way to reconcile him.' This that hath been said, will give some notice of *Pole*, not yet perhaps known.

Legh confesses what he knew of Pole.

There was about the Year 1538. (that I may lay together *Pole's* Matters) one *John Legh*, a Traveller, lately laid in the Tower upon Suspicion to belong unto *Pole*, or to be privy to his Dealings. He was once a Servant to Cardinal *Wolsey*; and the Court suspected him to be illy affected towards the Prince, and that he went out of *England* upon treasonable Purposes, to make Enemies to his Country. But he pleaded for himself, that he had neither Kin nor Substance, proper to maintain and carry on such Designs, nor universal Acquaintance or Knowledge, by reason of his so long Absence. He was but newly come into *England*, from his Travels; in which indeed he met with *Pole*: and thereupon grew the Jealousy of him. This was the Cause he was laid in Prison; to get out of him what Correspondence he had used with *Pole*. He therefore made a Confession of what he knew concerning him. And now in a Letter, he assured the Lord Privy Seal, and took God to witness, that this, and what he wrote in a former Letter, was all the Communication of importance that ever he had with *Pole* in his Life: *And if I had more, said he, then let me not die the Death of a Traitor, but the Death of a Thousand Traitors.* What Discourse happened between *Pole* and him, may be known from the Contents of the foresaid Letter, as I extracted them thence.

Cleopatra E. 6. p. 390.

Conference betwixt *Pole* and *Legh*.

Pole demanded of him, if he had not heard, that the King had appealed himself from the General Council. He answered, that *Frogmorton*, his Servant, first told him of it. *Pole* asked him how he thought of it. He answered, that he had but little understanding in such Matters: But that he had heard of others, that the King's Grace did but as the most Part of *Christendom* did. He shewed him also, that it was no indifferent way, that any Man should be Judge in his own Cause. *Pole* asked him, what he meant by that. Then he said, you among you, call for a General Council in your own Country and Power: Where the Judgment is given, before the Matter cometh in Argument. *Pole* said, that Men had better Conscience than so. He replied, few Men had Conscience to judge against themselves. He answered, no more of that, nor any like matter.

Then he proceeded to another Argument, concerning a Religious House, or Hospital, founded, I suppose in *Rome*, dedicated to *St. Thomas a Becket*, for *Englishmen*: Whereof Cardinal *Pole* was now the Supervisor. And Complaint being made of one *Borbrig*, the present Master of that House, the Cardinal told *Legh*, ' That he would put an Order to come to the Hospital, for to limit *Borbrig* to his Pension. He disannulled this Man of the Mastership of the House, and made a new Master, called *Helliard*, [*Hilliard* I suppose, who was attainted by Parliament, when *Pole* was] and another, his Companion, named *Goldwel*, [attainted at the same Time] was made *Custos* then. He made Brothers of the Hospital; among the which he would needs,

‘ that *Legh* should be one. Saying to him, that he might do it with *A N N O*
 ‘ his Honesty and Worship : and that there were other worshipful Men 1537.
 ‘ of *England* of the Brotherhood. Among the which he named Dr. *Clark*,
 ‘ the Bishop of *Bath*, who also *Pole* said, had been a great Be-
 ‘ nefactor to the House. Further he named one Mr. *Wotton*, and
 ‘ Dr. *Benet*, [who had been formerly Ambassadors] to be Brothers
 ‘ there.

There being a publick Dinner at this House, the Cardinal and *Legh*
 happened to be there, who after eating fell into Discourse about the
 Foundation of it : Saying, ‘ That it was founded in the Name of
 ‘ *Thomas* of *Canterbury*, whom the King’s Grace, said he, hath pulled
 ‘ out of his Shrine. To which *Legh* answered, that it became never
 ‘ a Servant to be better clothed than his Master. *Pole* asked him,
 ‘ what he meant by that ? *Legh* answered, that he had seen the Sepul-
 ‘ chre of our Master Christ, and also the Sepulchre of all his Progeny.
 ‘ Which were nothing in comparison to the Shrine, [of St. *Thomas*
 ‘ at *Canterbury*,] nor also neer by a Thousand Parts like unto it. *Pole*
 ‘ said, that there was no Devotion in those Countreyes. *Legh*, that
 ‘ there was honest Devotion in those Parts, and not used with Abusion.
 ‘ *Pole* asked, what he called *Abusion*. *Legh* answered, all that which
 ‘ was demanded in God’s Pretence, and afterwards to Man’s Folly.
 ‘ *Pole* told him, he was not Learned, and therefore could judge no such
 ‘ Matters. *Legh* told him, no more he took upon him for to do.
 ‘ And that which he spake was not upon Judgment of Learning, but
 ‘ upon open Experience. *Pole* then asked him, what Experience he
 ‘ had in the Things of the Church. *Legh* said, none other than that
 ‘ which was open to all the World. *Pole* told him then, that though
 ‘ there were some evil of the Church, yet also there was some good.
 ‘ *Legh* said, of their Acts be it tryed.

‘ *Pole* then entred into Communication of *More* and *Rocheſter*,
 ‘ saying, that they were put to Death, and that if he had been with
 ‘ them, he had died in their Opinion. *Legh* said, no Man would
 ‘ refuse the Death in God’s Quarrel. *Pole* said, God ever gave time
 ‘ to Sinners to amend. *Legh* subjoyned, that the common saying was,
 ‘ that *More* and *Rocheſter* died more in Obſtination, than in any good
 ‘ Opinion. *Pole* replyed, that for the most Part, common Sayings
 ‘ ever were untrue. *Pole* asked him, what Stories he had studied, or
 ‘ read in the *Italian* Tongue. *Legh* said, none, because he had no
 ‘ leisure from going about from place to place to see Countreyes : but
 ‘ told him, that at his going Home shortly, he would buy some
 ‘ Stories in the *Italian* Tongue to have with him, and Study them at
 ‘ his commodity. *Pole* said, he should do well not to impathe
 ‘ himself with reading of the Story of *Nicolo Machavello* ; because he
 ‘ said, to his Judgment, that it had already empoysoned our Country
 ‘ of *England* ; and that it was a Story also to empoysen all the
 ‘ rest of the States of *Chriſtendom* : Saying further, that with al that
 ‘ he could do, he would cause it to be dyſtynkyd [extinguished].
 ‘ and put down, out of Reverence, in all Places where he might have
 ‘ any Power.

A N N O

1537.

All this Account *Legh* gave the Lord Privy Seal, concerning his Communication with the Cardinal. For coming in his Travels through *Rome*, he could not easily miss of seeing the *English* Cardinal. Who being now under Attaint, it was dangerous for any *English* Subject to be in his Company; and therefore *Legh* was thus by the State called to Account. And it seems likely, he was looked on, as some Spy or Emissary from him.

C H A P. XLI.

Letters Congratulatory of the Universities to the King. A Commission to divers Bishops and others. Rodolph Bradford, a great Promoter of Religion. Humphrey Monmouth, a worthy Citizen, and Sufferer. Articles against him.

The Universities Address to the King.

I Find a Letter without date of the Year, sent to his Majesty from the University of *Cambridge*, and another from that of *Oxford*, chiefly upon the same Subject. Which was a Congratulation of the King, for the Proceedings he had made in reforming the Corruptions and Superstitions of Religion. But I know not in what Year so well to lay them as in this of 1537. Because I observe in the former Letter, two Things hinted, that happened about this time. The one is the mention of the Infant Prince *Edward*, who was born in the Month this was writ: The other, the Destruction of the Convents of Friars, the Smaller of them having been granted to the King the last Year: And this Year was much taken up in the actual Dissolution of them. In this Address to his Majesty, *Cambridge* interceeds with him, ‘That as those Houses had been unprofitable, nay, pernicious to Christian Religion, and devoted to Superstition and vain Religion; so the King would take an Opportunity to make excellent use of them, by converting them into Colleges and Places of good Literature. That as before, lazy Drones and Swarmes of Impostors were sent out of them, so now by these means, Men might be bred up in them, to promote solid Learning, and to preach the Gospel.’ It is observable by the Strain of this Letter, how well disposed this University in these early Days was to Religion, and how glad of the Emendations the King had made: Giving this Character of itself, *Quæ semper sinceriori Religioni maxime faverit. That it ever had a great Favour to sincere Religion.*

That of *Cambridge*;

And that of *Oxford*.

The Letter of the other University ran much to the same Strain, ‘Extolling the King for his promoting of Learning, as well as Religion. Inasmuch as whereas in their Fathers Time the more polite Learning, and the Study of all good Arts faded and waxed cold, now in his time there were not a few in *Britain*, that might strive for Victory with the Ancients themselves. They praised him for his Favour and Benefits to the Universities, which were the very Fountains of Virtue and Seminaries of Learning. That for his extraordinary Benefactions to them, he obscured many other Kings, that had before time been their Founders and Benefactors. They extol

extol him most of all for forgiving their Tenth and First Fruits. And so conclude with a Supplication to him, to make an end of the Contention betwixt the Townsamen and them. Both these Epistles are repositied in the *Appendix*. A N N O 1537. Numb.

The famous Book, called *The Institution of a Christian Man*, came out this Year. For the Compiling whereof, the King issued out a Commission to divers Bishops and other Divines: Wherein most of the Doctrines of Religion, and the Sacraments and Ceremonies of the Church, were seriously debated: Each setting down in writing his Judgment on each Point, digested under several Questions. I have seen divers of these Writings; especially concerning *Confirmation, Orders, Wedlock and Extreme Unction*. I will not think much to transcribe the Papers of divers of these Divines, both Bishops and Doctors, upon the First of these Rites; namely, that of *Confirmation*, that the Reader may see and judge of the Learning of the Scholars of those Days, and what Abilities the King's Chaplain had. This proceeded upon Three Questions, to be resolved by each Divine.

I. Whether this Sacrament be a Sacrament of the New Testament, instituted by Christ, or not.

II. What is the outward Sign and invisible Grace, that is conferred in the same.

III. What Promises be made, that the said Graces shall be received by this Sacrament. Which Questions I suppose were devised by Archbishop *Cranmer*. In the *Appendix* may be seen the Judgments (according to the Order, wherein they stand in the MS.) of these Bishops: *Lee* Archbishop of *York*, *Goodrick* Bishop of *Ely*, *Hilsey*, the Learned *Black Friar*, Bishop of *Rocheſter*, *Longland* Bishop of *Lincoln*, *Capon* alias *Salcot* Bishop of *Bangor*, *Stokesly* Bishop of *London*, *Cranmer* Archbishop of *Canterbury*. (The Judgments of which two last are excepted out of the rest, and printed in the *History of the Reformation*.) Numb. LXXXVIII. And then follow the Papers of these Doctors; *Wotton*, *Barbar*, *Bell*, *Wolman*, *Marſhal*, *Cliff*, *Edmunds*, *Downes*, *Marmaduke*, one Anonymous, *Robynſon*, *Smith*, and *Buckmaſter*. P. I. Colleft. P. 318.

I cannot ſet the Time exactly of the Death of *Rodolph Bradford*, but not long after this time, I conjecture, it happened. Of whom I cannot but make a Note, having been one of the Divines, nominated among the Bishops in that famous Commission aforeſaid, to meet together, and correct the Errors of Religion, and to draw up a wholeſome Book, for the Uſe and Inſtruction of the People: to which his Name among the reſt was ſubſcribed. He was a very pious Goſpeller, and Furtherer of true Religion, and ſuffered much for it. In King's College *Cambridge*, he had been both Scholar and Fellow: Whence he went to *London*. Where by the help of *Jeffrey Lome*, Servant to Dr. *Farman*, (a Learned Man and Favourer of Religion at *Cambridge*) he met with certain New Testaments, tranſlated into *Engliſh* by *Frith*: and went to *Reading* with them, out of a godly Zeal to diſperſe them. There he delivered them to a certain Monk: Who being apprehended, made known the Names of him and others, from whom he had them. Whereupon Letters were ſent over to *Cambridge*, to Dr. *Redman*, then

A N N O 1537. Vicechancellor, to apprehend this *Bradford*, now returned thither, together with *Dr. Smith* of *Trinity Hall*, *Simon Smith* of *Gonville Hall*, *Hugh Latimer*, and *Segar Nicolson*. But *Bradford*, and an *Augustin Friar*, (*Barnes* it may be) fled away into *Ireland*; where he openly preached the Gospel. But being there pursued, he was at length taken and imprisoned the space of two Years. And then being enlarged, he returned to *Cambridge*; and in *Corpus Christi College*, (wherein were several that loved Religion) he went out Dr. of Divinity, in the Year 1534. where while he remained, he would let no Holy-Day pass, without preaching a Sermon. Afterwards he was Chaplain to *Latimer* Bishop of *Worcester*, and died there.

Fox ii. MSS.

Humphrey Monmouth, an eminent Citizen.

I cannot let this Year pass, without mentioning a very eminent Man about these Times, named, *Humphrey Monmouth*, Citizen and Draper of *London*, a great Dealer in *Suffolk Cloths*; noted as well for his Piety as his Wealth. This Year I suppose he died, I am sure this Year he made his last Will and Testament. He was one of the great Patrons and Favourers of the Gospel, and the Preachers of it, in these Days in *London*. In former Years, he in his Travels visited *Rome*; where he and his Company obtained Indulgences and Pardons from that Bishop, both à Culpa & à Pœna; from Sin, and from Punishment due to it, for certain times of the Year. Which large Favour was, I suppose, granted them; either because they were going to *Jerusalem* to visit the Holy Sepulchre, or rather because they were rich Men, and gave liberally. And it may be, his Travels to *Rome* shewed him so much of the Pope and his Religion, as made him no great Friend to it afterwards. This Man, when *Luther's Doctrine* came first into *England*, was an Embracer of it, and conversed much in his Writings, and did what he could for the enlarging and spreading Evangelical Knowledge therein contained: though in the Year 1521. *Luther* had been proclaimed an Heretick in *England*, and his Books Heretical and Damnable: and it was strictly enjoined, that none should adhere to his Sect. He encouraged the Translation of the Holy Scriptures into *English*, and contributed largely both to the Translating and Printing of them, by *Hutchin*, alias *Tyndal*, and *Roye*, and was privy to their Goings into *Germany*. He also assisted in the printing of Books in *English* beyond Sea, against the Sacrament of the Altar, and the Mass. He entertained *Tyndal* at his House, and gave him Ten Pounds, when he was to go to *Hamburg* about his Translation of the New Testament. Besides, he gave many Exhibitions to Scholars in the Universities, for their Maintenance; some whereof came afterwards to be great Men: as *Dr. Royston*, the Bishop of *London's* Chaplain; *Dr. Wooderal*, Provincial of the *Augustin Friars*; *Dr. Watson*, the King's Chaplain, and afterwards Bishop: and to divers Priests and Friars besides.

* *Lutheran.*

A great Benefactor.

Committed for Heresy.

Fox ii. MSS.

In the Year 1528. May 14. Sir *Thomas More* and Sir *William Kyngston*, of the Privy Council, searched his House for Heretical Books, and Letters of Correspondence abroad with Hereticks, and committed him to the *Tower*. The Articles they laid to his Charge were in Number 24. as they follow, taken, as I suppose, out of Bishop *Tunstal's* Register.

Articles

*Articles Mynystred against Homfreye Munmouth, of the Paryshe
of All Sayntes Berkinge, of the Cytie of London.*

ANNO
1537.

Articles
against him.

First, That thou diddest know, believe, or here say, that *Martyn Luther*, with all Persons adhering to his Opinions and Heresies, was by sufficient Authority condemned an Heretyke, and his Books, Works and Opinions, as Heretical, Detestable, Erroneous and Dampnable, by like Authority condemned and reprov'd; and Prohibitions generally made, and in this Realm published in the Month of *April*, Anno Domini, a Thousand VC. XXI. that no Person should leane or adhere to the Sect of the said *Martyn Luther*, any of his Heresies and detestable Opinions, or buy, kepe or have, retayne, or read any of his foresaid Books or Works, or of other of the said Sect.

Item, That at any tyme after the Premysse by thee known, thou hast had or bought divers and many Books, Treaties and Works of the said *Martyn Luther*, and other of his detestable Sect.

Item, That thou hast favoured, helped and given exhibition to such Persons, as went about to translate into *English*, or to make erroneous Books out of holy Scripture: and chiefly to Sir *William Hochin*, otherwise called Sir *William Tyndalle*, Preeft, and to *Fryer Roye*, sometye *Observant*, and now in Apostasye, or to eyther of them.

Item, That thou wert privy, and of Counsel, that the said Sir *William Hochin*, otherwise called *Tyndal*, and *Fryar Roye*, or eyther of them, went into *Almayne* to *Luther*, there to study and lerne his Sect: And diddest help and ayde them, or eyther of them with Mony, or the exhibition thereunto at there departing hense, or syns.

Item, That thou haddest certain Books of *Luthers*, translated into *English*, as well *Luther De Libertate Christiana*, or *Luther's Exposition* upon the *Pater Noster*.

Item, That the Book *De libertate Christiana*, was written in the Beginning, and drawn out of *St. Augustine's* Works, and the Exposition of the *Pater Noster*, was ascribed to *Hilarius*, to blynd and abuse thereby your Readers of them, as they were Books of holly Fathers.

Item, That thou was privy and of Counsaile, or hast given help thereunto, that the New Testament was translated into *English*, by Sir *William Hochin*, or *Tyndal*, and *Friar Roye*, and printed and brought into this Realm, as well with Glofes as without Glofes.

Item, That after they were openly forbidden, as being full of Errors, thou hast, had, red and kept them.

Item, That thou hast had an Introduction in *English*, printed upon *Paul's* Epistle to the *Romaines*, and kept, red, or used the same.

Item, That thou hast had, and yet hast certain other Works full of Errors, translated into *English*, sent unto thee by the said Sir *William Tyndal*, or *Hochin*.

Item, That thou hast been privy and of Counsel, of certain detestable Books late prynted beyond the Sea, in *English*, against the Sacrament, and all other Observances of holy Church, and chiefly against the blessed Sacrament of the Autar, and the Observance of the holy Masse.

Item,

II.

III.

IV.

V.

VI.

VII.

VIII.

IX.

X.

XI.

- ANNO** 1537. *Item*, That thou hast caused divers other Works heretical, to be translated into *English*, as well of *Luther*, as of one *Frier Lambert* of the same Sect.
- XII.** *Item*, That thou hast eaten *Flesh* in *Lent* Season, contrary to the
- XIII.** Ordinance and Determination of holly Church.
- XIV.** *Item*, That thou hast said, affirmed and beleved, that Faith onlie is sufficient to save a Man his Sowle, without any Works.
- XV.** *Item*, That all Men be not bound to observe the Constitutions made by the Church.
- XVI.** *Item*, That we should pray only to God and to no Saintes.
- XVII.** *Item*, That Christen Men ought to worship God onlie, and no Saintes.
- XVIII.** *Item*, That Pilgrimages be not profitable for Man's Sowle, and should not be used.
- XIX.** *Item*, That Men should not offer to Images in the Church, ne sett any Lightes before them.
- XX.** *Item*, That Contrition is sufficient for a Man being in dedlye Synne, to confesse him only to God, without Confession made to a Priest.
- XXI.** *Item*, That no Man is bound to kepe any manner of Fasting Day, institutè by the Church.
- XXII.** *Item*, That Pardons granted by the Pope, or the Bishop, doth not profit a Man.
- XXIII.** *Item*, That thou art named and reputed to be avancer and a Favourer of the said *Martyr Luther*, his Heresies and detestable Opinions, and one of the same Sect.
- XXIV.** *Item*, That all and singular the Premisses be True, Notorious, Publike and Famous; and upon them reyneth the common Voce and Fame among good, sadde, and discrete Persons, within the Cytie of *London*, and within other Places.

His Petition to
Cardinal *Wol-*
sey and the
Council.

Five Days after his Commitment, he made an humble Petition to Cardinal *Wolsey*, and the Lords of the Council for his Liberty. Therein he related, what Examinations he had undergon from Sir *Thomas More* and Sir *William Kyngston*, concerning Books received from beyond Sea, and concerning his Acquaintance with divers suspected Persons, and Monies by him allowed them. He related, how they searched his House for Books and Letters, and committed him to Sir *Edmund Walsingham*, Lieutenant of the *Tower*: what Acquaintance and Communication he had with *Tyndal*, which indeed was the chief Quarrel against him. He acknowledged, that having heard some Sermons by him preached at *St Dunstons* in the *West*, four or five Years past; and understanding from him that he had no place, he entertained him half a Year in his House. Where he lived, he said, like a good Priest, and studied most part of the Day and of the Night at his Book; and would eat no Meat, but Soddè, and drink nothing but small Bear, nor wore any Linnen about him. That he promised him Ten Pounds, to pray for the Souls of his Father and Mother, and all Christen People: which he afterwards sent him to *Hamburgh*. He excused himself of giving this to *Tyndal*, by saying, that he gave Exhibitions to divers other Priests, Friars and

Scholars; and that he had spent more a great deal for the Love of God, *ANNO*
 after the Counsil of good Doctors, than upon that one Priest. That *1537.*
 the Books he had, were the *Enchyridion* in *Englisch*, and an Exposition
 of the *Pater Noster*, and concerning the *Christian Liberty*, and the
 New Testament in *Englisch*: But he had parted with them all, and
 delivered them up. And while he had them, all of them, but the
 New Testament, lay open in his House for Two Years; nor had any
 Friar, Priest or Layman found any fault with them. And he shewed
 them likewise to them. He had also shewed them to divers other
 learned Clergy Men, who found no fault in them, except that of
Christian Liberty. In which they said were some hard Things, ex-
 cept the Reader were wise. That before he heard the Bishop of *Lon-*
don say at *Paul's Cross*, that *Tyndal* had translated the New Testa-
 ment into *Englisch*, and done it noughtily, he never suspected, nor
 knew any evil by him: But after, he burnt all his Books and Letters
 and Sermons which he had by him. Lastly, he prayed the Council
 to shew him Mercy, and grant him Deliverance out of Prison: and
 that he had by lying there, utterly lost his Name and Credit; besides
 the great Inconvenience that happened thereby to the poor People in
Suffolk, great Numbers whereof were maintained, by his taking off
 great quantities of Cloth from the Clothiers there, to whom he
 paid ready Money, to set the poor Folkes on work. That he sold
 to Strangers every Year four or five Hundred Cloths: whereas since
 his lying in Prison, his Trade had exceedingly failed; and a great
 Damage was hereby done to the King's Customs. But he that
 would see that Petition, as penned by *Monmouth* himself, may find
 it in the *Appendix*. This Petition and Confession he acknowledged to
 be his own writing, before *Tunstal* Bishop of *London*: to whom I
 suppose the Cardinal and Council assigned him over: and those Ar-
 ticles beforementioned, might by his Court be ministred unto him.

Numb.
LXXXIX.

After this good Citizen escaped these Troubles, he still persisted in *His last will.*
 his good Courses; was a great Hearer of the Sermons of Bishop *La-*
timer, Dr. *Barnes*, Dr. *Crome*, Mr. *Tayler*, all famed Preachers in
 those Days in the City. Therefore by his last Will and Testament,
 made in the Year 1537. he appointed to preach in his Parish Church
 of *Alballowes Barking*, two Sermons a Week, till they had preached
 Thirty Sermons. For which he allotted them a Legacy. In his Will
 he forbad the ordinary Superstitions of Candles and singing *Dirige*,
 and ringing the Bells at his Funeral, and gave away much in Charity.
 His said Will, as I find it printed by *John Goughe* about that time, I
 have preserved in the *Appendix*. Such an Esteem good Men then had
 for it, and of the exemplary Piety and Charity shewn therein, that
 they reckoned it worthy making Publick. When the Times came on
 more favourable to the Gospel, he was Alderman of *London*, and
 served Sheriff there, in the Year 1535. and seems to have been known
 and favoured by the Lord *Crummel*, and *Audly*, (afterwards Lord
 Chancellor:) to whom he gave Legacies.

Numb.
XC.

A N N O

1538.

C H A P. XLII.

A Convocation. Injunctions for Religion, set forth by Crumwel. The Proceedings of the Archbishop hereupon. Sampson Bishop of Chicester: His Proceedings. Committed to the Tower.

A Convocation.

Divers Questions of Religion exhibited to them. *Extract. Convocat. MS D. Fr. Ep. Roff.*

The Answer of the Convocation.

MAR 2. 1538. A Convocation met at the *Chapter House* of *St. Pauls*, that had been prorogued by the Archbishop. The Absents (which it seems were many) were pronounced *Contumaces* by the Archbishop, after one or two Prorogations. The 6. Session, being *June* the 2. in the *Chapter House*, before the most Reverend, Lord *Thomas Crumwel*, the Kings Vicegerent exhibited to the Prolocutor and Clergy of the Lower House, Questions; to be by them discussed: and assigned to them to relate their Judgments upon, on a Day appointed. The Questions were as follow. I. Whether there be in the Sacrament of the Altar, Transubstantiation of the Substance of the Bread and Wine into the Substance of the Flesh and Blood of Christ, or no. II. Whether Priests, being ordered, may, after they be Priests, Marry by the Law of God; or not. III. Whether the Vow of Chastity of Men and Women, made only to God, bindeth by the Law of God; or not. IV. Whether Auricular Confession be necessary by the Law of God; or not. V. Whether private Masses may stand with the Word of God; or not. VI. Whether it be necessary by the Word of God, that the Sacrament of the Altar should be ministred in both Kinds; or not.

The Resolution to which Questions were returned, as follow. I. That in the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, by the Strength and Efficacy of Christ's mighty Word, it being spoken by a Priest, is present really the natural Body and Blood of our Saviour, *Jesu Christ*, conceived of the Virgin *Mary*, under the Form of Bread and Wine: And that after Consecration, there remaineth no other Substance, but the Substance of the foresaid natural Body. II. That Communion in both Kinds is not necessary, *ad salutem*, by the Law of God, to all Persons. And that it is to be believed and not doubted of, but that in the Flesh, and Form of Bread, is the very Blood. And in the Blood, under the Form of Wine is the very Flesh, as well apart, as though they were both together. III. That Priests, after the Order of Priesthood received, as afore, may not Marry by the Law of God. IV. That Vows of Chastity or Widowhood, by Men or Women made to God advisedly, are to be observed by the Law of God. And that it exempteth them from other Liberties of Christian People, which without that, they might enjoy. V. That it is meet and necessary, that private Masses be continued and admitted in this our *English* Church and Congregation: as whereby good Christian People ordering themselves accordingly, do receive both godly and goodly Consolation and Benefits. And it is agreeable also to God's Law. VI. That Auricular Confession is expedient to be retained and continued, used and frequented in the Church of God. This Convocation was prorogued from time to time, till the Year 1540.

This Year the Lord *Crumwel*, as the King's Vicegerent in Ecclesiastical Matters, issued out many good Injunctions: Which were pursuant of Two Books of Injunctions set forth Two Years before. *viz.* in the Year 1536. Which I shall mention here, to make way for the Injunctions of this Year.

First, the King issued out Injunctions, that had been assented to by the Prelates and inferior Clergy assembled in Convocation. Which were for the abrogating a Number of Holy-Days, and especially such as fell in Harvest time: the keeping of which was prejudicial to the gathering in the Corn, Hay, and Fruits of the Earth. The Sum of them was, 'That the Dedication of Churches should be kept on the First Sunday in October for ever. That the Feast of the Patron of every Church, commonly called the *Church Holy Day*, should not be henceforth kept as a Holy-Day, except it be such a Holy-Day, as is to be universally kept. That all Holy-Days, that happen in Harvest Time, that is, from the First of July, to the 29th of September, were not to be kept Holy-Days, but People were to do their ordinary Work, except the Feasts of the Apostles, of the Blessed Virgin, St. George, and such Feasts, wherein the King's Judges at *Westminster* did not use to sit in Judgment. And what Days they were, were afterwards mentioned in the Injunctions. The four Offering Days to be, the Nativity of our Lord, *Easter Day*, the Nativity of St. John Baptist, and of Michael the Archangel.' I do but briefly give the Heads of these Injunctions, and not transcribe them at length; as I meet with them in a Volume of the *Cotton Library*; because they are already printed to our Hand, both in *Foxe's Acts*, and in the Bishop of *Sarum's History*.

The same Year came abroad other Injunctions, set forth in the Lord *Crumwel's* Name, and dispersed throughout the Deaneries of every Diocese: Beginning thus, 'IN the Name of God, *Amen*, in the Year of our Lord 1536. &c. I THOMAS CRUMWEL Knight, Keeper of the Privy Seal of our said Sovereign Lord the King, and Vicegerent of the same, for and concerning all his Jurisdiction Ecclesiastical within this Realm, to the Glory of Almighty God, to the King's Highnesses Honour, the publick Weal of this Realm, and encrease of Vertue in the same, have appointed and assigned these Injunctions insueing, to be kept and observed of the Deans, Parsons, Vicars, Curates and Stipendiaries resident, or having care of Souls, or any other Spiritual Administration within this Deanery.' These Injunctions were in Number Twelve. The First was, 'For keeping all the Laws and Statutes of the Realm, made for the Abolishing and Extirpation of the Bishop of *Rome's* pretended Power, and for Establishment of the King's Authority as Supreme Head. That the Articles of Religion lately put forth be declared in Sermons, that it may be known which be necessary to be believed, and which be not necessary, but only concern a decent and politick Order of the Church. For declaring to the People, the Abrogation of Superstitious Holy-Days. For the Abolishing of Images, and forbidding Pilgrimages. Parents and Masters, to teach their Children and Servants the Lord's Prayer, the Articles, and the Ten Commandments in the Mother Tongue; and for the bringing up Youth to Arts and Occupations.

V O L. I.

T t

' That

A N N O
1538.
Three Books
of Injunctions

The King's
Injunctions
1536. for
Holy-Days.

Crumwel's In-
junctions the
same Year.

A N N O 1538. That Sacraments and Sacramentals be duely administred in Parishes; and good Curates placed by those that reside not upon their Benefices. Every Parish to provide a Bible both in *Latin* and *English*, to be laid in the Quire, to be read by any Priest: Not to resort to, or haunt Taverns or Alehouses: nor to play at Tables and Cards after Dinner or Supper: but to spend those Times in hearing or reading some Portions of holy Scripture. That all Non-residents, that could dispend 20 *l.* and above, should distribute among their poor Parishioners, the 40th Part of the Fruits of their Benefices. That every Clergyman, having, in promotion of the Church, an 100 *l.* yearly or upwards, for every Hundred Pound, should find a Scholar in either of the Universities. The fift Part of the Benefices to be bestowed yearly upon the Mansions or Chancels. And all this under pain of Suspension and Sequestration of the Fruits of their Benefices. These were the Injunctions of the Year 1536.

His Injunctions
Two Years
after.

Crumwel, in this Year 1538. set out other Injunctions in the King's Name, to the Number of Seventeen. Which were, 'For the setting up the Bible in Churches, and for the observing the Injunctions before given. To which were added, that Sermons should be made quarterly at least: Wherein the Preachers were to instruct their People against the ordinary Superstitions, of wandering on Pilgrimages, offering Candles and Tapers to Relicks, Kissing or Licking of them, and the like. That if any Priest had extolled these Things, that he should now recant and reprove the same: Shewing that he did so upon no ground of Scripture, but led by common Error and Abuse. That none should stop the Reading or Preaching of the Word of God. That a Register should be kept in every Parish. That the former Injunctions be read every quarter of a Year. That no Man should detain his Tithes, upon pretence of his Curates not doing their Duty. None to alter the Order and Manner of any Fasting-day, that is commanded or indicted by the Church, excepting the Commemoration of *Thomas Becket*, which shall be clean omitted. The knoling of *Aves* after Service, brought in by pretence of the Bishop of *Rome's* Pardons, henceforth to be left; that the People should not trust to have pardon, by saying their *Aves* between the said Knoling. To omit saying in Processions their *Ora pro nobis* to so many Saints: Whereby they had no time to Sing the good Suffrages, *Parce nobis Domine: Libera nos Domine*. Which were more necessary and effectual to be said.

On what Oc-
casion set
forth.

These last Injunctions were given out by Occasion of the negligent Observation of the Former, which the Clergy took little heed to. Which when the King understood, and being resolvedly now determined, to purge out many Abuses in the Church, and rectify divers Errors in Doctrine, then generally entertained, he gave Command to the Lord *Crumwel*, to make in his Name a Set of new Injunctions. And a Copy of them he sent to every respective Bishop to be duly executed, and to give a strait Order to their Clergy to observe them. The Letter which *Crumwel* wrote to Archbishop *Cranmer* relating to this Matter, was this: The like to which I suppose was sent to the rest of the Bishops.

After

‘ After my right hartly Commendations unto your Lordship. *A N N O*
 ‘ Whereas the King’s Highness, being informed as well of the negli- *1538.*
 ‘ gent Observation of the former Injunctions, exhibited to the Clergy *Crumwel to*
 ‘ of that Diocese, as also of the further Continuance of Superstition *Cranmer for*
 ‘ and Idolatry in the same, and minding, like as to his Office most *the Injuncti-*
 ‘ appertaineth, the Expurgation of untrue Religion, and the Abolish- *ons.*
 ‘ ment of all Abuses, crept into the same; hath willed and commanded *Cranm. Reg.*
 ‘ me to put forth by his Grace’s Authority, to all his Clergy and Sub- *p. 215.*
 ‘ jects within this Realm, certain other Injunctions to be kept and ob-
 ‘ served of the same, upon their further Peril. These shall be therefore
 ‘ as well to advertise your Lordship, as also of the King’s Highness be-
 ‘ half, to charge and command the same; that calling before you, or
 ‘ your Commissaries, at Days and Places convenient, the whole
 ‘ Clergy of that Diocese, ye do exhibit and put forth on the King’s
 ‘ Highness behalf, and by his Grace’s Authority, these Injunctions,
 ‘ whereof ye shall receive a Copy herewith, and may send whereas
 ‘ they be printed for as many more, as will serve to give every Curate
 ‘ within that Diocese: Straitly charging every of the same, inviolably
 ‘ to observe the said Injunctions, upon the Pains therein expressed. In
 ‘ default whereof, they may look for no like Indulgence, as they have
 ‘ had hitherto by violation of the other, but earnest Cohersion
 ‘ and Severity to be extended towards them, for both Contempts
 ‘ together: And that ye fail not this the King’s Highness Pleasure and
 ‘ Commandment effectually to put forth, execute and accomplish,
 ‘ without any Dissimulation, Negligence or remis handling, as ye in-
 ‘ tend to answer to the King’s Majesty, for the contrary thereof at your
 ‘ Peril. And thus most hartily fare you well. From *London* the last
 ‘ of *September*.

Your Lordships Friend,

THOMAS CRUMWELL.

Then follow in the Register the Injunctions themselves. Which end
 thus, ‘ All which and singular Injunctions I minister unto you, and to
 ‘ your Parishioners, by the King’s Highness Authority, to be commit-
 ‘ ted in this Part. Which I charge and command you, by the same
 ‘ Authority to observe and keep, upon pain of Deprivation, Sequestra-
 ‘ tion of your Fruits, or such other Coertion as to the King, or his
 ‘ Vicegerent for this time being, shall be seen convenient.

*The Con-
clusion of the
Injunctions.*

Upon this Order, for all Rectors, Vicars, and Spiritual Persons
 within the Diocese of *Canterbury*, to observe these Injunctions, the
 Archbishop issued out his Letters to certain Persons, his Officials, to
 declare the said Injunctions both to the Clergy and Laity; whom they
 were empowered to call before them, and to command them diligently
 to obey them: Dated at *Lambeth*, *October 2*. The like Letters of
 Commission he wrot to *John Butler* his Commissary of the Town and of
Marches of Calais, and to the Deans of *South Malling*, and of
Bocking.

*The Proceed-
ings of the
Archbishop
upon the
aforesaid Let-
ter;*

The other Bishops laid their Commands upon their respective Clergy
 also. The Bishop of *Chichester*, *Richard Sampson*, about this time
 V O L. I. T t 2 issued
*And of the
Bishop of
Chichester.*

CANON issued out his Instructions to the Parsons and Curates of his Diocese; 1538. containing two Heads. Namely, That they should with all Diligence apply themselves to accomplish the King's Commandments and Injunctions, being so compleat, so perfect and so good, that nothing could well be added to them, as he wrote. And that every Priest in his Mass, should say a special Collect for the King and the Prince.

Numb. Which Instructions are recorded at length in the *Appendix*.

XCI. But Bishop *Sampson* would stir no further than needs must, being He is against one that bore a very good Will to the old Superstitions, however the Service in English. satisfied he were in the King's Supremacy against the Pope. This begat some Jealousies of him, in the King and *Crumwel*. There was one *Wells*, Incumbent of the Parish of *Rye* in *Sussex*, of this Bishop's Diocese; some grave and leading Man in those Parts; perhaps the *Beneficent* of that Name, Prior sometimes of *Gloucester* College, *Oxon*. This *Wells* had some Conferences with the Bishop; and Letters past between them for his direction about the Affairs of the Clergy, both to change their old Religion any more than they were forced and driven. He wrote to the Bishop, that he sung no Service openly in the *English* Tongue; which it seems some desired he should; and I suppose *Cranmer* the Archbishop might advise it: And namely; that the *Pater Noster*, the *Ave Maria*, and some Hymns should be repeated in the time of Service in *English*, for the better Understanding and Edification of the People. This doing of Mr. *Wells*, the Bishop signified to him his Approbation of; bidding him in his Letter, "For the common Quietness to forbear any such Novelties, till it should please the King's Majesty to declare his Pleasure." And then the Bishop proceeds to give his Reasons against using the *English*; "Because the Ministers of the Church in all Places, both with the *Latins* and *Greeks*, sung or said their Offices, or Prayers in the *Latin* or *Greek* Grammatical Tongues, and not in the *Vulgar*. That the People prayed apart in such Tongues as they would. But this [used in publick] was a common Prayer of the Ministers and People together; as he promised he would more shew him at their next Conference: And wished that all the Ministers were so well Learned, that they understood their Offices, Service or Prayers, which they said in the *Latin* Tongue."

Cleopatra E. 5. In this great Town of *Rye*, it seems; there were People of different Minds; and many were for the Gospel: So that there had been some Uproars and Disturbances. The Bishop for the better quieting and directing Matters in the Church, had promised to come thither himself. Which *Wells* urged him to do, remembring him of his Promise. But his Business at *London* had been; as he wrote, a Let to him; and he heard also that there was quietness now in that Place for a good Space, till now of late. Which gave the Bishop Occasion to use these Words. "But I perceive that our ghostly Enemy travaileth, as he hath been at all times wont to do, with his Seed of Dissension. Wherefore we have so much the more need to be vigilant, to pray for Grace, that we may withstand him." At *Rye* the Bishop had been once before; and then had required this *Wells* to advertise him of Things, that might be Causes of Dissension. Accordingly he had informed the *Diocesan* of somebody there, that preached Popish Doctrines I suppose; and had the King's Licence; with whom nevertheless the People were grieved;

His Message to Rye upon Dissensions there.

and the rather because he was an outlandish Man, however a Denizon. *A N. N. O*
 But the Bishop wrote his Judgment herein, in these Words; ' I assure *1538.*
 you, I regard nothing his Country, so that he teach the Word of God
 soberly, charitably and purely, without any Innovation of any such
 Things as are not necessary, till that the Prince's Pleasure be known
 in them.' *Wells* also desired to have a *Concord of Religion*, (as he
 called it) at the Bishop's Hands. To the which he answered; ' Surely
 it is my most bound Duty, to apply all my Diligence to that godly
 Act, and will do. Wherefore I require you in the Name of God, to
 signify unto me the most special Points, that now are Causes of any
 Discord with you there; and I trust with God's Help to quiet that
 matter, whatsoever it be. One thing ye must know, that the King's
 Highness is yet content, that the Book † lately put out, (by his
 Grace's Favour and Licence) by the Prelates, should be obeyed, and
 may be taught, till that his Majesty shall otherwise order some Things
 with a more mature and deliberate Counsil. In the mean Time, no
 Person ought to reprove that Book. For in things concerning the
 Religion, I suppose the Doctrine is true: In other Ceremonies, when
 it shall please the King's Majesty to order them otherwise, the People
 shall be taught accordingly. Lastly, he told *Wells*, he would shortly
 send them an honest Man to have the Cure there; who should both
 preach the Word of God purely, and also use himself with such good
 Discretion, that he should be a Means of much quietness. This
 Letter was dated *August* the 21.

† The Bps
 Book, called,
*The Inſtitution
 of a Chriſten
 Man.*

Crumwel understanding well the Clergy, by the secret Intelligence
 that he had, liked not this Bishop of *Chichester*, and took Occasion
 openly to speak against him; as that he played false with the King.
 And he took it the worse from him, because he had received divers
 Favours from *Crumwel*, and as it seemed, was beholden to him, for
 being instrumental in procuring him the Bishoprick. And to be par-
 ticular, *Crumwel* was informed of certain Things in a Sermon by the
 Bishop, preached at *Chichester*; and he had notice of other Preachers
 in his Diocese, that preached not according to the Injunctions aforesaid;
 and of the Bishops Nonresidence, and that he was a secret Favourer of
 the Bishop of *Rome*, and held certain unsound Doctrines. As to these
 Matters, he laboured to carry himself towards *Crumwel* in a very
 humble complying Way: ' Acknowledging some things, and professing
 his profound Obedience to the King's Will. But he owned that he was
 no Friend to Novelties, except manifest Necessity required it. That as
 concerning a Sermon he preached at *Chichester*, on the Day of our
 Ladies Conception, if *Crumwel* himself had been present, he would
 have been well contented with it. That if any other preached amiss
 in his Diocese, if he knew it, he would reform him, or correct him
 for the Example of others. As to his remissness in resorting no oftner
 to his Diocese, he would reform it. That whatsoever should be set
 forth by the King, he trusted, that neither the King nor he should
 have any Travail for his Diocese, he would settle that People in such
 a sure sort of Quietness and Obedience. That he would send down
 such a Preacher to *Rye*, and the Parts about it, that a Reformation
 should follow, concerning worshipping Images, setting up Candles
 before them, kneeling to them, and the like. That whereas some

Crumwel of-
 fended with
 him.

His Vindica-
 tion of him-
 self.

Complaints

A N N O Complaints had come to *Crumwel* against him from *Rye* and *Lewes*,
1538. ' he desired to know the Specialities, and he should know his Answers.
 ' That there was not any in *England* or *Germany*, but that he dared to
 ' adventure his Life, he was no more *Papist* than he: and that it was
 ' well known to his Lordship, that none was in more Obloquy among
 ' the Bishop of *Rome's* Friends beyond the Seas, then he was, [because
 ' of the Book he had writ against him.] And therefore he prayed
 ' him to suspend the Persuasions of his Mind concerning him, till he
 ' should hear his Answers to the Accusations made against him, as
 ' though he had dealt rigorously with some People. That he had
 ' used Temperance and Moderation in all his Doings. That where there
 ' was a Fault, he would grant it and amend it. And finally prayed
 ' him, that as he had been his good Lord, so he would continue to be
 ' in his just Defence, from his accustomed Goodness.' But behold him
 ' speaking in his own Words, in his Letter.

Numb.
XCII.

This Bp. in
 the Tower.
 His Con-
 fession ;

Concerning
 the Bp. of
Durham ;

Stokesley Bp.
 of *London* ;

And of the
 Bp. of *Win-*
chester.

But notwithstanding all this, he could not clear himself from some Matters laid to his Charge ; as his good Will to the old Superstitions, and particularly relieving some *Papists*, Impugners of the King's Authority, that were Prisoners for it ; but was sent to the *Tower*, in the Year 1539. and there I find him in 1540. At an Examination in which Year, to get himself the more Favour by being open, he confessed a Combination between the Bishops of *Durham*, *Winchester*, *London*, himself, and some others, to do all their utmost Endeavours to preserve the old Religion, and the Usages and Traditions thereof. It was then, when that which was called *The Bishops Book*, was framing at *Lambeth* by the Bishops Commissionated thereunto by the King. The Bishop of *Durham* used to carry an old *Greek* Book with him, wherein were divers Things favouring the Traditions of the Church. Having this Bishop *Sampson* in his Barge with him, passing over to *Lambeth*, he did often produce to him several Places in that Book, wherein matters that were here in Controversy, were ordained by the *Greek* Church. And in this Book or another, he likewise shewed him a Mass written, either of *Basil's* or *Chrysostom's*. And the Bishop of *London*, *Stokesley*, brought certain other *Greek* Books : Which both he and *Durham* conferred together, searching to find out the old Canons in them. And *Durham* taking Occasion from these Books, exhorted *Sampson* to stand for the old Customs of the Church. And so he did likewise, when they were busied with the *German* Divines, in 1538. *Stokesley* of *London* took him aside in the Gallery at *Lambeth*, at their departure from the Archbishop, (who stood against them,) and was very earnest with him for the Usages of the Church, when it seems *Cranmer* had well nigh persuaded him on the other side : Both he and *Durham* being fully bent to maintain as many of these old Customs and Traditions as they could ; urging how necessary it was so to do, because they found them in the *Greek* Church. The Bishop of *Winchester*, he confessed, more lately urged him, ' To help things forward, be-
 ' cause the King was well disposed to them. He bad him be diligent
 ' in the Ceremonies, and omit none. He told him, that old Tra-
 ' ditions were not to be broken without great Cause ; and some of
 ' them in no wise to be broken. And that he and the Bishop of *Ro-*
chester,

chester, (who it seems was more moderate, yet) agreed in Effect in *ANN O*
 this Point, for the Necessity of retaining some old Traditions. 1538.

All this the Bishop of *Chichester* confessed to the Lord *Crumwel*, being
 in great Trouble, and extraordinary Dejection of Mind, even to the
 Danger of his Life, upon the Fear of the King's Displeasure and *Crum-*
wel's. But this Lord comforted him with the Assurance, that the King
 was his gracious Lord. But when *Crumwel* had charged the Bishop of
Durham with these Matters, confessed by *Chichester*, he denied them.
 Whereat the said Lord sent his Servants, Dr. *Peter*, and *Bellows*, to him
 in the *Tower*, signifying as much. Which made him send a Letter to
Crumwel in vindication of the Truth of what he had said. The Tenor
 of which may be found in the *Appendix*. Upon these Confessions and
 Submissions he was delivered out of the *Tower*, but how soon after, I *Numb.*
 cannot tell. *XCIII.*

Thus Matters now were with the Bishop of *Chichester*. Another
 Bishop, viz. *Rugg*, alias *Reps*, Bishop of *Norwich*, saw his Church this
 Year transformed from the Original Constitution of it, by Prior and
 Monks, into a secular Dean and Canons. For King *William Rufus* in
 the Tenth Year of his Reign, gave certain Lands to *Herbert* then
 Bishop of *Norwich*, to erect a Monastery with Prior and Monks in
Norwich. And thereupon the said *Herbert* erected the said Monastery,
 and endowed it with Lands. Which continued so until the Second
 Day of *May*, Anno Reg. *Henry VIII.* xxx². when he translated the
 Monks from Prior and Covent, into a Dean and Chapter: the Letters
 Patents are as follow.

The King
 turns the
 Church of
Norwich, into
 a Dean and
 Canons.

HENRICUS Octavus Dei Gratia, Angliæ & Franciæ Rex, His Patents
 Fidei Defensor, Dominus *Hiberniæ*, & in Terra Supremum Caput for the same
 Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, Omnibus, &c. Cum apud *Norwicum*, a tempore E MSS.
 cujus Contrarium memoria Hominum non existit, una Sedes Episco- Cecillian.
 palis in Ecclesia Cathedralis Sanctæ Trinitatis *Norwici* ibidem fundata
 ordinata & locata extiterit, ac etiam in ea Ecclesia, ac prope eandem
 unum vetus Cænobium sive Monasterium aut Prioratus, a tempore
 prædicto similiter fundatum, ordinatum & locatum extiterit: In quo
 quidem Cænobio Monachi Ordinis *Sti Benedicti* ab eodem tempore
 usq; nunc sub uno Priore ibidem Monachis, Regulis, Observantiis &
 Servitiis divinis ministraturi & fervaturi debebant, Negotiaq; ejusdem
 Cænobii per Priorem prædict. pro tempore existen. seu per eundem
 Priorem cum consensu Convent.; ejusdem Cænobii sub nomine
 Prioris, aut sub nomine Prioris & Conventus Ecclesiæ Cathedralis,
 Stæ *Trinitatis Norwici*, continue tractabantur & fiebant: De quo qui-
 dem Cænobio quidam *Willielmus Castelton* (non immerito) Prior
 existit: N O S diversis causis & considerationib. & præsertim ad
 Laudem, Gloriam & Honorem Stæ & Individuæ *Trinitatis*, illud
 Cænobium de Priore & Conventu Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Stæ *Trinita-*
tis Norwici constitutum, in Decanum & Capitulum Ecclesiæ Cathe-
 dralis Stæ *Trinitatis Norwici*, transponere & mutare proposuimus.

Quamobrem, ut dicta nostra Intentio absq; temporis dilatione in ea
 parte perimpleatur, S C I A T I S quod nos Auctoritate nostra
 Regia, & Auctoritate nostra in Terra Supremi Capitis Ecclesiæ Angli-
 canæ qua fungimur, de Gratia nra. Speciali, ac ex certa scientia &
 mero

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mero motu nris. dictum Cænobium de Priore & Conventu Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Sæ *Trinitatis Norwici*, sic ut præfertur Constitut. & Fundat. in Decanum & Capitulum Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Ste *Trinitatis Norwici* transponimus & mutamus per præsentēs, & pro sic translato & mutato deinceps reputari & haberi volumus in perpetuum per præsentēs. Et præterea de scientiis, Virtutibus & cæteris Gratiarum Donis præfato *Willielmo Castelton* a Deo collatis plurimum confidentes, cui tam de habitu suo quam de Regula legitime dispensatum est, ipsum *Willielmum* Decanum Ecclesiæ Cathedralis prædictæ, Præficimus, Ordinamus & Constituimus: Ac quosdam *Walterum Grym. W. H. E. N. &c.* Commonachos dicti nuper Cænobii, quibus etiam tam de habitu suo quam de Regula similiter dispensatum est, Præbendarios in eadem Ecclesia Cathedrali: Ac quosdam *Robertum Thwaytes, T. R. R. F. &c.* similiter Commonachos dicti nuper Cænobii, quibus etiam tam de habitu quam de Regula similiter dispensatum est, Canonicos Sæculares in Ecclesia Cathedrali prædict. similiter tenore Præsentium, Acceptamus, Ordinamus & Constituimus. Ipsosq; Decanum, Præbendarios & Canonicos in Ecclesia prædict. realiter ponimus & constituimus per præsentēs.

The Patent
void, for want
of the Bp's
Consent.

But because the Bishop, who was the Founder of the said Priory in Succession, did not give his Consent to the said Translation; these Letters Patents, were long after under Queen *Elizabeth* doubted, not to be good in Law. And it was urged, that all the Grants made to this Foundation as Dean and Chapter were void, because they continued Prior and Monk till their Death. Until which time, as the Case was enforced, the King had nothing in the said Priory and Lands. But afterwards, the last of the Monks being dead, which happened about the xviith of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, the same Priory and Lands, were said to come to her Highness by an Act of Parliament made in the xxxth Year of King *Henry VIII.* for the Dissolution of Monasteries, since which time the Queen granted them to the Lord *Wentworth's* Assigns. And this cost a long Suit in Law between them and the Church, one *Gardiner* being then Dean. Which Case was referred at last to the Lord Treasurer.

C H A P. XLIII.

Treaty with the German Princes, Confederates. Melancthon's Letters to the King. The Writings of the Bishops concerning divers Abuses in Religion. The King excommunicated by the Pope.

Mount sent to
the German
Princes.

THE King this Year shewed some Apprehension of Dangers from Abroad. For he rode to *Dover*, caused the Haven to be fortified, sent Commissions throughout the Realm, to have the People mustered. Whereat many feared the Pope would have brought foreign Princes suddenly to invade the Realm. And these Apprehensions might be the Reason the Treaty between the German Confederates and the King,

King, (obstructed now for about two Years) began again. For the Protestant Princes, being the latter End of the Year 1537. at *Brumswick*, *Christopher Mount* (a German by Birth, but made much use of in Messages by the King) was now sent to meet them there. Who told them in the King's Name, ' Of his Christian Zele and Propension of Mind towards the Word of God: and that he desired to plant the sound Doctrine of Christian Religion in his Kingdoms, and to gain all his Subjects to Christ our Saviour, and wholly to take away and abolish the impious Ceremonies of the Bishop of Rome.' This Year 1538. the German Princes, the Duke of Saxony, and the Landgrave, sent their Ambassadors to the King, ' Declaring their Joy at this, and making no doubt, that God by his Goodness would be present with the King in this matter, and would graciously govern and prosper him, to the Praise of his Name.

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Cleop. E. 6.
p. 272.

Mount had a further Business also with the Germans, namely, to see who the Confederates were, and whether their League was for a general Defence, or for Matters of Religion only. And whereas the Princes had desired the King to come into the Confederacy with them, and own the *Augsburg* Confession, he was desirous to hear those Points discoursed between some of his Divines and theirs. This caused another Dispatch from the Germans, who sent *Francis Burgart*, Vicechancellor to the Elector of Saxe, *George a Boyneburgh*, and *Frederick Myconius*, the Divine, into England. With the First for his better Credit and Acceptation with the King, *Melancthon* (of whom the King had a great Opinion) sent a Letter, written with his own Hand, dated in May 1538. wherein he gave his Majesty a great Character of that Ambassador, viz. *Burgart*: ' What intimate Friends they were, that *Burgart* could testify his perpetual Observance of the King, and how well affected he stood to illustrate the godly Doctrine. But that private Men greatly needed prosperous Kings and States to further the good Work. That his Majesty did mightily raise the Hearts and Hopes of all good Men, that he would be assistant in forwarding the Desires of pious Men, earnestly calling for the Reformation of the Churches; whereas the Bishop of Rome's Faction aimed at nothing but to extinguish the Truth divinely revealed, and to exercise unheard of Cruelties towards many Princes and Nations, and to constitute an unbounded and more than barbarous Tyranny in the Church, to Defend and Maintain his impious Abuses. And that therefore, when the universal Church was in such imminent Danger, he would not cease to Exhort and Beseech him, to cast his Eyes upon the true Church, throwing her self as it were at his Feet, that he would be the Author of settling some firm and lasting Consent in this behalf, and of moving the Minds of other Princes from joining with Papal Counsils. That this was a Thing so great, that nothing could be greater; and so was worthy of a King, excelling others so much in Learning and Wisdom.' This excellent Letter is in the

The German
Ambassadors
sent to the
King.

Melancthon's
Letter.

Numb.
XCIV.

These Orators being arrived in England, the King appointed certain Bishops and Doctors (Three of the former Sort, whereof *Tonsil* was one, and Four of the latter, as *Melchior Adam* writes) to enter into Conference and Debate with them, of each of the Heads of Christian Doctrine

Conference
between the
Ambassadors,
and English
Divines.
Vit. Mycon.

A N N O 1538. Doctrine contained in the *Augustine* Confession, and of divers Abuses brought into the Church. It seemed to be managed by writing; the King's Questions and Doubts first being offered to the Orators, and they then returning in their Answers thereunto: and afterwards disputing it with the *English* Divines. This held for divers Months. And in fine, they came to an Agreement (at least seemingly) in the main and chief Doctrines and Articles. Thence they descended to dissent the single Life of Priests, and some other Corruptions crept into Religion. But the Year wasting, and Ships waiting for them, the Orators were willing now to depart Home. *Myconius*, either through too great Painfulness and Study, or the disagreement of this Soyl with his Constitution, fell very dangerously Sick, insomuch that he despaired of his Life, if he returned not Home speedily to his own Country. So he in the Name of the rest, by a Letter to the Lord *Crumwel*, Lord Privy Seal, earnestly desired him to procure them the King's gracious Dismission.

*Myconius to
Lord Crummel.*

Numb. *Myconius* his Letter is repositied in the *Appendix*. Departing, they left
XCV. a large Discourse, by way of Letter to the King, dated *August* 5th at *London*; *De Utraq; Specie, De Privata Missa, & De Conjugio Sacerdotum*: Upon which three Points they reckoned the Foundation of Papal Tyranny to rest. For it seems they perceived after much Dispatch the *English* Bishops and Doctors would not let go their Communion in one kind, their private Mass, and Celibacy of Priests. This Original Letter is in the *Cotton* Library. Which being very long, the King bad the Bishop of *Durham* to draw up the Heads of it; and that in order to a distinct Answer. It was drawn up in *Latin*; the *English* whereof epitomized, may be read in the *Appendix*. But the whole Letter is transcribed by the Care of the Bishop of *Sarum*, and printed in his History: as also the Answer the King procured to be drawn up to this Letter. Wherein the King, making use of the Bishop of *Durham*, shewed his Mind to retain those Points.

Numb.
XCVI.
Addend. to
the Collect.
Vol. I.
Numb. vii.

The Bps. will
not treat of
Abuses.

There was great Endeavour used by *Cranmer* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to persuade the rest of the Bishops to enter into Conference with the *Germans* about these Abuses, before their Departure, and to set down their Judgments hereupon in writing, as they had done in other Points. But they utterly refused so to do, making this Excuse; that they knew the King had taken it upon himself, to answer the Orators in that behalf; and that thereof a Book was already devised by his Majesty: and therefore, they said, they would not meddle with it, lest they should write therein contrary to him. And so they required the Archbishop to proceed, to treat of the Sacraments of Matrimony, Orders, Confirmation, and Extreme Unction; though they also knew, that the *Germans* would not agree with them, except in Matrimony only. Hereupon the Archbishop wrote to the Lord *Crumwel*, *August* 23. telling him, 'How the Bishops declined to discourse of Abuses, seeing manifestly, as he said, they could not defend them, and yet would in no wise yield to the *Germans* concerning them. And that their main End was, to break the Concord. And therefore desired the Lord *Crumwel* to move the King, to issue out some special Commandment unto them.' But however, I think there was no Entrance made into any Conference of these Abuses. I find indeed the Writings of divers Bishops and Divines, containing their Judgments upon

upon some other Abuses; which I do suppose they drew up by the King's Order at this Meeting: As, a Writing concerning *Pilgrimages*. To which is the Subscription of Four Bishops, viz. of *Bath and Wells*, of *London*, of *Lincoln*, and of *Durham*, and one Abbot, namely, of *St Benedi&*. Also a Writing of *Auricular Confession* by the Archbishop of *York*, and Bishops of *Winchester* and *Durham*. And a Writing concerning Purgatory, by *Hugh* Bishop of *Worcester*, with King *Henry's* Annotations in the Margin. In the same Place, is also two Writings under the King's own Hand: The former of Purgatory; wherein he endeavoured to confute the Bishop of *Worcester's* Discourse: The latter contains some Notes concerning the Marriage of Priests. All these Writings I have laid in the *Appendix*, as very valuable Pieces.

The *German* Agents being now ready to depart, waited upon the King: who though he, overpersuaded by his Bishops, could not be brought yet to let go these Abuses, yet took a very smooth and gentle Farewel of them; thanking them for taking so much Pains, and suffering so much Labour by Land and Sea, enduring so long Absence from their own Country, to come and discourse with his Divines. And he invited them, after they had fulfilled their Prince's Orders, and settled their own private Affairs, to come again, and see him: whose Access would be very welcome unto him. The next Year accordingly, some of them came again. And how they prosecuted their Disputations upon other Points of Religion, we shall see in due Place.

When *Burgart* came Home, he related to *Melancthon* how kindly the King spake of him, and what a good Opinion he had of his Learning. Which caused *Melancthon* to write another Letter to the King, dated *March 26. 1539.* Acknowledging his Favour, and stirring him up in the Cause of Religion; and wishing for a Consent of pious Doctrine among these Churches, which had condemned the Pope's Tyranny. And that as the King had begun to take away wicked Superstitions, he would take upon him the Emendation of the Abuses that remained. That whatsoever Attempts the Adversary made, they should never suppress the Doctrine professed; and that God would be the Keeper of their States and Princes. That they were rather for Peace, but if the Enemy would take Arms, the Princes would not be wanting to their Duty. He remembered the Inscription upon a Piece of Coin of one of our *Edwards*, And *Jesus passed through the midst of them*. Of which he made this Interpretation, that that wise King, who gave this Motto, did mean thereby, that good Governors are divinely protected, when they defend Causes that are Just. That it is especially an heroical Part, to beare Arms for the Church, against Tyrants. But I will not detain the Reader from the Perusal of the Letter it self, which I have laid in the *Appendix*.

This Year was a General Council proclaimed by the Pope, to be holden at *Vincenza*, a City in the Dominion of the *Venetians*. Concerning which the King remained of the same Mind as he was, concerning that indicted to be held at *Mantua* in the Year 1536. For being requested by the Emperor, to come, or send to this Council, he made his Protestation against it, by way of Letter to the said Emperor: Beginning thus, King *Henry VIII.* by the Grace of God, of *England*, *France* and *Ireland*, King, &c. Saluteth the Emperor, Christian

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1538.

Numb.
XCVII,
XCVIII,
XCIX,
C.

The King
parts with the
Orators.

Melancthon's
Counsel to the
King.

Numb.
CI.

The King pro-
tests against
the Council at
Vincenza.

A N N O 1538. Princes, and all true Christian Men, desiring Peace and Concord among them, &c.' Which Protestation being very large, I omit it here: and who will, may see it in *Foxe's Acts and Monuments*.

P. 1034.

The Pope excommunicates the King.

In the Month of *December*, the Pope thundered out his Bull of Excommunication against the King, and caused it to be fixed up in divers Places of *Flanders*, as *Bruges* and *Dunkirk*, and *Bulloign* and *Diep* in *France*; and *St Andrews* in *Scotland*. Hereby the Pope 'Absolved all the King's Subjects, from their Oaths of Allegiance and Obedience; commanded the Nobility, Gentry and others of his Realms, to expel and depose him from his Dominions; declared all his Leagues with other Princes to be Null; and they enjoined to renounce all Amity with him, or else to lye under Interdiction: Exhorted and commanded all Princes to invade, spoil and fight against him; gave them a Right and Property to his Ships, Goods, and whatsoever pertaineth to him; willed all Ecclesiastics publickly to declare him and all his Adherents excommunicate by Bell, Book and Candle.' Which Excommunication was so sharp and unmannerly towards so great a Monarch, that the sober Sort of Papists liked not of it. Father *Paul*, the excellent Writer of the Council of *Trent*, said, *It was such as never was used by his Predecessors, nor imitated by his Successors*. This Bull the Pope had decreed in the Year 1535. but kept it by him till now, that he could no longer forbear to shoot his Thunder-bolt; and to declare how displeased he was with the King, who had lately demolished the Shrine of his Saint, *Thomas a Becket*.

C H A P. XLIV.

Books set forth against the Pope's Supremacy in England. The Bishop of Durham preaches against the Pope, before the King.

A Book shewing the Pope to have no Power here by our Laws.

THE Pope, no question, was not a little offended with the King, for some State Books which shewed themselves Abroad this Year. One was a Treatise, printed by *Thomas Barthelet*, Intituled, 'A Treatise proving by the King's Laws, that the Bishops of *Rome* had never Right to any Supremacy within this Realm.' Who the Author of this Book was, I cannot tell. In the Preface, he proved the Bishop of *Rome* had no Title over Kings, by the Laws of God: and then in the Book, he proceeded to mention the Statutes of *English* Parliaments, that ever rejected the Papal Power: and, 'That notwithstanding the Bishops of *Rome* in many Realms, and especially in those in which the Law Civil is used, having of long time had Possession of their said usurped Power, yet the same never could take full and perfect Effect in this Realm; but the King and his noble Progenitors, always justly resisting and repugning the same, have been continually Supreme Judges here under God. So that all Laws, Powers, and Jurisdictions pretended by the Bishop of *Rome* and the Clergy within this Realm, have been under the Correction and Orders of the King, and their Laws: as is made appear in that Book, by divers Reasons, Laws,

Statutes

Statutes and Customs of this Realm. Whereby Men may also well perceiv, and perfectly know, that the King's Majesty being recognized to be Supreme Head under God, of the Church of *England*, hath thereby no new Power given unto him, but the self-same Power and Supremacy hath always before been in his most noble Progenitors, Kings of this Realm, and united and knit to the Imperial Crown of the same; though they did not use to write the same in their Style. This Book, put forth no doubt by publick Order, may be worthy to have some particular notice taken of it. And therefore I will give a Taste of it, by rehearsing the Beginning, *Verbatim*.

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That the Bishops of *Rome* had never rightful Power or Authority of Supremacy in any Country; nor their Writings, Certificates or Processess were at any time obeyed here, by the Laws of this Realm.

The First CHAPTER.

The Bishops of *Rome*, sometime called Popes, never had Jurisdiction, Power or Supremacy rightfully over Kings, by the Law of God, as appeareth by the Texts of Scripture before rehearsed, and diverse other; nor yet over other Bishops, as appeareth by the Council of *Nicene*; where the Bishop of *Alexander* is first spoken of, before the Bishop of *Rome*: Which should not have been so, if he had had any Supremacy over them at that time. And also in times past, the Bishop of *Constantinople* tooke himself highest of all Bishops, and called himself *Prince of Bishops*. But the said pretended Power and Supremacy, aimed by the Bishops of *Rome*, began first, as it seemeth by colour, that *Phocas* the Emperor ordained, that the Church of *Rome* should be Head of all Churches, *Boniface* the Third then being Bishop there. Whereupon it might happily follow, that the said *Boniface* took on him to be Head of all Bishops and Priests, but not of the Universal Church. Howbeit by Occasion thereof, the said Bishop and his Successors have sythen that tyme, fayned and pretended, not only to be the Head of all Bishops and Priests, but also of Kings and all other Christen People, and to be God's Vicars on Earth, and to lose and bynd above all other. Which pretended Power, the Laws of this Realm have always rejected and condemned, and never took full Peace; as shall appear as well by the common Laws of this Realm, as by divers Statutes made in the Parliaments of the same, as hereafter ensueth, &c.

Another Book also, upon the Subject of the Pope's usurped Supremacy, was printed about this time, by the same *Thomas Barthelet*. The Author *Thomas Starky*, a Man of great Learning, a Chaplain of the King's, brought into the Court by *Crumwel*, and the same, who, as before was related, wrote several Letters to *Cardinal Pole*, This Book was Intituled, *An Exhortation to the People, Instructing them to Unity and Obedience*. Herein addressing to the People, he told them, That few other Causes he saw of greater Efficacy, than this usurped long and many Years Superiority of the Pope: Which, for the maintaining of his Authority under the Cloke of Religion, had brought in among Christen Nations, much false Superstition; and, for the Maintenance of his high Pride and cloked Tyranny, had among Christen

Another Book
against the
Papal Superiority.

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Christen Princes many times, to the great Ruin and common Quietness, set great Division. For who is he, that of Story hath any Consideration, which plainly do not see how few Christen Princes there be, which for the setting up of his Arrogancy, hath not once, one against another, drawn their Swords, to the great Effusion of Christen Blood, and Ruin of all good Civility: Yea, and which is worst of all, they have been perswaded, thereby to set up Christ's Honour and Religion. O Lord, what a Blindness was this, reigning in Princes Hearts? And what a Superstition, one Christen Man to kill another, under the Profession of Christ's Religion? And as for the Abuses of that Authority, as well in Pardons and Dispensations, as in Interdites and Excommunications; I think there is no Man so Blind, no, nor yet Nation so far from Judgment, nor so far from the common Sense and true Consideration, the which that doth not see and observe. For among Christen Men, no Nation there is, which being obedient to that Authority, hath not felt, by pilling and polling and tyrannical Exaction, ever covered with the Pretext of Religion, of these Abuses the plain and manifest Experience.' This thing I have observed, dere Friends, long and many a Day, not without great Sorrow and Dolour of Mind, &c.

And again, 'To affyrme that Christ establyshed among his Disciples any such Superiority, making thereby *Peter* chief Head, and also consequently the Bishop of *Rome*, that he thereby upon all *Christendom*, should be a chief Judge; and upon all Princes and Laws, to have Authority and Interdites and Dispensation, them to Temper and rule at Pleasure; yea, and upon the Word of God alone, to have Power of Interpretation: This to my Judgment, when I weigh the Thing with my self, appeareth to me, more than Madness and extreme Folly. For thys passeth all Pryde and Arrogancy; this is above all Tyranny. Christen Nations were never so mad, by open Decree or Consent in Council General, ever to give to any one Man such Authority. But undoubtedly by the Simplicity of Christen People, and by the Patience of good Princes, yea, and by the Arrogancy and Pryde of those, the which have used and occupied the See of *Rome*, it is grown by little and little into this intolerable Tyranny. The which after this sort, as it is used, to affyrme to be of the Law of God, and of Necessity, is plain contrary to the Law of God, and much to the obscuring of his Glory.

Then he proceded to consider the Pretences for the Papal Superiority both from Scripture and History. 'Of the Grounds of Scripture, saith he, and of Christ's Gospel, no Man can take sure Argument of the Pope's Prerogative, &c. From the Tyme of *Peter*, untill the Tyme of *Silvester*, Bishop of *Rome*, in the Reign of *Constantine*, about the Space of CCC Yeres, of this Head, with such Superiority, was no mention at all. For this by certain Story is known, that all the Time the Bishops, in every Place, chief and principal, as *Jerusalem*, *Antioch* and *Alexandria*, were both chosen and institute of the whole Congregation, or else by the Priests, to whom was given of the Multitude such Authority. And no mention is had in all that Space, that they ran to the Bishop of *Rome*, as their common Head and Superior: Which at the same Tyme was rather, as by probably conjecture

‘ jecture we may gather, long and many a Day, inferior unto the *ANN O*
 ‘ Church of *Jerusalem*, and *Alexandria*. 1538.

And again, ‘ All the antient and good Interpreters of Christ’s Gospel among the *Greeks*, whom I judge to have more Light in the holy Scripture, as they had in all other Letters and Learning, than any other Nation, that ever yet received the Truth of Christ’s Religion, (the which without Proof here of me, is open by their Works to all Men, that with Diligence them will read;) all these I say, with one Consent, keep silence of this Authority to be given to the Bishop of *Rome* of such Necessity. In their Works, thereof ye shall never find mention. The which is not like they would have done, if they had judged it to be so necessary a Thing; and a Gospel-truth of Christ institute and stabled. Besides this, if this Ground were true, then should all the *Indians* all those Thousand Yeres, have run headlong to Damnation, which never took the Bishop of *Rome* to be Head of Christ’s Church, and his Vicar on Earth, nor of him take any Tradition. And yet they have, yea, and yet are now in our Days, under *Preter John*, their King and Head, of Christ’s Doctrine devout and true Professors, and with us in all the Grounds of Scripture utterly agree. In Ceremonies and Rites Ecclesiastical, their is much Diversity; as it is necessary according to the Nature of the Country and People. The same Thing might be said of them in *Armeny*, which never should be obedient to the Bishop of *Rome*; but had among them their Head, whom they called their *Catholyke*, as he that was a true Professor and Maintainer of the Catholike Faith. The same also might be said of the *Greek* Nation; which would never Confess the Obedience to the Church of *Rome*, to be necessary to the Salvation of Man. Wherefore chiefly by the Bishops of *Rome*, they were most unjustly noted, not to be as Members of Christ’s Universal and Catholike Body.

‘ But now all these Nations, *Indians*, *Armenians* and *Greeks*, utterly to condemn and separate them from the Benefyte of Christ’s Passion, wherein they have ever had their chief Comfort and Trust, only for because they would not, nor were not to this Head, as to the Vicar of Christ, obedient; all these, I say, to condemn and cast them into the depe Pyt of Hell, seemeth playne Madnes, and most blynd Arrogancy. And I pray God, that they which so blyndly judge, be not for their own Judgment, rather to be condemned. For this Judgment hath no Ground, neyther of Scripture, nor yet of Reason, but is a playn, blynd Superstition.

‘ Wherefore, dere Friends, seing that neither Scripture, Story, nor good Reason, driveth us to confesse this Superiority to be necessary to our Salvation, and to be of Christ institute, let us not, blynded with foolish Superstition, by process of Tyme copen into our Hearts, bynd our own Conscience with scrupulous Necessity of such a Thing: Which undoubtedly grew in among us, only as a Thing of Conveniency, and as a Thing of great Help and Succour, to the Maintenance of a certain Unity in Christ’s Church, and not as a Thing of Necessity.

But the Inconvenience of maintaining Unity by this Means, he then proceeded to shew; concluding, ‘ Therefore, dere Friends, briefly to conclude,

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conclude, as it is in the Politike Life and Civil, nothing convenient to have one Emperor, by whose Judgment all other Causes worldly and politike, in all Nations should be defined; (forasmuch as thereby all princely Authority should be derogate, and be in Subjection,) so it is in the spiritual Policy of Christ's Church, One Head to be with such Authority, as of many Years hath been used, a thing most inconvenient, and to all Christen Nations plain Injury; yea, and playnly to say, to the Doctrine of Christ nothing agreeable. Wherefore, dere Friends, seeing that this Superiority given to the Bishop of *Rome*, is neither by God's Word in his Scripture graunted, nor by the Practyse thereof by his Apostles inspired with his Spirit, conformed and founded, as a thing to the Salvation of Man requisite and necessary; I see no Cause, why we should so stiffly maintain the same, and so stubbornly repugne to such good and common Policy; whereby is plucked away from our Nation such a cloked Tyranny, which, under the Pretext of Religion, hath stabled among us much Superstition, to the great Ruine and Decay of the sincere, simple and pure Doctrine of Christ.

Bishop of
Durham's Ser-
mon against
the Pope.

This Year also did *Tonstal* Bishop of *Durham*, preach a notable Sermon before the King upon *Palm Sunday*, in behalf of the King's Supremacy, and in declaiming against the Usurpations of the Bishop of *Rome*. When he thus delivered himself: 'What shall we say of those whom God hath created to be Subjects; commanding them by his Word to obey their Princes and Governors; who do not only refuse to obey God's Commandment, but contrary to his Word, will be above their Governors in refusing to obey them; and furthermore also will have their Princes prostrate upon the Ground, to whom they owe Subjection, to adore them by godly Honour upon the Earth, and to kiss their Feet, as if they were Gods, where they be but wretched Men? And yet they look that their Princes should do it to them, and also all other Christen Men, owing them no Subjection, should of Duty do the same. Do not these, as ye think, follow the Pryde of *Lucifer*, their Father, who make themselves Fellows to God, contrary to his Word? But who, I pray you, be these that Men may know them? Surely the Bishops of *Rome* be those, whom I do mean; who do exalt theyr Seat above the Stars of God, and do ascend above the Clouds, and will be like to Almighty God, &c.

Again, 'The Bishop of *Rome* offereth his Feet to be kyssed, shod with the Shoes on. For I saw my self, being then present XXXIII. Year ago, when *Julius* then Bishop of *Rome* stood on his Feet, and one of his Chamberlaynes held up his Skirt; because it stood not, as he thought with his Dignity, that he should do it himself, that his Shoe might appere, whiles a Nobleman of great Age did prostrate himself upon the Ground, and kissed his Shoe; which he stately suffered to be done, as of Duty. Where methought I saw *Cornelius* th Centurion, Captain of the *Italian* Band, spoken of in the Tenth Chapter of the *Acts*, submitted himself to *Peter*, and much honouring him. But I saw not *Peter* there to take him up, and byd him Ryse, saying, *I am Man, as thou art*, as *St. Peter* did say to *Cornelius*. So that the Bishops of *Rome* admytting such Adoration

' due

due unto God, do cline up above the heavenly Clouds, that is to *ANN O*
 say, above the Apostles, sent into the World by Christ, to water *1538.*
 the earthly and carnal Hearts of Men by their heavenly Doctrine of
 the Word of God.

Unto the high Powers all Men must obey; Apostles, Patriarchs,
 Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, and all of the Clergy; and all Noble-
 men of what Degree soever they be, being within their Go-
 vernance, with all the People also. And therefore the Bishop of
 Rome oweth likewise to his Sovereign and Superior like Subjection
 by the Word of God, taught unto us by *Peter* and *Paul*, as other
 Bishops owe to their Princes, under whom they be. And therefore
Agatho the Bishop of Rome, in whose Time was the Sixth Synod
 and Council General, after his Election, sent to the Emperor then
 being at *Constantinople* to have his Election allowed, before he would
 be consecrate, after the old Custom at that Time used.

Then he proceeded to confute the Interpretation of those Texts of
 Scripture that are wont to be brought in Favour of the Pope's Power:
 As, *Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock I shall build my Church.* That
 is, said he, as *Chrysostom* in his 26th Sermon of the Feast of *Pentecost*
 expounds it, *Not upon the Person of Peter, but upon the Faith:* and
 that Text, *I will give thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven:*
and whatsoever thou shalt bind, &c. And that, *Feed my Sheep.*

Next, he notes the Pope's late Excommunication of the King:
 That because he can no longer in this Realm wrongfully use his
 usurped Power in all Things, as he was wont to do, and suck out of
 this Realm, by Avarice insatiable, innumerable Sums of Money
 yearly, to the great exhausting of the same; he therefore moved,
 and replete with furious Ire and pestilent Malice, goeth about to stir
 all Christen Nations, that will give Ear to his devilish Enchant-
 ments, to move War against this Realm of *England*, giving it in
 Prey to all those, that by his Instigation will invade it. Which few
 Words, *To give in Prey*, how great Mischief they contain, I shall
 open to thee, thou true *Englishman.* First, to make this Realm
 a Prey to all Venturers, all Spoilers, all Snaphaunces, all forlorn
 Hopes, all Cormorants, all Ravenors of the World, that will invade
 this Realm. That is to say, thou Possessioner of any Lands of this
 Realm, of what Degree soever thou be, from the highest to the
 lowest, shalt be slain and destroyed, and thy Lands taken from thee
 by those that will have all for themselves. And thou mayest be sure
 to be slain. For they will not suffer thee, nor none of thy Progeny
 to live, to make any Claim afterwards, or to be revenged: for that
 were their Unsurety. Thy Wife shall be abused before thy Face, thy
 Daughter likewise deflowered before thee; thy Children slain before
 thine Eyes: thy House spoiled; thy Cattel driven away and sold
 before thy Visage: thy Plate, thy Money, by Force taken from
 thee; all thy Goods, (wherein thou hast any Delight, or hast ga-
 thered for thy Children,) ravened, broken and distributed in thy
 Presence, that every Ravenour may have his Shayre, &c. To take
 the whole Realm in Prey, is to kill the whole People, and to take
 the Place for themselves, as they will do, if they can.

A N N O 1538. *Pole infected by the Pope with unnatural Principles.* Next, he reprocheth the Pope for his infecting *Pole* with rebellious Principles and Practices. 'To set forth his pestilent Malice the more, he hath allured to his Purpose a Subject of this Realm, *Reginald Pole*, comen of a Noble Blood, and thereby the more errant Traytor, to go about from Prince to Prince, and from Countrey to Countrey, to stir them to War agaynst this Realm, and to destroy the same, being his Native Countrey. Whose pestilent Purpose the Princes, that he breaketh it unto, have in much Abomination; both because the Bishop of *Rome* (who being a Bishop should procure Peace) is a Stirrer of War; and because this most errant and unkind Traytor is his Minister to so devilish a Purpose, to destroy the Countrey he was born in; which any heathen Man would abhor to do. But for all that without Shame he still goeth on, exhorting thereunto all Princes that will hear him, who do abhor to see such Unnaturalness in any Man, as he shameless doth set forwards. Whose pernicious Treasons late secretly wrought against this Realm, have been by the Work of Almighty God, so marvelously detected, and by his own Brother, † without looking therefore, so disclosed, and condigne Punishment ensued; that hereafter, God willing, they shall not take any more such Root, to the Noyfance of this Realm, &c. And beside his pestilent Treason, his Unkindness agaynst the King's Majesty, who brought him up of a very Child, and the which promoted both him, and likewise restored his Blood being attainted, to be of the Peres of this Realm, and gave him Mony yearly out of his Coffers, to find him honourably at Study, maketh his Treason much more detestable to all the World, and him to be reputed more wild and cruel than any Tygre. This Sermon was printed by *Tho. Berthelet*.

† Sir *Geofrey Pole*.

And thus the State at this Time stood affected, or rather disaffected, to the Pope; and so sensible were the Learned Bishops and Clergy of his Usurpations; however afterwards this Bishop *Tonstal*, and others calmly took his Yoke upon their own Necks, and layd it again upon the Neck of the Nation.

C H A P. XLV.

Affairs between the King and the German Protestant Princes. Another Letter of Melancthon to the King: and to Cromwel. The King's Agents with those Princes. Their Reports.

A N N O 1539. *The Confederates send Ambassadors into England.* **T**HE German Princes and States had been the latter End of the former Year, treating with the Emperor at *Frankford* about a Pacification. Which put the King into some Doubt of them, whether they would stand to their former Principles: Fearing lest they might comply with the Emperor upon some Terms, for the Sake of Peace and Quierness. And it added to the King's Jealousy, that after the Return of their Ambassadors from *England*, they did not presently write to him. The King also was minded to have some of their

Learned

Learned Men to be sent over for a further Disputation: because the King was willing, if possible, to bring the *German* Protestants over from some Articles of theirs in the *Augustine* Confession; which nevertheless they would not do. To them therefore the King sent Two Agents, *Christopher Mount* and *Thomas Paynel*. Who, resorting to the Princes, told them the King took it in evil Part, that they went about such a Matter, as Treaty with the Emperor, without him; desiring to know the Conditions they proceeded upon. *Burgart* therefore and another Agent, who spake sundry Languages, and had been in divers other Embassies, with four more, were soon dispatched by the Duke and *Landgrave* into *England*; who came hither in Company with *Mount* and *Paynel*, from *Frankford*, April 23. Where the Assembly was not yet dissolved, nor any full Conclusion made: but it was thought it would end in a Truce on both Sides for Eighteen Months.

The said *Mount* and *Paynel* his Colleague repairing to the King, brought him Word from the *Elect*or and *Landgrave*, that they continued in their loving and friendly Observation of his Majesty, and would be very glad of the King's Allowance of them. And their own Orators brought the same Intelligence and Message: And from their Masters required Concord in Doctrine, and mutual Defence. A late Proclamation of the King, that disallowed of the Marriage of Priests, and concerning the Vows of Religious Persons, gave them Disgust. And *Melancthon*, in a Letter to *Crumwel*, shewed himself to observe this, and some other true Doctrines disproved by the King: But that considering, how in that Proclamation the King promised to abolish Abuses, he hoped he would more exactly consider that Point. They earnestly doubt with *Mount*, while he was in *Germany*, upon this Point. Who answered them, 'That altho' he knew not the King's Considerations in this Behalf, yet he might affirm, the King would not be so scrupulous in the Matter of *Vows*. And that sundry Nuns and Religious Women were discharged out of their Houses with Pen- sions during their Lives; and were not forbid to marry. But as for Priests, he thought the Cause of the Prohibition was, because they might preach the Word of God, and to prevent the common People's Imagination of Concupiscence in them, if they should take Wives; and so confute and condemn their own preaching, and the Word of God. But what the King would do afterwards; when the People should wax stronger in Knowledge, he could not tell; yet doubted not but he would do nothing without good Reason and great Consideration: And with this Discourse the *Landgrave* and the rest shewed themselves to be well satisfied.

Burgart, as he brought a Letter from *Melancthon* to the King the last Year, so he brings another from him this. Wherein he gave the King Assurance of the extraordinary Praises *Burgart* upon all Occasions gave him: Bestowing a good Character likewise upon the said Orator; and exciting the King to further so good a Cause, as he and his Colleagues came about; namely, to negotiate of Matters pertaining to the common Safety of the Church, and the Preservation of godly Doctrine: a Cause, than which there could be none in the World more honourable, and more worthy of Royal Protection. But the Reader may peruse the Letter it self, if he pleaseth, in the *Appendix*.

A N N O
1539.

Their Message.

The King receives another Letter from *Melancthon*.

Numb.
CII.

A N N O

1539.

The Report
of the King's
Agents to
Crumwel.

Numb.

CIII.

But I will step a little back to our own Orators, *Mount and Paynel*, who being now ready to return Home to their Master King *Henry*, the Elector of *Saxony* and *Landgrave* put into their Hands an obliging Answer to his Embassy by them: Which may be read at full Length in the *Appendix*, as I translated it into *English* from the *Latin* Original. But in short, the Message they brought back from the Princes, as they related it to the Lord *Crumwel*, was, 'That the League *Evangelic* was stedfast, and that they would dye rather than give it up. They looked shortly, that either one Part or the other would have the upper Hand: for they thought that Antichrist and the Devil would not sleep, but practise to overcome the Evangelics. That things were so far gone, that either the Evangelics must destroy them, or they the Evangelics. That the Emperor above all things desired of the Confederate Princes, that they would receive no others into their League, than were already. And that caused a great Stickling at the Diet. And that to quiet them, the Emperor's Fleet was returned to *Zealand*, and that all the Ships should be dismissed, and his Artillery discharged out of them, and brought ashore. This was what the King's Agents told *Crumwel*. And *Crumwel* told the King moreover, that he was assured, that the coming of those Orators from the *Germans* would be formidable to the Bishop of *Rome*, and other his Adherents; not doubting, but if his Majesty would joyn with them, the Papists in his Judgment would be half in Despair.

Anne of Cleves.

The Match between the King and *Anne of Cleves* was now in Motion. And by this Agency also it was told, that the Duke of *Saxony* had exhorted the Duke of *Cleves* to go through without any Difficulty.

Melancthon's
Letter to
Crumwel.

A Letter came now from *Melancthon* to the Lord *Crumwel*. The Sum of which he communicated to the King. Which was, 'That the Bishops in *England* did, as many in other Countries used to do; namely, by Interpretations craftily devised, to excuse and colour over Abuses; thereby to establish them by Art. As was lately done in a Book put forth at *Colen*, called *Enchyridion*. Which Sophistry he saw, as he said, pernicious to the Church. And that Care was to be taken, that the Truth were not overwhelmed with these Cheats. And that simple Truth was more profitable to a lasting Tranquility. This and a great deal more of Matters relating to *Germany*, *Crumwel* wrote to the King, being sick of an Ague at *London*: and so could not come to tell the King by Word of Mouth. This Letter is placed in the *Appendix*.

Numb.

CIV.

Sarcerius the
Prince of Nassau's
Chaplain.

While *Mount and Paynel* were at *Frankford*, they met at *Melancthon's* Apartment with *Erasmus Sarcerius*; who was Chaplain to Prince *William of Nassau*, and came thither upon his Command. They asked him, if he were that *Sarcerius*, that had writ *A Method upon the chief Places of Scripture*. He answered, he was. They told him, that by the King's Command his Book had been put into *English*; and that if he pleased, they would carry a Letter from him to the King. And upon this Motion, he writing one, they carried it. Which may be read in the *Appendix*. In this Letter he promised to send the King his *Common Places*, methodically digested, more enlarged, and his *Possils* upon the Epistles and Gospels. The King looked for

Numb.

CV.

Address

Address; and was well pleased, when he had it from such as had a Repute for Learning. Mount and Paynel knew this well; and therefore excited those Germans that were Learned to write to the King, and pay him a Deference, as they did Sarcerius; hoping hereby to bring the King to read their Books, and to affect their Religion.

But the German Orators being now here, fell upon their Business in adjusting the Points of Religion with the King's Divines. And whether it were to recommend themselves the more to the Popish Bishops, or to shew their Disposition to Peace with all Christians, and even with those of Rome, they drew up at this Time a Copy of such things as Martin Luther, Philip Melancthon, with certain Cities and Princes of Germany their Adherents, had admitted. Which were these that follow: The Reader must excuse the ill English, which I write as I find in the MS.

First, We Confess, that there ought to be a Policy in the Church, and a Regime. In the which there must be Bishops; who shall have the Power of the Examine, and Ordinance of the Ministration of the same, for to exercise the Jurisdiction of the same. Who shall diligently see, that the Churches committed unto them may be truly instructed with pure and sincere Doctrine.

We admit, that it is good and convenient, that in the Church there be a Bishop of Rome, that may be above other Bishops: Who may gather them together, to see the Examination of the Doctrine, and the Concord of such, as do teach Discrepancies in the Church. But we admit not the Pomp, Riches and Pride of the Bishop of Rome: who would make Realms subject unto him. The which Things do neither help, nor promote the Gospel; because the Kings that have right thereto, may and owe to rule the same.

We confess, that as concerning Choise of Meats, Holy Days and Ceremonies, there might an Agreement be made easily, if there could be a Concord in the Doctrine of the Church, and not such Discrepance as there is. For if there were a Concord of Doctrine in the Church, we should not think reasonable to divide us from the Church, seen that it is not possible that the World might stand without Ceremonies and Man's Constitutions: Seen that all Innovations without Necessity ought to be excluded; and that there is no Peril, to us I mean, in the Observation of the said Ceremonies, and Men's Constitutions: for that the Doctrine be purely handled.

We judge to be profitable, that Confession and Rehearsal of Sins be made in the Church. For taking the same away, the Doctrine of Remission of Sins, and of the Power of the Keys should be offuscate and taken away: seen that in the Confession among other things the People ought to be taught, whence cometh the Remission of Sins. Provided, that there be honest Fashion to instruct the Persons that be shriven, and that the Consciences be not overlayd with rigorous and exact Rehearsal of all Sins.

We believe that Justification is made by Faith. Because there be no Works whereby we may satisfy, or obtain Remission of Sins. Yet nevertheless the same Faith that justifies us, ought not to be idle, but adorned with good and godly Deeds.

We

A N N O
1539.

How far the
Germans did
go in Accord
with the Ro-
man Faith.
Cleopatra. E. 5.
p. 228.

A Policy in
the Church.

A Bishop of
Rome.

Ceremonies.

Confession.

Justification.

A N N O

1539.

Free Will.
Departure of
the Holy
Ghost.
Use of the
Mass.

' We confess that *Free Will* holpen with the Holy Ghost, may do somewhat, whensoever we will withdraw from Sin.

' We confess, that after the Remission of Sins, the Holy Ghost is given to the Man; from the which he departeth again, as soon as he committeth any deadly Sin.

' We use the Fashion accustomed in the Office of the Mass. For what should avail a Change of Ceremonies without Necessity? But we admit not the Privie Masses, because they have Occasion of sundry Abuses. Because there is an open Fair or Market made of Celebration of Masses.

the real Pre-
ce.

' We believe thus concerning the Supper of the Lord. That like as Christ, in his last Supper did give unto his Disciples his true Body to be eaten, and his Blood to be drunken; and so he gives dayly to us his Disciples, and Loyal Men, as often as we keep the Supper, according to the Form commanded, *Accipite & Comedite*, &c. the true Body and Blood to be eaten and drunk. This is the Mind of the Three Evangelists and St. Paul. And so their Words do sound clearly. Wherefore away with all such erroneous Interpretations as are made upon the said Words.

Both Kinds.

' We be taught that Christ did give to his Disciples, his Body and Blood under both *Species* and Kinds: and that therefore we owe to observe the same; as we do indeed. But because one of the *Species* hath by Men's Constitutions been forbidden by the Bishop of Rome, there might be a Remedy found without Peril or Danger: So that he that would, might have both *Species*: and that there should be a Prohibition made, that the one should not insult against the other.

Invocation of
Saints.

' Seen that it appeareth by the Holy Doctors, that the Holy Days and Feasts of Saints have been accustomed to be observed; and as we see as yet some holy Canons of that Matter, but it appeareth not that there is made in the same a Mention of their *Invocation*; but it appeareth only by the same, that they be proposed unto us for an Example, to learn to follow their Lives and Conversations: yet nevertheless, seen that by some Custom the Intercession of Saints ought to be admitted, then there should be Prayers made unto God, that it might like him to hear them by the Intercession of some Saints: We affirm for a Certainty, that the Saints do continually intercede for the Church: Albeit the Christen Men owe to be taught, that they shall not convert the same Hope to the Saints, which they ought to have unto God.

Images.

' We do not reject the *Images* of Christ and of Saints, but the Adoration made to them; whereof Idolatry is sprung.

Monkery.

' Also we dampne not the *Monastery*, or Life of such as be closed in the Cloisters; but only the Trust that some Men have put in the *Regular* Observation. Also we reject the Vows, which have been made upon such things as Men cannot observe. Yet nevertheless we will not the Monasteries be put down for the same, but that they may be turned to Schools: In which good Doctrine should be taught. And that the Pope may dispense with Vows: So that it were free for every Man to keep, or not keep them. And so the same should be to the Quiet and Tranquility of Mind: and the Vows should not be the Snares of Malice.

Then, the Marriage of the Priests should be in the Pope's Hands, *ANNO*
 who might admit the same; and the Concubinate of many should *1539.*
 be forbidden. For we see few chaste. But if the Law to contract
 should not have Place, then for to avoid Slander, there should be
 none advanced to the Dignities Ecclesiastical [but] grave Persons,
 and of full Age.

Priest's Mar-
 riage.

We think it best to dispute of *Purgatory* and *Pardons* in the Schools, *Purgatory.*
 rather than in the Pulpit, to dispute of the same publickly without
 any Profit: So that the Markets and Bargains thereof should be
 avoided. For we do reject in those things and others, wherein we do
 not agree, the Abuse rather than the thing [it] self. The which never-
 theless may be discussed and emended by Councils lawfully assembled.

The *Zwinglians* and *Oecolampadians* have not yet received those *Zwinglians.*
 Articles, but the simple People shall be easily reduced; and we trust
 they shall shortly do comformable thereto.

Luther hath revoked all the Books, wherein there be many Things *Luther.*
 contrary to those Articles, and hath retracted them with his own
 Hands, and knowledged his Faults. In *March 3. MDXXIX.*

But these Steps to a good Concord between the King and the *Ger-*
mans came to nothing: The King taking some Misconceit against the
 Duke of *Saxony*, because it was said, he rather inclined to have his
 Sister in Law, the Lady *Anne* of *Cleves*, married into *Germany*, than
 to him. This *Winchester* made use of, as an handle to alienate the
 King's Mind from the Duke. He also put the King in fear, if he
 should join with the Protestants, of drawing against him the Emperor,
 the *French* King, the *Scot*, the Pope, and other foreign Power; and
 especially civil Tumults and Insurrections at Home.

This German
 Embassy suc-
 ceeded not.
 And why?

C H A P. XLVI.

Injunctions concerning Books and Sects. Monasteries dissolved.
New Bishopricks erected out of them.

ABOUT this Time, *Crumwel's* Interest was not so absolute,
 but *Winchester* sometimes got the Ascendant of him with the
 King: as he had now, or somewhat before, when there came forth
 a Book of *Injunctions* against good Books, and in Favour of some Su-
 perstitious Ceremonies. The said Bishop of *Winchester* had com-
 plained to the King, of the creeping in of the Heresies of the *Sacra-*
mentaries and *Anabaptists*, and of many Books in *English*, imported
 and sold by them: And so, under the Cloke of Heresy, prevailed with
 the King to exterminate all good Books, and with them the holy
 Scripture, and to take Opportunity to persecute many honest Professors
 of the Gospel. And these *Injunctions* being resolved upon, several
 other *Injunctions* were also added. I mention them, because I do not
 find our latter Church-Historians taking notice of them. They were
 intituled, *Certain Injunctions set forth by the Authority of the King,*
against

Severe In-
 junctions from
 the King.

Bp. of Win-
 chester's In-
 junctions.

A N N O against English Books, *Setts* or *Sacramentaries* also, with putting down
 1539. the Day of Thomas Becket. Which last seems to have been a stroke
 of *Crumwel's* Pen, to make some allay for the rest. They are in Num-
 ber Ten, and extant in *Fox*, whether I refer the Reader. Only take
 here the Sum of them.

The First was, ' That none without special License of the King,
 ' transport any *English* Books, nor sell or vend them, upon pain to
 ' forfeit all their Goods and Chattels, and Imprisonment, during the
 ' King's Pleasure.

' Secondly, None to print, or bring over any *English* Books, with
 ' Annotations or Prologues, unless the Books be examined by the
 ' King's Privy Council, or others appointed by his Highness. Nor
 ' to print any translated Book, without mentioning the Name of the
 ' Translator. Else the Printer to be reckoned the Translator, and to
 ' suffer the Fine and Imprisonment thereof.

' Thirdly, None to print or utter any *English* Book of Scripture,
 ' unless it be first viewed and examined by the King's Highness, or one
 ' of the Privy Council, or one Bishop within the Realm; whose Name
 ' shall be expressed therein: upon pain of his high Displeasure, and
 ' Loss of Goods and Chattels, and Imprisonment.

' Fourthly, That *Sacramentaries*, *Anabaptists*, or any other that
 ' sell Books, having such Opinions in them, the Books and Persons
 ' shall be detected immediately unto the King's Majesty, or unto one
 ' of the Privy Council: To thintent the Person so detected, to be
 ' punished without Favour, and with all Extremity of Law.

None to dis-
 pute upon the
 Sacrament.

' Fifthly, None to reason or dispute upon the Sacrament of the Al-
 ' tar, upon pain of losing their Lives, Goods and Chattels: Only the
 ' Learned in Divinity to have their Liberty in the Schools.

' Sixthly, The holy Bread and holy Water, Procession, Kneeling
 ' and Creeping to the Cross on *Good Friday*, and *Easter Day*; setting
 ' up Lights before *Corpus Christi*, bearing of Candles on *Candlemas*
 ' Day, &c. to be observed, till it please the King to change and
 ' abrogate them.

' Seventhly, That Married Priests, known to have Wives, or that
 ' hereafter do marry, be deprived of all spiritual Promotion, and
 ' from doing any Duty of a Priest, and have no Commodity pertaining
 ' to the Clergy. But shall from henceforth be reputed as Lay-Persons.
 ' And those, that after this Proclamation shall marry, shall run into his
 ' Grace's Indignation, and suffer Imprisonment.

' Eighthly, A Charge to all Archbishops, Bishops, Archdeacons,
 ' Parsons, Vicars, Curates, &c. within their Cures, diligently to
 ' preach and set forth the Glory of God; and Truth of his Word:
 ' And, considering the Superstitions crept into the Hearts and Stomachs
 ' of many, to preach the Word of God sincerely and purely; decla-
 ' ring the Difference between Things commanded by God, and the
 ' Rites and Ceremonies used in the Church.

' Ninthly, That considering *Thomas Becket* stubbornly withstood
 ' the wholesome Laws established against the Enormities of the Clergy,
 ' and fled into *France*, and to the Bishop of *Rome*, to procure Abro-
 ' gation of those Laws; and that his Death, untruly called *Martyrdom*,
 ' happened upon a Rescue made, and that he gave opprobrious Words
 ' to

‘ to the Gentlemen, which counsilled him to leave his Stubbornness, and called one of them *Barod*, and took another (*viz. Tracy*) by the Bosom, and violently shook him, and had like to have thrown him upon the Pavement: In which Fray, one of the Company struck him, and so in the Throng he was slain: And considering that his Canonization was made by the Bishop of *Rome*, because he had been a Champion to maintain his usurped Authority: Therefore the King, by the Advice of his Council, declared, that there appeared nothing in his Life and Conversation, whereby he should be called a *Saint*; but rather be esteemed a Rebel and a Traytor. And therefore the King required and commanded, that henceforth *Becket* shall not be called a *Saint*, but Bishop *Becket*; and that his Images and Pictures, throughout the whole Realm, shall be plucked down out of Churches and Chapels; and his Days used to be Festival, shall not be observed: and all Services and Offices, Antiphons, &c. shall be razed out of all Books; and that his Holy Days shall not be solemnized. To the Intent, that his Grace’s Subjects shall be no longer blindly led, and abused, to commit Idolatry, as they have done in Times past.

Thomas Becket
not to be
called *Saint*.

‘ *Tenthly*, Charge and Command is given, that the King’s Subjects do keep and observe all the Injunctions made by his Majesty upon the Pain therein contained.

This Year the greater Monasteries were suppressed and dissolved. The common People well liked them, and generally were very fond of them; because of the Hospitality and good House-keeping there used. The Inhabitants of these Cloisters relieved the poor, raised no Rents, took no excessive Fines upon renewing of Leases: And their noble and brave built Structures adorned the Places and Countries where they stood. The rich also had Education here for their Children. Therefore to make Way among the People for the taking them away, and to make them the willinger to see them destroyed, it was given out and pretended by the great Instruments employed herein, That the King’s Exchequer should be for ever enriched; the Kingdom and Nobility strengthened and encreased; the common Subjects acquitted and freed from all former Services and Taxes: and that the Abbots, Monks, Friars and Nuns being suppressed, in their Places should be created Forty Earls, Sixty Barons, and Three Thousand Knights, and Forty Thousand Soldiers with skilful Captains, and competent Maintenance for them all for ever, out of the ancient Church-Revenues. So as in so doing, the King and his Successors should never want Treasure of their own, nor have Cause to be beholden to the common Subject: neither should the People be any more charged with Loans, Subsidies, and Fifteens. Since which Time, (if you will believe my Author) there have been more Statutes, Laws, Subsidies, and Fifteens, than in Five Hundred Years before.

Monasteries
dissolved.

Howes Pref.
bef. Stowe’s
Chron.

And to please those of the New Learning, it was given out, that by these Revenues of the Monasteries, better Provision should be made for the Poor, and Preachers should have Salaries to go about, and preach the Knowledge of Christ. But nothing of this came to pass. For neither was there Provision made for the Poor, nor yet Order set

The Good
promised
thereby, not
done.

ANNO for preaching the Gospel. And in fine, ‘ a great Part of it was
 1539. ‘ turned to the upholding of Dice-Playing, inasking and banqueting ;
 ‘ yea, I would I could not by just Occasion speak it, faith one that
 ‘ lived in those Days, bribing, whoring and swearing: The Town’s
 ‘ People and Households miserably decayed. But vast were the Treasures that came in to the King by this Dissolution.

Monks and
 Friars at an
 End in Eng-
 land.

Hom. of Good
 Works.

But good Men that desired the Reformation of Religion, were well enough pleased to see this End of the Monasteries ; because hereby the Religious Sects of Monks and Friars were come to an End and abolished in *England*: Swarms not only of useles Men, but the great Pillars of Superstition and Popery. Archbishop *Cranmer* in his Homily of *Good Works*, (for I suppose him the Compiler of it) thanked God that had made King *Henry* the Instrument of so good a Work. ‘ Honour be to God, who did put Light into the Heart of his faithful ‘ and true Minister of most famous Memory, King *Henry VIII.* ‘ and gave him the Knowledge of his Word, and an earnest Affection ‘ to seek his Glory, and to put away such superstitious and Pharisaical ‘ Sects, by Antichrist invented and set up, against the true Word of ‘ God, and the Glory of his most blessed Name. The evil of these *Religious* you may take a Prospect of in the foresaid Homily, which the Archbishop set forth in these Words: ‘ Meek and faigned Religi- ‘ ons were neither the Fortieth Part so many among the *Jews*, nor ‘ more superstitiously and ungodlily abused, than of late Days they ‘ have been among us. Which Sects and Religions had so many hypo- ‘ critical and feigned Works in their State of *Religion*, as they arro- ‘ gantly named it, that their Lamps as they said, ran all over, able to ‘ satisfy not only for their own Sins, but also for all others, their ‘ Benefactors, Brothers and Sisters of Religion, as most ungodlily ‘ and craftily they had persuaded the Multitude of ignorant People ; ‘ keeping in divers Places, as it were Marts or Markets of *Merits* ; ‘ being full of their Holy Relicks, Images, Shrines, and Works of over- ‘ flowing Abundance, ready to be sold. And all Things which they ‘ had were called HOLY ; *Holy Cowles, Holy Girdles, Holy Pardons,* ‘ *Holy Beads, Holy Shoes, Holy Rules*, and all full of Holiness. And ‘ what thing can be more foolish, more superstitious, or ungodly, ‘ than that Men, Women and Children should wear a Friar’s Coat, to ‘ deliver them from Agues or Pestilence ; or when they dye, or when ‘ they be buried, cause it to be cast upon them, in Hope thereby to ‘ be saved ? Which Superstition altho’ Thanks be to God, it hath ‘ been little used in this Realm, yet in divers other Realms it hath been, ‘ and yet is used among many, both Learned and Unlearned. But ‘ to pass over the innumerable Superstitiousness, that hath been in ‘ strange Apparel, in Silence, in Dormitory, in Cloister, in Chap- ‘ ter, in Choice of Meats and Drinks, and in such like Things, let us ‘ consider what Enormities and Abuses have been in the Three chief ‘ principal Points, which they called, *the Three Essentials*, or *the* ‘ *Three Foundations* of Religion : That is to say, Obedience, Chasti- ‘ ty, and wilful Poverty.

The Three
 chief Vows
 of Religion..

I.

‘ *First*, Under Pretence or Colour of *Obedience* to their Father in ‘ Religion, (which Obedience they made themselves) they were ‘ made free by their Rules and Canons from the Obedience of their
 natural

‘ natural Father and Mother, and from the Obedience of Emperor *ANNO*
 ‘ and King, and all Temporal Power, whom of very Duty by God’s *1539.*
 ‘ Laws they were bound to obey. And so the Profession of their
 ‘ Obedience not due, was a forsaking of their due Obedience.

‘ And how their Profession of *Chastity* was kept, it is more honesty *II.*
 ‘ to pass over in Silence, and let the World judge of that which is
 ‘ well known, than with unchaste Words, by expressing of their un-
 ‘ chaste Life, to offend chaste and godly Ears.

‘ And as for their wilful *Poverty*, it is such, that when in Possessi- *III.*
 ‘ ons, Jewels, Plate and Riches, they were equal or above Merchants,
 ‘ Gentlemen, Barons, Earls and Dukes, yet by this subtle sophistical
 ‘ Term, *Proprium in Commune*, that is to say, *Proper in Common*, they
 ‘ mocked the World; persuading, that notwithstanding all their Pos-
 ‘ sessions and Riches, yet they kept their Vow, and were in wilful
 ‘ Poverty. But for all their Riches they might never help Father or
 ‘ Mother or others, that were indeed very needy and poor, without
 ‘ the License of their Fathers, Abbots, Priors or Wardens. And yet
 ‘ they might take of every Man, but they might not give ought to
 ‘ any Man; no, not to them whom the Laws of God bound them to
 ‘ help. And so through their Traditions and Rules the Laws of God
 ‘ could bear no Rule with them.

‘ The unchaste Behaviour of these Religious Men, and their abominable *The Monks ill*
 ‘ dissolute Courses with the Wives and Daughters of the Laity; and *Behaviour.*
 ‘ withal; their imperious Carriage towards the Gentry, begot them Ha-
 ‘ tred, and hastened their Fall. And here allow me to set down a Story
 ‘ to illustrate this matter, happening between the Monks of *Sawtry* in
 ‘ *Huntingtonshire*, and one Mr. *Edmond Loud* a Gentleman of good
 ‘ Quality, living near their Monastery, being set down and attested by
 ‘ one *Loud*, living in these times, and as it seems of the same Family.
 ‘ Which *Edmond* was murdered by the said Monks and Priests of *Sawtry*
 ‘ Abby, about the 13th of *Henry VIII. Anno 1522.*

Edmond the Son and Heir of Mr. *Thomas Loud* of *Hunningham* *Mr. Loud and*
 ‘ Castle, *Cretingham* and *Sawtry*, a Mile from *Sawtre* Abby; descended *the Monks of*
 ‘ of noble Parentage. (For his Mother *Anne Loud*, was the Daughter *Sawtry.*
 ‘ and Heir of Sir *Edmond Molfo*: His Grandmother *Katharine Dudley*, *Foxii MSS.*
 ‘ Married to *Lionel Loud*; his great Grandmother was *Mary* of *Henault*,
 ‘ Married to *Roger Loud*, and Cousin to *Lionel* Earl of *Ulster* and Duke
 ‘ of *Clarence*) the said *Edmond* was an Enemy to the wanton Monks
 ‘ of the Abby, and to two lewd Parsons of *Sawtre*: For they haunted
 ‘ most shamefully the Wives of Mr. *Thomas Loud*’s Tenants in the Town.
 ‘ Whereat, both Mr. *Loud* the Father, and the said *Edmond* his Son,
 ‘ especially, found fault with this misrule of the Monks and Priests. And
 ‘ sometimes when the Houses by them were watched, and the Monks
 ‘ with their Tenants Wives, the Monks would beat down the Walls of
 ‘ the House, and slip away to the Abby. And sometimes there were
 ‘ hot Skirmishes among them. At one time they caused the Peace to be
 ‘ taken of the said *Edmond*; and for breaking of it, got him in *Cambridge*
 ‘ Castle. Unto him there resorted one *Richard Wine*, an Abby Lubber
 ‘ of *Ramsay* and *Sawtre*; he was an Attorney: Who said to Mr. *Loud*,
 ‘ then the King’s Prisoner; O! Mr. *Loud*, had it not been better for you
 ‘ to have lived quietly at *Sawtre*, and to have hunted and hawked at

A N N O your Pleasure, than here to remain a Prisoner against your Will? No, *1539.* said Mr. *Loud*, I am here but for striking a Letcherous Knave; and I count it better to be here for so small a Cause, than to be set in the Stocks as thou wert, for stealing Silver Spoons at *Ramsay* Abby, and with that, reached *Wine* a Blow with his Fist, and dashed out all his Fore-teeth. By which Blow, he lisped as long as he lived.

This Blow was declared to the chaste Clergymen in the Country, and by them to the mighty Clergy at the Court: and by them in the most grievous Manner aggravated to the King: Thinking this had been enough to rid him out of their Way at *Sawtre*. But the King laughed heartily at the petty Lawyers deformity, and thought it a condign Reward for such a sawcy Fellow; saying, 'Do you think it was well done of him, to upbraid a Prisoner, being imprisoned by his Means? He was served well enough: I perceive *Loud* is a tall Gentleman: we do pardon him of his Fault and Imprisonment. So *Edmond Loud* came Home again, after he had been there a while, making merry continually with Mr. *Bennet Molfo*, and divers other Gentlemen Students in the University; who being of Kin to him, came daily to make merry with him.

One kisses his
Daughter.

In short time the Monks and Priests of *Sawtre*, like Swine turning again to their dirty Puddles, and former stinking Life: And *Edmond* bearing himself bold with the King's late Saying, and of his Friends in the Court, by reason of his Blood, warned, and threatned them beating, if they would not forbear to resort to his Father's Tenants and his. And see the Chance: One of these Persons, the Parson of *St. Andrews*, had been at *Walsingham*; he was a notable Whoremaster; and coming Home kissed many Wives, and among them *Katharine Loud*, Daughter to the said *Edmond*, openly in the Church-yard of *Alballows*. For then it was thought an Holiness, for Maids and Women to be kiss'd by Persons coming from thence. And the lecherous Catholick had Opinion that Mr. *Edmund Loud* would not be offended at his Doings. But it came no sooner to Mr. *Loud*'s Ears, but he after his Wont took his Molespade in his Hand, and by Chance quickly met with the Priest. The good Parson liking not his Looks, down he fell upon his Knees, off went his Cap, praying him not to beat him; for he was within Holy Orders. O! thou bawdy Knave, said Mr. *Loud*, dardest thou kiss my Daughter? Wilt thou not leave this Women's Company? And seeing his new broad shaven Crown, he took up the Cow's Dung with his Spade, and clapped it upon his Crown; adding these Words, You, said he, all the Sort of you, will, ere it be long, be glad to hide your shaven Pates, rather than they should be seen.

Besides this, the said *Edmond* conceived such an Hate against that Religion, and that holy Priest, that he came once into the Church, and plucked the Fellow from the Altar, as he was about to make his God.

A Fray be-
tween *Loud*
and some em-
ployed by the
Monks.

Shortly after, the clean fingered Clergy, having Encouragement enough both above in the Court, and in the Countrey, contrived how he should be made away. He used to walk a quarter of a Mile to a great Pasture he had, called *Woodfield Close*, containing Six Hundred Acres within an Hedge, assigned him for his Wife's Jointure, who was *Edith* the Daughter of *John Stukley*, Lord of *Stukley* nigh *Hun-*
tingdon;

tingdon: and he had with him in his Arms *John Loud* his youngest Son, of the Age of Three Years and more. Suddenly rushed out behind the Hedges and Bushes the Two *Skeltons*, Father and Son, Tenants to the Abbey, and Four more, well weaponed. Mr. *Loud* knew they came to dispatch him, and they said no less. Yet, said he, do no Harm to my little Boy. With that they fearlessly laid at him, and he at them. At last cometh the good Catholick Priest with Holy Water, in his Surplice. And the Constable heard of this Tragical Murder prepened, and thought to shew himself not too slack in doing his Duty, and came to the finding Mr. *Loud* nothing hurt. But he had basted the Catholick Men, so that they prayed Peace of him: and he to take Breath was contented to hold his Hand. The Constable commanded the Peace in the Kings Name to be kept. They all agreed to obey, so that Mr. *Loud* would deliver his Forest-bill to the Constable, which he was loth to do, but for the Constables fair Promises. They gave Place to Mr. *Loud* to go afore them, and the Constable next. But when he was upon the Stile to go over, *Skelton* the Father caught him by the Arms, and *Skelton* the Son stroke him on the Head, and so he fell off the Stile. The Club was gotten in *Monk's Wood* half a Mile from *Sawtrey*. So the Priest came too soon with his holy Water: For Mr. *Loud* was alive at his coming, yet he was carried Home, and was speechless. For the Film called *Pia Mater* was perished with the Blow. He lived about Seven Days after, and making all Things strait in the World, forgave all his Enemies. His Wife sued an Appeal of Murder; but many Delays were made, and nothing done. Her Husband was taken for an Heretick, and the Clergy was mighty. But see the Vengeance of God. *Skelton* with his Son ran away: and the Father was afterwards hanged, and the Son was drowned: and the Priests could never get their Pardon of the King. And now after this Digression, let us return.

A N N O
1539.

Who barbarously kill him.

The Monks and Friars, after they were thus discharged their Religious Houses, bore a Favour still to their old Superstitions: and being scattered about the Nation, did what they could to infuse into the Commons their Prejudices for the old Religion, and against the New Learning. And tho' some of them seemed to comply with the King's Supremacy, and other his Injunctions, yet they secretly disliked them, and hindred the People's Obedience to them, as much as they could. For 'Tho' their Cowles, Coats and Rockets were off, as one writes 'in those Days, yet had they still the same Popish Hearts, and the same superstitious Frowardness, that they were wont to have. One Mr. *Wharton* was employed as it seems, by *Crumwel*, as his Visitor about *Suffolk*, and those Parts; who took divers of these cashiered Friars to be his Assistants: But about *Bungay* they played their false Tricks. Which *Bale* styles, *their Calking for Crumwel*; meaning, I suppose, their endeavouring to replant Popery among the People, who in those Parts were good Gospellers.

She discharged Religious Men their Employment.

Im. of both Churches.

But the King did some real good for Religion and Learning with all this Treasure, that flowed in upon him from the Religious Houses, which is still remaining: And all of it, that was otherwise employed, is utterly lost and gone. For he erected Six new Bishopricks, *Westminster*, *Oxford*, *Peterburgh*, *Bristol*, *Chester*, *Glocester*. And insted of Monks

New Cathedrals founded out of these Houses.

A N N O 1539. Monks in divers of the old Cathedral Churches, abolishing them, he placed Canons in their Rooms: The Revenue, bestowed upon all these by the King, amounting to 8000 *l. per Annum*, according to the Lord *Herbert*. The Benefit that accrued to the Church hereby, was very great. For the Church having more Bishops, the Flock of Christ might be the better regarded. And the Canons in each Cathedral, being a Society of learned Men, well seen and grounded in Religion, were to assist the respective Bishops, the Heads of the Diocese, in all good and wholesome Consultations, and to preach the Gospel, and convince Errors and Heresies, and to keep Hospitality. For the founding therefore of these, the King got great Renown. And this *Edmond*, Bishop of one of these new Foundations, *viz.* that of *Peterburgh*, told Queen *Elizabeth* long time after in a Letter: ‘ For this his Majesty’s most famous Work, of erecting Cathedral Churches, insted of Monkish and Superstitious Houses, was and is the Beauty of his Reformation and Religion, and the greatest Benefit next to the Doctrine of the Gospel it self, that the Church of God in his Realm, received at his most Royal Hands; far exceeding all other Acts, that were done by any of his Progenitors before him, and surmounting all that is like to be done in any time to come.

Life of King
Henry, p. 508.

E MSS. D.
Gul. Hicke.
Eq. aur.

The King’s
Care about
contriving
new Bishop-
ricks and
Deaneries.
Cleop. E. 4.

But before this was effected, it is worth shewing the Contrivance, Study and Care the King was exercised in, to bring it to pass. For this there were drawn up, for the King’s Consideration, two Tables with several Columns: In which to insert what he thought good. One of them contained the Names of Towns and Places, thought fit to give Nomination to the new intended Sees; which were about Twenty in Number: And in another Column is specified in what Counties those Towns were. As for Example, *Waltham* to be made a Bishoprick, standing in the County of *Essex*: *St. Albans* in *Hertfordshire*, &c as though those Counties were intended to be the Extent of the Jurisdictions of those Bishopricks. At the Top of which Table, is this Writing of the King’s own Hand, (shewing his good Design, upon his Dissolution of the Monasteries) *Bishopricks to be made*. And all the whole Table that follows, is written by the King. In the same Table the Title of a Third Column is thus, of the King’s Writing also: *Placys to be alteryd according to our Devyse, which have Sees in them*. The other Table, drawn up also for the King’s Use and Perusal, contains the Names of divers Deanries and Colleges to be founded, out of some rich Bishopricks and Colleges: In one Column whereof are set down the Revenues of each: And in another, what Portion thereof was allotted for the respective Bishops. And the first Column was left blank for the King to nominate the Persons for those new Deaneries: the Names of them are set down there by his own Pen. These two curious Tables I esteem worthy to be preserved, and read, for the better Knowledge of those great Transactions. But alas! these many new Bishopricks and Deaneries at first so well intended, dwindled away at last to Six Bishopricks only, as was shewn above.

Numb.
CVI,
CVII.

The Kings
own Preamble
to the Act for
the new
Bishopricks.

And accordingly an Act of Parliament was made, for the erecting those new Bishopricks. The Preamble to which was of King *Henry*’s own Hand-writing: the Copy of the rest of the Act, was only interlined with his Hand in divers Places: as it remains still in the *Cotton*

Library. That Part of the Act that is of the King's Writing is this *A N N O*
 that follows. ' Forasmuch as it is not unknown, the Slowghful and *1539.*
 ' ungodly Lyff which have bene usid among all those Sects that have
 ' born the Name of *Religious Folk*: And to thentent that henceforth
 ' many of them myght be tornyd to better Use, as hereafter shall fol-
 ' low; whereby Gods Word myght better be set forth, Children
 ' brought up in Learing, Clerks noryshed in the Universities; old
 ' Servaunts decay, to have Lyvynges; Almshouses for poor Folk
 ' to be ayd; Reders of *Greke, Ebrew and Latyne*, to have good Stipend;
 ' dayly Almes to be mynystrate; mending of High Wayes; Exhibi-
 ' tion for Mynysters of the Chyrch: IT is thought therefore unto the
 ' Kyng's Highness expedient and necessary, that mo Byshoppricks,
 ' Collegial and Cathedral Chyrches shall be establyshed, instead of
 ' those foresayd Religious Houses: Within the Foundation whereof
 ' these other Tytyls afore rehearsed, shall be stablished.

This that follows is another Hand, being a Copy of the Act, but
 interlined throughout with the King's Pen: ' Bee it therefore enacted
 ' by Authority of this present Parliament, that his Highness shall have
 ' full Power and Authority from tyme to tyme, to declare and nomi-
 ' nate by his Letters Patents or other Writings to be made under the
 ' great Seal, such Number of Bishops, such Number of Cities, Sees
 ' for Bishops, Cathedral Churches and Dioceses, by Metes and Bounds,
 ' for the Exercise and Ministration of their Episcopal Offices, &c. as
 ' it ran in the printed Act, *Anno 31. Henry VIII.*

C H A P. XLVII.

The Act of Six Articles. Sadly resented. Shaxton and Latymer leave their Bishopricks. Many burnt upon this Act. A Book of Ceremonies framed in Convocation. The English Bible allowed. The German Agents depart.

THE King about these Times was very wavering in Matters of Religion: and sometimes favoured a Reformation of it, and sometimes again was against making any Alterations: thinking it unsafe for his Crown so to do. And of this the Bishop of *Winchester* did most studiously endeavour to possess the King's Mind: A Convocation therefore was now called: Wherein these Six Questions were propounded.

Six Questions
 propounded in
 Convocation.

I. Whether the Substance of Bread and Wine remained in the Sacrament of the Altar, after the Consecration.

II. Whether it were necessary by God's Law, that all Men should Communicate in both Kinds.

III. Whether Priests, that is to say, Men dedicate to God by Priesthood, may by the Law of God, marry afterwards.

IV. Whether the Vow of Chastity or Widowhood, be by the Law of God to be observed.

V. Whether

A N N O V. Whether private Masses stand with the Law of God, and be to
 1539. be used and continued in the Church of *England*; as things whereby
 good Christians may receive godly Consolation, and wholesome Benefits.

VI. Whether Auricular Confession is necessary to be retained, continued and used in the Church.

Enacted in
Parliament;

All these Articles were resolved by the Convocation the old Popish Way, and by the Parliament, that began in *April* 28. made an Act: Which was intituled, *An Act for abolishing of Diversity of Opinions*: and because of the rigorous Penalties, and the Blood that was shed thereupon, was called, *The Bloody Act of Six Articles*.

But with
Difficulty.

But great striving and struggling there was in the House about the passing these Articles. Besides the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, other Divines and Lawyers argued well against them, appearing to be not only against the Truth, but against the common Judgment: Inſomuch, that they would not have passed, had not the King come himself in Person into the Parliament House, and that the Parliament perceived his peremptory Resolution to have them made an Act: as appears by what Archbishop *Cranmer* wrote in his Answer to the Second Demand of the Rebels of *Devon* in King *Edward's* Reign.

Sadly re-
sented.

But very sad and amazing were the Resentments of the sober and religious Side, while this was transacting, and hardly yet compleated. *Simon Heynes*, D. D. a Learned Man, and that had been employed abroad by the King, and who was the First Prebendary put into *Westminster* Church, when the King founded it for a Bishoprick, *Anno* 1540. this Man being now at *Eaton*, had heard a Priest make a mighty clamorous Triumph, that Transubstantiation was now determined to be believed by all, as an Article of Faith, and Two other Articles. For it seems at first Three Articles were only spoken of; to which Three others were added, when their Hands were in. This made this grave Man write a Letter to some certain Man of the Court, as it seems of great Authority: 'Admiring, how the King could pretend Authority of Scripture for those Articles, there being not any Express Word of God written for them: Unless Men use Scripture, said he, for proving these, as the Bishop of *Rome* quoteth the Scripture to prove his Authority. That the determining these Articles to be of Faith, without plain Authority of Scripture, will, instead of making *Quietness*, (for that was the Pretence, as appears in the Preamble of the Act) create *Disquietness*. That this would reflect upon the King's Honour, who had before set forth the Gospel within the Realm. That if these Matters should be declared to be *Jure Divino*, the Emperor and *French* King had the same Authority in their Dominions, as our King in his; and so might determine other things [probably meaning the Pope's Authority over Princes] to be *Jure Divino*, by Scripture misunderstood; and so might the Pope too. But I will not forestal Dr. *Heynes* his Letter, which who will may read in the *Appendix*.

Numb.
CVIII.

Bishop *Shaxton*, and Ep. *Latimer* leave their Bishopricks.

Shaxton Bishop of *Sarum*, and *Latimer* Bishop of *Worcester*, upon this Act were imprisoned, and resigned their Bishopricks; and returned to a private Life. But *Shaxton*, not long before the King's Death, notwith-

notwithstanding all his Zeal for Religion before, returned to the old Religion, and preached at the Burning of *Anne Ascue*. I find Nothing of him in King *Edward's* Time, but in Queen *Mary's* I find him a busy Man against the Protestants, and *Thirlby* the Bishop of *Ely's* Suffragan in the Year 1555. And in 1557, he was with Dr. *Christopher Fox* p. 1557, 1558. *son* Dean of *Norwich*, and *John Fullers* the Bishop of *Ely's* Chancellor, an Examiner of Hereticks. And these sitting upon *Pygot* and *Wolfey*, Martyrs, he used these Words: 'He bad them remember themselves, and become new Men; for I my self, said he, was in this fond Opinion, that you are now in, but I am now become a new Man. He was now old, and I suppose lived not long after. *Latimer* continued firm to the last Gasps, and came to the glorious End of a Martyr. Soon after the laying down his Bishoprick, as near as I can conjecture, a Bishop, probably *Winchester*, sent for him, and marvelled that he would not consent to such Traditions as were then set out. He answered him boldly and bravely, 'That he would be ruled by God's Book, and rather than he would dissent one jot from it, he would be torn with wild Horses.' He chanced in this Communication to name the *Lord's Supper*: Tush, said the Bishop, what do ye call the *Lord's Supper*? What new Term. is that? There stood by him one Dr. *Dubber*, and said, this Term was seldom read in the Doctors. *Latimer* made Answer, that he would rather follow *Paul* in using his Term, than them, though they had all the Doctors on their Side. Why, said the Bishop, can we not without the Scriptures order the People? How did they before the Scriptures were written and copied out? God knows, full ill yet, would they have ordered them, said *Latimer* again.

Latimer's
Second Ser-
mon before
the King.
fol. 36.

The Lord *Crumwel* did his Endeavour to protect the Gospellers from Burning, the Punishment appointed in this Act: but could not: yet the Penalty of these Articles did not so much take place, during his Life, who died about a Year after: But after his Death, a cruel Time passed. Commissioners were appointed in every Shire, to search out and examine such as were refractory. And few durst protect those that refused to Subscibe to the Articles; so that they suffered daily, as we shall see under the next Year. But it was the Lord *Herbert's* Observation, 'Their Punishment did but advance their Religion; and it was thought they had some Assistance from above; it being impossible otherwise, that they should so rejoyce in the midst of their Torments, and triumph over the most cruel Death.'

Many burnt
upon this Act.

Life of King
Henry. p. 530

The Severity of these Times, as it light upon several, so to prevent the Danger thereof, many betook themselves into other Countries, and turned Exiles for Religion. Of these were *Hooper* and *Rogers*, who went into *Germany* and *Helvetia*, where the true Religion was professed. Infomuch that now, and after, these Places were replenished with *English*. Many also came to sojourn in these Parts, that were young Gentlemen, and others that were Students; to furnish themselves with good Learning and Knowledge in Religion. Where they might freely read and study Divinity, as they might not with Safety do in the Countries under the Papal Tyranny. Among these noble young Men and Scholars, there came one *John Butler*, of a noble Family, who lived Abroad in great State and Plenty: Having travailed about

Others fly be-
yond Sea.

A N N O 1539. *Germany*, and thence into *France*, and afterwards into *Italy*, he seated himself at last in *Zurick*. There, about the latter End of King *Henry*, and Beginning of King *Edward*, he became greatly acquainted with *John Wolphius*, the learned Printer; who seemed to have been the Director of his Studies, and to whom *Butler* was in Compensation very munificent. To whom *Wolphius*, in the Year 1552. dedicated the Second Edition of *P. Martyr's* Tract of the Sacrament, consisting of some of his Readings at *Oxon*, as a Present at his Return from the *Baths*, where he had lately been.

A Book of
Ceremonies.

In a Convocation this Year, as near as I can guess, was a Book of Ceremonies hammered out and presented. The main Drift whereof, was to make as fair a Representation as might be, of all the old Corruptions and Superstitions crept into the Church. The Bishop of *Winchester* and his Party had the great Hand in this Business, hoping in this Juncture, when Popery seemed so much to prevail, to get them received. But they were not. This if I mistake not, was the Book of Eighty eight Articles, which *Fox* tells us Archbishop *Cranmer* gave a full Answer to; and I suppose got them quashed by the King. I have set this long Book in the *Appendix*, that he who is minded may peruse it.

Numb.
CIX.

Letters Pa-
tents for the
English Bible.
Hist. Reformation.
P. I. Collect.
xv. B. III.

Notwithstanding the Oppositions that were thus made against the Gospel, yet the *English Bible* had the King's Countenance. For in *November*, the Lord *Crummel* obtained from the King his Letters Patents: Wherein he acknowledged, 'That by the Knowledge of God's Word, the People would the better Honour God, and observe and keep his Commandments, and do their Duty to their Prince. And therefore granted them the free Use of the Scriptures, in their natural Tongue. But for the Diversity of Translations, he appointed the Lord *Crummel* to take special Care, that no manner of Person should attempt to print any Bible in the *English* Tongue of any Volume, during the Space of five Years, but only such as should be deputed by the said Lord *Crummel*.' This was obtained in Favour of *Grafton*, who was now printing the large Bible.

A Proclama-
tion for
reading it.

But the People, as they greedily bought up and read the holy Scriptures, so some of them provoked the King much, by taking upon them to expound and teach them, and by quarreling and calling one another *Papist* and *Heretick*: and by reading the Bible in the Church, during the time of Service, with a loud Voice, to the Disturbance of the Priest and others, and disputing of it in Alehouses and Taverns. These were Complaints before the Act of the Six Articles came out. Therefore the King being offended, set out a Proclamation, Intituled, *For an Uniformity in Religion*. And because I do not find any thing of this in our Histories of the *Reformation*, I shall set it down in the *Appendix*, from a Draught of the *Cotton Library*, with the King's Emendations by his own Hand. This Proclamation had the Force of a Law, being, as it seems, the first Proclamation the King issued out immediately after the Parliament now sitting had, by an Act, enjoined his Proclamations, made with the Advice of his Council, to be obeyed and kept, as though they were made by Act of Parliament. For in this very Proclamation it is mentioned, how in the Beginning of that Parliament,

Numb.
CX.

then

then sitting, by Authority thereof, this was granted to his Highness *A N N O*
and his Successors.

In this Proclamation, which came out about the Beginning of *May*,
being now equal with the Law, the King commanded, ' That none
' should call one another Papist or Heretick, unless they could prove
' the same, upon a great Penalty. That none should teach or preach
' the Bible, but Curates or Graduates, or such as were licensed by the
' King, or the Lord Vicegerent, or the Bishop of the Diocese. That
' none should read the Scripture openly in the Church or elsewhere,
' to disturb Divine Service or Mass. But however, the King allowed
' all that would, or could, to read both the Old and New Testament
' secretly by themselves, for their own Edification. And that if they
' should doubt of any thing they read, they were not to make their
' own Expositions, but to resort for Instruction to such as were learned
' in the holy Scriptures. And finally, he gave them to understand,
' that he was not bound by any Law of God, to set forth the Scripture
' in *English*, but that it was his own pure Liberality and Goodness, to
' bring his People from their old Ignorance to vertuous Living.

1539.
The Content
thereof.

This Proclamation came forth a little before the Six Article Act.
For herein was an Intimation of that Act; namely, ' That the King
' was proceeding to a full Order and Resolution, to extinguish all Di-
' versities of Opinion by *Terrible* Laws to be made.' That Word was
used in the first Draught, most truly to express those bloody Laws;
though the King thought fit by his own Pen to change that Word into
Good and *Just*, as may be observed in the said Proclamation.

The Counsellors of the Prince *Elect*or, that is, the Agents before
spoken of, having seen the Marriage with the Lady *Anne* of *Cleves*
consummated, which was *January* 6. returned Home; and told the
Prince the happy News of it. They also told them, what familiar
Communication the King held with them concerning other Matters:
viz. ' That he was willing to enter into a League in honest Causes
' with the *Elect*or and *Landgrave* of *Hesse*, as he had made a League
' with the Duke of *Fuliers*; and afterward, he would treat with them,
' about entering into a League of Religion. That as to that severe
' Law of the Six Articles, they reported, how the King did moderate
' it, and that it was more sparingly put in Execution; that he pro-
' tested, how earnestly he desired the Churches might flourish in true
' Doctrine. That as to some Articles wherein the King agreed not
' with them, he desired that they would prove them upon good
' Grounds, and send them to him, that he might the better consider
' them, and consult with the Learnedest of his Bishops and Divines
' about them. And the Truth being known, he would execute his
' Office, and prefer heavenly Doctrine before the Traditions of Men.

The King's
Discourse at
parting with
the German
Ambassadors.

The Prince soon after signified by Letter unto the King, ' That he
' with others the Confederates, thought well of him, but were asto-
' nished at the Six Articles. That having extinguished the Power and
' Authority of the Bishop of *Rome*, they thought he would not have
' suffered others to have established Errors brought into the Church
' by the Covetousness and Ambition of those Bishops. But they un-
' derstood it was done by the Conspiracy and Craft of certain of his
' Bishops. That in Compliance with the King, they had employed

The Prince's
Letters to the
King.

A N N O certain of their Learned Men to gather Authorities out of the Fa-
 1539. thers for Confirmation of Four Articles; viz. concerning the *Mass*;
 of the *Use* of the whole Sacrament; of the *Marriage* of Priests,
 and of *Vows*: and that with their Letters they had sent, what their
 Divines had writ upon these Subjects. They offered also to send
 their Divines to meet the *English* to confer together, to *Geldria* or
Hamburg, or *Breme*, or any other Place the King should appoint.
 Or if he had rather discourse with some of their Learned Men Face
 to Face, they would send good Men and Learned to him. They re-
 joyced, they said, at their Affinity with him by the Marriage of the
 Queen, wished him all Happiness by it. They certified him, that
 the Bishop of *Rome*, and some others of his Party, did attempt
 certain Things against him. And so the *Landgrave* had signified
 to him once before. For the preventing whereof, and for the
 more prudent watching himself, they told him, the *Germans* might
 be profitable to him.

Numb.
CXI.

This Letter was sent from the Prince, being assembled with the
 Orators of other Princes and States of the Empire, Confederates with
 him for the reforming of Religion; to which the Emperor had given
 them some Encouragement. This they thought convenient to acquaint
 the King with; that no false Rumours concerning it might be spread,
 to occasion any Jealousy in the King concerning their present meet-
 ing. But I refer the Reader to the Perusal of the Letter it self, as I
 have repositied it in the *Appendix*.

C H A P. XLVIII.

*A Commission to certain Bishops and Divines, to examine the
 Doctrines and Ceremonies, retained in the Church. Errors
 spring up. The King dissatisfied about his Marriage with the
 Lady Anne of Cleves.*

A N N O **I**N the Year 1540, the King granted a Commission, (and got it
 1540. confirmed by Act of Parliament) to several Bishops and other
 Divines, to examine the Doctrines and Ceremonies then retained in
 the Church. Some of them were to draw up an Exposition of such
 things as were necessary for the Institution of a Christian Man. And
 others to examine what Ceremonies should be retained, and what
 was the Use of them. The Reasons of this Commission, the Lord
 Vicegerent, April 12. when the Parliament opened, did specify in a
 Speech to the House: Namely, 'The King's Desire of an Union;
 'and the Rashness and Licentiousness of some, and the Superstition
 'and Stiffness of others; and some called Papists, and some Here-
 'ticks; and that tho' the Scripture were now in the People's Hand,
 'yet they were grossly perverted by both Sides. That the King
 'leaned to neither Side; but set the pure and sincere Doctrine of
 'Christ before his Eyes. And therefore was resolved to have it set
 'forth to his Subjects without any corrupt Mixtures, and to have
 'Dissent

The Vicegerent's Speech
 before the
 Lords, con-
 cerning a
 Commission.

‘ Dissent not continued, and Abuses cut off, and the true Use of Ceremonies taught. *A N N O*

1540.

The Lords approved of this, and of the Persons named; whose Names may be seen in the History of the Reformation: and they ordered their Days of sitting: which were Three whole Days in the Week, and Three half Days. And in *July*, a Bill was brought in, and agreed to, that whatsoever these Bishops and Divines, commissioned by the King, or others by him appointed, should determine concerning the Christian Faith, or the Ceremonies, should be believed and obeyed by all the King's Subjects.

Their Appro-
bation. Vol. I.
p. 274.

The Divines the King appointed in this Commission, the Statute calls, ‘ The best Learned, Honestest, and most virtuous Sort of Doctors of Divinity, Men of Discretion, Judgment and good Disposition. And concerning the King's Intention by this Commission, the same Statute saith, ‘ That according to the very Gospel and Law of God, without any partial Respect of Affection to the Papistical Sort, or any other Sect or Sects whatsoever, (these Commissioners) should declare by Writing, and publish as well the principal Articles and Points of Faith, with the Declaration, true Understanding and Observation of such other Points, as by them with his Grace's Advice and Counsil, should be thought needful and expedient; as also the lawful Rites, Ceremonies and Observation of God's Service.

The Divines
of this Com-
mission, and
their Business.

Much of what was done by the Bishops and Divines hath been declared, partly in the History of the *Reformation*, by Bishop *Burnet*, and partly in the *Memorials* of Archbishop *Cranmer*. There such as consult them may see the Judgments of divers of these Commissioners under Seventeen Questions, relating to the Sacraments; and in several Points of Faith. And divers other Discourses framed by the said Commissioners I have seen. The good Way they took was by *Crumwells* and *Cranmer's* Direction. Who foresaw, that in these Conferences between Men of such differing Judgments, there would happen nothing but verbose Janglings and endless Disceptations, and little would be concluded: Therefore they ordered, that each Person, having certain proper Questions given him in Writing, concerning the Points to be debated, should in writing also give in his Answers plainly and succinctly thereunto. The Matters of *Faith*, some whereof I shall set before the Reader, were drawn up as a Form of Doctrine, which should be esteemed as the publick Judgment, and the professed Doctrine of the Church of *England*. As is plain from the Phrases used in those Writings, *viz. Docemus; Credimus. We Teach: We Believe.* Some of these I meet with in the *Cotton Library*. Which I have digested into Six Articles. I. Of the Church. II. Of Institution. III. Of the Eucharist. IV. Of Baptism. V. Of Penance. VI. Of the Use of the Sacraments. Which may all be seen at length in the *Appendix*, under this Title which I have prefixed to them, *Quidam Doctrinae Christianae Articuli pro Ecclesia Anglicana.*

What was
performed by
them.

Matters of
Faith.

Cleop. E 4.

Numb.
CXII.

It is to be noted, that in the Article of the Church, which is the First, there be added some Corrections under the King's own Hand; but so have none of the rest. The Reason whereof, I suppose, was this: It was the King's Practice to review all Draughts of Writings intended for the Publick, whether they were Proclamations, or Acts of Parliament,

The King used
to make
Reviews.

A N N O ment, or State Books; and so he did in like matters relating to Religion, being himself a Man of Learning. And then his Custom was to alter, correct and add according to his own Judgment, as he was minded they should pass into the Publick. And this Article of the *Church* the King had already run over, according to that his Custom, with his own Eye and Pen: And so possibly intended to do by the rest, as his leisure served.

Errors now
sprung up.

Statute Book
32. Hen. 8.
Cap. 49.

Notwithstanding the Care of the King about Religion, and the Severity of some of his Acts against some supposed Errors, yet divers greater and real Errors and *Anabaptistical* Opinions crept in about these Days, into the Realm: But the King, being resolved to leave such as held them unto his Laws, excluded them his General Pardon at the Conclusion of this Parliament in *July* this Year. The Errors were these: ' That Infants ought not to be baptized: and if they ' were baptized, that they ought to be rebaptized, when they come ' to lawful Age. That it is not lawful for a Christian Man to bear ' Office or Rule in the Commonwealth. That no Man's Laws ought ' to be obeyed. That it is not lawful for a Christian Man to take any ' Oath before a Judge. That Christ took no bodily Substance of our ' Blessed Lady. That Sinners after Baptism, cannot be restored by ' Repentance. That every manner of Death, with the Time and ' Hour thereof, is so certainly prescribed, appointed and determined to ' every Man by God, that neither any Prince by his Word can alter it, ' nor any Man by his own Willfulness prevent or change it. That all ' Things be common, and nothing several.

Convocation.

This Year *April* the 14. the Convocation began their sitting. And *Polydore Virgil*, Archdeacon of *Wells*, presented *Richard Gwent*, Dr. *Decretorum*, Archdeacon of *London*, for Prolocutor. And *May* the 5th was presented at the Synod the Lord *Crumwel*, Earl of *Essex*, Vicegerent; who expounded them certain Articles. And a Subsidy was granted by the Prelates. Prorogued till *May* 11. The Day following, the King's Vicegerent sat with the Archbishops and other Bishops. Before whom the Prolocutor spoke concerning the Payment of this Subsidy, viz. being 4 s. in the Pound; besides the Tenths yearly payable to his Majesty. And that for their Parts, they had appointed Six Persons of their own Body, to transact and conclude with the Lords. These were, the Prolocutor, *Thurlby*, Archdeacon of *Ely*, *Incent* one of the Clerks for *Winton*, *Draycot* for *Lincoln*, *Brerewood*, a Canon of *Exon*, and *David Pool*, Chancellor of *Litchfield*, and Archdeacon of *Salop*.

The Business
of Anne of
Cleves before
the Synod.
Extr. of Con.

Session 13. there came upon the Stage the King's great and weighty Business, about the Lady *Anne* of *Cleves*. The Clergy of both Provinces being called together, the King sent them a Letter Missive: Which being received and read in full Convocation, *July* the 5th, the Bishop of *Winchester* expounded and declared the Specialities or Parts of the Causes of the Invalidity or Nullity of the Matrimony pretended, publickly there and then to the whole Company, *Luculenta Oratione*. And consequently for more compendious and commodious Expedition, and Search into the Merits and Circumstances of the said Business, with the common Consent of the Synod, it was decreed, that the whole Business should be referred to the two Archbishops, the

Bishops

Bishops of *London, Durham, Winchester* and *Wigorn*. Who, together with the Prolocutor, *Thurlby, Incent*, Dean of *St. Paul's*, *Richard Layton*, Dean of *Pork*, *Thomas Magnus*, Archdeacon of the *East Riding*, *Edward Legh*, *Thomas Robertson* and *William Rivet*, should receive in the Name of themselves and whole Congregation and sacred Synod, all and singular the Kinds of Proofs which were in Fact; and should with Care and Study examine, discuss, and with an equal Balance weigh them: and them so examined and weighed, publickly to declare and lay open to the said Synod. What the Issue of this finally was, our Historians declare at length.

While the Parliament was sitting, the King's Marriage with his present Queen, that was brought to him from *Germany* about Six Months ago, was declared to be null and void; so that both the King and she were at Liberty to marry again. This the Learned Bishops and Clergy of both Houses defined *July 9.* at the said Convocation held at *Westminster*, upon Account of a Precontract with the Duke of *Lorain's* Son, and because the King had never given his full Consent to this Marriage, nor consummated the same by knowing her carnally. This is one of the memorable Lines of King *Henry's* Life, and for which he is wont to be charged. The Particulars are at large set down by Bishop *Burnet* in his History. But having under my Hand the whole Process of this Business in an authentick MS. in Parchment, I will here relate chiefly, how this was managed in the Convocation House, wherein the foresaid Historian is but brief, and some other Matters by him omitted.

A Convocation about Anne of Cleves Marriage...

Inter MSS. D. G. H. Eq. Aur.

The Lady *Anne of Cleves* came to *Rocheſter* on *New Year's* Eve last past at Night. On *New Year's* Day, being *Thursday*, the King privately visited her there: but he spake not Twenty Words to her. For she answered not the Character of Beauty, that was reported of her to the King. At which he was much troubled, and signified as much to those about him: yet he acknowledged she was well and seemly. On *Friday* the King returned by Water: having first sent a Present of Sables to her by the Master of his Horse. On *Saturday* she made her Entrance into *Greenwich*, where the Court was, and the King waited upon her to her Chamber. And that Day the King's Counsellors, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, the Lord Admiral, the Lord *Crumwel*, and the Bishop of *Durham*, met with the Agents of *Cleves*, and treated with them about their Commission, and the Performance of the Covenants which the King had sent before to Doctor *Wotton* his Ambassador at that Court, to have been concluded there; as also, how the Matter stood for the Covenants of Marriage between the Duke of *Lorain's* Son and the Lady *Anne*. Concerning both which, the said Agents having no satisfactory Answer to make, were much astonished and abashed, and desired Time to make Answer till the next Morning. On *Sunday* Morning the Counsellors and the Agents met accordingly, and they then could give no good Answer to either; but only as to the Contract, there had been a Revocation made; and that they were but Spousals. When *Crumwel* had told the King the Issue of this Conference, he said, he was not well handled, and that were it not that she were come so far in his Realm, and the great Preparations that his Estates and People had made

The King dissatisfied about the Lady Anne.

A N N O

1540.

But yet mar-
ries her.Complains to
the Lord
Crumwel.The Case
committed
to the Convo-
cation.Numb.
CXIII.The Convoca-
tion sit.

made for her, and fearing a Ruffle in the World, he would never marry her. But considering these Extremities, the King advised that the Lady should, before his Councel and certain Notaries, protest that she was free from all Contracts. And this was done accordingly by her. And on *Monday* (according to *Crumwel's* Letter to the King) or *Tuesday*, (according to the Duke of *Suffolk's* Deposition) the King was wedded to her, she being conducted to the Church by the Earl of *Essex*, (*Bourchier*) and another Earl that came with her. But as the King was going, being yet in his Chamber of Presence, he told the Lord *Crumwel*, *That were it not to satisfy the World and his Realm, he would not do that he must do that Day, for none earthly thing.*

On *Munday* (or rather *Tuesday*) Night he bedded her. And on *Tuesday* (or rather *Wednesday*) Morning he declared to *Crumwel* his further Dislike of her. For he had, he said, felt her Belly and her Breasts, and as he should judge, she should be no Maid ; and added, he left her as good a Maid as he found her. And afterward he told *Crumwel*, and she her self by certain Expressions to some Ladies about her signified, that he never knew her carnally. And the King both in *Lent*, and at *Easter*, and at *Whitsuntide*, lamented his Fate to the Lord *Crumwel*, that he should never more have any Children for the Comfort of the Realm, if he should so continue in Marriage with this Lady ; and assured him before God, that he thought she never was his lawful Wife. *Crumwel* then said to the King, that he would do his utmost to comfort and deliver his Grace of his Affliction. And since *Whitsuntide* the King told *Crumwel*, that he had done as much to move the Consent of his Heart and Mind as ever did Man, and that he took God to witness the Obstacle would never out of his Mind.

The Parliament seeing it so near to touch the Succession, and observing withal how this Marriage was in many Respects doubtful, by their Desire and the King's Allowance, and the Queen's Consent too, the Matter was brought before the Convocation. To whom the King gave out a Commission, to meet and examine this Business, charging them to judge according to the best of their Understandings, without any Inclination to one Part or other, and according to Justice and Equity : And ' That having God only before their Eyes, they ' should by authentick Writing declare to him what in this Matter was ' Just, Honest, and Holy : Requiring this one thing of them, that ' as faithful and good Members of the Church, they would in this ' great Cause do according to Justice and Truth. This Commission of the King was dated *July 6.* and may be found in the *Appendix.*

Accordingly on *Wednesday July 7.* in the Chapter House of *St. Peter's Westminster*, assembled the most Reverend Fathers in Christ, *Thomas* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Edward* Archbishop of *York*, and the Reverend Fathers of both Provinces,

Edmund	} Bp. of	London.	Robert	} Bp. of	Landaff.
Cuthbert		Durham.	John		Hereford.
Stephen		Winchester.	John		Wigorn.
John		Lincoln.	Robert		S. Asaph.
Robert		Carlile.	Nicolas		Rochester.
William		S. Davids.	John		Bangor.

There

There met also the venerable and eminent Men, *Richard Gwent*, Archdeacon of *London*, Official of the Court of *Canterbury*; and Prolocutor of the Lower House of the Convocation of the Province of *Canterbury*, and the Reverend Father *Thomas Thirleby* Doctor of Laws, Archdeacon of *Ely*, designed Bishop of *Westminster*; accompanied with,

<i>John Incent</i> <i>Peter Vannie</i> <i>John Taylor</i>	} Dean of	{ <i>S. Pauls, Lond.</i> <i>Sarum.</i> <i>Lincoln.</i>	{ <i>Hen. Williams</i> <i>Simon Heynes</i> <i>Rich. Layton</i>	} Dean of	{ <i>Litchfield,</i> <i>Exeter,</i> <i>Tork;</i>

And these Archdeacons,

<i>Edmund Cramer.</i> <i>Richard Rawson</i> <i>Richard Coren</i> <i>Thomas Baghe</i> <i>Edward Leighton</i> <i>Maurice Gruffith</i> <i>John Worthial</i> <i>Polydore Virgil</i> <i>Richard Strete</i> <i>David Pole</i>	} Archdeacon of	{ <i>Canterbury.</i> <i>Essex.</i> <i>Colch. & Oxon.</i> <i>Surrey.</i> <i>Sarum.</i> <i>Rocheſter.</i> <i>Ciceſter.</i> <i>Wells.</i> <i>Darby.</i> <i>Salop.</i>	{ <i>Thomas Winter</i> <i>George Hennege</i> <i>Griffin Leyſon</i> <i>Thomas Runcorn</i> <i>Thomas Weſtby</i> <i>Thomas Magnus</i> <i>John Langriche</i> <i>Robert Davel</i> <i>William Holgill</i>	} Archdeacon of	{ <i>Cornwal.</i> <i>Taunton.</i> <i>Caermerden.</i> <i>Bangor.</i> <i>Tork.</i> <i>East Riding.</i> <i>Cleveland.</i> <i>Northumberland.</i> <i>Carlile.</i>

Together with the Clergy of both Provinces in great Multitude. And first, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* declared the Cause of their Meeting or Council. Then did *Richard Gwent* Archdeacon of *London*, present to the Archbishops and Bishops and the rest of the Clergy, the King's Commissionall Letters. Which were read by *Anthony Hussy* Notary Publick, in the presence also of *Thomas Argal* Notary Publick.

And then *Gardiner*, Bishop of *Winchester*, managed the Business on the King's Part, and in an Oration expounded and declared to the whole Company, the particular Causes of the Invalidity or Nullity of the pretended Marriage. Next, for a more compendious and commodious Dispatch, and search into the Merits and Circumstances of the said Matter, by the common Consent of the Synod, it was decreed that the two Archbishops, *Edmund* Bishop of *London*, *Cuthbert* of *Durham*, *Stephen* of *Winchester*, and *John* of *Wigorn*, and the venerable Men, *Richard Gwent*, *Thomas Thirleby*, *John Incent*, *Edward Leighton*, *Thomas Robertson*, and *William Rivet*, Doctors of Divinity and Law, and *Thomas Magnus*, should instead and in the Names of all the rest, take all and singular the Proofs of Fact touching or concerning the Merits of the said Matter; and should examine, discuss, and in an equal Balance, weigh and consider them: And so to report and declare them, as the Nature and Quality of the Business, and the Necessity and Use of the Thing required: and them so nominated, ordained and appointed, to do and dispatch all and singular Things in that behalf necessary, or any ways seasonable.

Which being done, the Clergy of the Lower House departed from the Chapter House, the Prolocutor, the Elect of *Westminster*, the Dean of *Tork*, the Dean of *St. Pauls*, *Richard* [*Edward*] *Leighton*, *Thomas Robertson*, and *Thomas Magnus*, remaining. And the said

Bishop Gardiner's Oration to the House.

The Case referred to a Committee.

Their Proceedings.

ANNO 1540. Archbishops and Bishops and venerable Men consulting together, upon the Manner and Form for the quieter Dispatch of this Affair, at length unanimously agreed, that the Bishops of *Durham* and *Winchester*, and the Prolocutor, the *Elect* of *Westminster*, and the Dean of *York*, in the Stead and Names of them and the whole Synod, should call what Witnesses they would, and give them their Oaths, and take their Evidence, and certify the rest of the Bishops and Clergy of the Depositions. Then the Synod was adjourned by the Bishop of *Canterbury*, until and between the Hours of Six and Eight in the Morning the next Day. And the said Bishops and Clergy were warned to be present that Day, to proceed further in this Business. This being done, the Bishops of *Durham* and *Winton*, the Prolocutor, the *Elect* of *Westminster*, and the Dean of *York*, in the presence of *John Rhese* Register to the King's Majesty for Ecclesiastical Causes, and *Richard Watkins* by the King's Authority Prothonotary, and *Anthony Hussy* Principal Register to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, between the Hours of One and Six in the Afternoon, repaired to the King's Palace near *Westminster*; and there took the Depositions of the Lord *Awdely* of *Walden*, Lord Chancellor, *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, *Charles* Duke of *Suffolk*, *William* Earl of *Southampton*, Keeper of the Privy Seal; *John* Lord *Russel*, Great Admiral of *England*; *Anthony Brown*, Master of the Horse: Knights of the Garter, the Lord *George Cobham*, Sir *Thomas Heneage*, Sir *Thomas Wriothesley*, the King's Secretary, *Anthony Denny* Esq; and *William Butts* Doctor of Physick, and *John Chambers* the King's Physician, his Deposition was taken at his House in *Chanon Row*; and the next Day Mr. *Phillip Hoby* was deposed before the *Elect* of *Westminster*. Which Depositions may be found in the *Appendix*.

Numb.
CXIV.

The Decree.

The said Day, being *Thursday*, the said Commissioners and Clergy of both Provinces, according to the foresaid appointment, met again in the Presence of all the Notaries Publick in the *Chapter House*. And then and there, that the Business might be the more diligently and maturely finished, they joyned to the foresaid Eight, *John Tregonwel*, *John Oliver*, *William Peter*, and *John Hughes*, Doctors of Law. Now were brought in the Depositions by the Bishop of *Winchester*, and some other publick Instruments having reference to the aforesaid Cause. Then the Archbishops, Bishops, and the rest, who were specially deputed to examine and discuss the Merits and more secret Matters of that Cause, compared the Proofs and Merits thereof. Then after some space of Time, all the Prelates and Clergy being together, assembled in the said *Chapter House*, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* with the Consent of the rest, adjourned the said Synod until Three of the Clock of the Afternoon of the same Day. At which time all assembling, after they had maturely handled and digested among themselves the Merits of the said Cause, they did publickly and unanimously, not one disagreeing, assert and affirm, that they found by the Proofs and Arguments concerning the Premises, That the King's Majesty, *Neutiquam matrimonio prætenso cum dicta Dom. Anna, ut præmittitur, contracto & solemnizato alligatum esse, sed ad aliunde matrimonium cum quavis alia Persona idonea, divino jure haud prohibita, liberum esse, &c. i. e.* 'Was not bound by the pretended Marriage contracted and solemnized with the said Lady *Anne*, but was free to marry elsewhere

with any other fit Person, not forbid by God's Law : And that the most Serene Lady *Anne* in like manner was not at all bound by the said pretended Matrimony, not to contract Marriage elsewhere with whatsoever fit Man she would, not prohibited by God's Law, notwithstanding the pretended Matrimony contracted and solemnized *de facto* between her, and the King.

And then further decreed, that Letters Testimonial or Certificatory should be drawn up, and sent to the King concerning the same, shewing their Decision and the Causes thereof. And that these Letters might be the better and more plainly composed, the Care thereof was left to the said Six Archbishops and Bishops, and the Twelve other Persons abovementioned. And then the Archbishop adjourned the Synod till Eight of the Clock the next Day being *Friday*. And that Day they meeting, the Archbishop again adjourned them till Three in the Afternoon. At which time the Letters Testimonial or Certificatory, containing the Judgment of the whole Synod upon the Invalidity of the Marriage, being drawn in Parchment, in Form of a publick Instrument, were subscribed by them, as well by themselves, as by the Proctors of some of the Prelates and Clergy that were absent : And were Sealed with the Two Archbishops Seals, in the Presence of *Tregonwel*, *Oliver*, *Peter* and *Hughs*, being Witnesses. I shall give no further Account of this Letter, it being exemplified in Bishop *Burnet's History*.

ANNO
1540.

The Letters
thereof to
the King.

Vol. I. Collect.
p. 197.

CHAP. XLIX.

The Lord Crumwel's End. His Merits. Persecution upon the Six Articles.

THE Affairs of the Religion received this Year a very fatal Blow by the taking off the Lord *Crumwel*, Earl of *Essex*, and Lord Vicegerent : brought about by the Means of the Bishop of *Winchester*, and the Popish Faction. His high Honours and Offices were these among others, as I collect them from a MS. Journal of *Cecil's*. He was created Lord *Crumwel*, April 18. 1539. The Lord *Herbert* notes it to be July 9. that Year. The next Year he was created Earl of *Essex* ; and was Lord Vicegerent, Lord Privy Seal, Lord High Chamberlain, Chancellor of the Chequer, Justice of the Forests. He was a Man, whose Merits raised him from a very low Degree. And as he was a sincere Favourer of the Gospel, so he was very Zealous, and very Honest in doing the King his Master's Work, and sometimes his Drudgery : As in the Dissolution of Religious Houses, and the severe Execution of such as complied not with the King's Divorce and his Marriage, and the Rejection of the Papal Supremacy : which begat him many Enemies, by whom he was overwhelmed at last. He retained many Persons of great Quickness and Abilities, and

Crumwel's
Death and
Character.

Sir W. Cec.
MS. Journal.

A N N O 1540. preferred them to the King; who employed them in his frequent Messages and Dispatches Abroad into other Kingdoms.

Worthy Men
preferred by
his Means.

Among other Remarks of the Lord *Crumwel*, this may be one, that he preferred more Men of Worth and Integrity, whether Lay or Clergy, in his Time, than any other in great Place and Favour at Court, had done. Of which *Latymer* Bishop of *Worcester*, upon some such Favour shewn by him to Two Gentlemen, takes Notice in a Letter to the said *Crumwel*, in the Year 1538 to this Tenor.

Bp. *Latymer*
to *Crumwel*.

Right Honourable, *Salutem in Salvatore*. Sir, I have to thank your good Lordship for many Things; and now a late, for your singular Goodness shewed, as I understand, to Mr. *Lucy*, a right good Gentleman; and also towards Mr. *Acton*, another of the same Sort. But of this my Duty more at more Leisure. And yet thus much now I will say; and not say it alone, but with many, That your Lordship (one Man) have promoted many more honest Men, since God promoted you, than have many Men done before your Time, tho' in like Authority with you. *Tanquam non tibi natus soli, sed multorum commodo. Efficiat, qui omnia facit ut in eandem Fidem diutissime vivat Dominatio tua, ut sic inter Nobiles nobilissimus evadas. Quod quidem nihil esse possit nobilius, quam bonos Viros ehere, malos autem reprimere. Id quod tibi hactenus Usu venit, plus omnibus facere.*

Thomas Barnaby,
Crumwel's Servant.

Among the rest I will mention one, who is scarcely taken Notice of by our Historians. It was *Thomas Barnaby*, a Merchant. He first became known to *Crumwel* by soliciting his own Case at the Court, about Two of his Ships, that had been taken by some *French* Pyrates; notwithstanding he had the Kings safe Conduct of Trading into all Parts, and in all Commodities, himself, his Servants, and Attorneys. *Crumwel* observing him a Man of Parts, and fit for dispatch of Business, and particularly well acquainted with *France*, and the Ports and Havens thereof, made use of him at first, to send over thither with Messages to the Ambassadors, to be dispatched by them back again: and recommended him to the King. And in these Services of the Prince, to and from the Courts of *France*, *Spain* and *Italy*, he made Eight and Twenty Voyages. In the Year 1524. he married a Wife in *France*: and was Alive in 1552. By this long Acquaintance with *France*, he knew every Port, Haven, and Bay, between *Bulloign* and *Bordeaux*. Once in Discourse with the said Lord *Crumwel* about *France*, he mentioned a Way to him to Distress that Realm; namely, by getting *New Haven* from them (now called, *Havre de Grace*), a Town, in which, as he said, in his remembrance there were but three Houses; two of them to lay Cables and Anchors in, and the other a Victualling House. But the *French* King knew what a Place of Import it was, being the Gulph, Gullet and Mouth of the Sea; which made him labour all he could to People and fortify it. So that it soon became exceedingly Populous, and lived much upon Piracy. Which the *French* King winked at, and called them, *His Mariners* and *his Thieves*. It lay so, the Channel laying on that side of his Land, between *Polbed* and that Haven, that no Merchandizes, but of what Realm soever it came, but must come that way, and nothing could come out of those Parts of *France*, the Commodities of *Roan*, the Wines of *Paris*, *Orleans* and

New Haven.

and *Bayon*, to go to any other Parts, but must pass that Way. And that no Army, that the *French* King could send to *Scotland*, or to victual his Armies for the Sea, but all was set forth there. There was one of the wittiest Heads in all *Christendom* of a Merchant shewed *Barnabie*, once standing there together, that the *English* needed no other Rod to scourge *Normandy* and *France*, but only that. All this *Barnabie* discoursed to *Crumwel*. Who thereupon sent him thither upon the King's Cost, and he drew a Platform of it, and brought it to him. The *French* King was there at the same time, and the Admiral *Biron*, and the Constable for Nine Days, to view it, and to cast its Ditches. And moreover they made a Proclamation, that whosoever would come and build there at *New Haven* should have his Foundation, and cost him nothing. After his coming Home, *Crumwel* conferred the Matter with him, and the Lord *Fitz Williams*, then Lord Admiral, better than Three or Four Hours, viewing the Platform; and said, that if he lived, and that Wars should happen, that should surely be remembered. And so preferred him to the King, and his Business. Which he performed faithfully, or else had never been employed so often as he was.

He was employed all the while the Bishop of *Winchester* and Sir *John Wallop* were Ambassadors in *France*; and likewise afterward, when the Bishop of *London* and the Lord *Paget* were Ambassadors. Few Men were so well acquainted with the *French* Court, being dispatched thither by the *English* Ambassadors for any by-matters, when the Kings privy Affairs obliged not the Ambassadors to wait upon the Court themselves. Hereby he came to know well the Chancellor, the Cardinal of *Lorain*, the Cardinal of *Paris*, the Admiral, the Constable.

Well acquainted with *France*.

He stuck close to *Crumwel*, who sent him divers Times to the Bishop of *Winchester* and *Wallop*, Ambassadors in *France*, (as was said afore) but they could not endure him, knowing him to be *Crumwel's* Creature: and once they told the Constable of *France*, that he was *Crumwel's* Spy. This Constable was a notable Favourite in the *French* Court in those Times: One of the doublest, and most dissembling Gentlemen in the World; and no more Assurance to be taken of his Words, than to hold an Eel by the Tail. He would speak fair and promise fair, and work the contrary. And because he was very Popish, *Winchester* and *Wallop* loved him well. This *Barnabie* often brought Matters to *Winchester*, while Ambassador, concerning the King's Proceedings in Religion; Which he could not well away withal, nor his Secretary *Jerman Gardiner*. When *Crumwel* dyed, he had many a heavy Look of *Wallop*; who said to him, that his great God was gone, and that there were none belonging to him, but Spies and Hereticks.

Hated by *Winchester* for *Crumwel's* Sake.

This *Barnabie* was alive in the Days of King *Edward*; and in the Year 1552 in a Letter to Secretary *Cecyl* (whence I have extracted most of the former Relation) did very earnestly lament the Neglect of shipping in *England*, and that we were so much outdone by *France*. Whereby all our Ports became neglected; and did propound very ingenious Ways for the furthering of Trade, as we shall read, when we come to the *Annals* of that Year.

Laments the Neglect of shipping in *England*.

A N N O

1540.

The Names
and Order of
the Privy
Counsellors.

August the 10. (the next Month after *Crumwel's* Death) the xxxii of the King, that is, in this Year 1540. an Order was set down for the Number of Counsellors, and in what Precedency they were to sit; I have it out of a Journal of the Sir *Will. Cecyl's* own keeping: *Viz.* The Archbishop of *Canterbury*; Lord *Awdly*, Lord Chancellor; the Duke of *Norfolk*, Lord Treasurer; the Duke of *Suffolk*, great Master and President of the Council; the Earl of *Southampton*, Lord Privy Seal. The Earl of *Sussex*, Great Chamberlain. *Edward* Earl of *Hertford*. Lord *Russel*, Lord Admiral. The Bishop of *Duresm*. The Bishop of *Winton*. Lord *Sandes*, Lord Chamberlain. Sir *Tho. Cheney*, Treasurer. Sir *William Kingston*, Comptroller. Sir *Anthony Brown*, Master of the Horse. Sir *Anthony Wyngfield*, Vicechamberlain. Sir *Thomas Wrythley*, Secretary. Sir *Ralph Sadleyr*, Secretary. Sir *Rich. Ryck*, Chancellor of the *Exchequer*. Sir *John Baker*, Chancellor of the Augmentation.

Prosecution
upon the Six
Articles.

Upon the Six Articles, Commissions were granted out by the King to the Bishops, and their Chancellors, and Officials, and to all Justices of Peace, Maiors, and Sheriffs in every Shire, and others named in the same Commissions: To enquire diligently upon all Heretical Books, and to burn them, and upon all Persons suspected of such Felonies, Contempts or Transgressions against the Act of the Six Articles.

Commissioners for London.

To *London*, and the Diocese thereof, was a particular Commission sent for this Purpose. The Commissioners were the Bishop of *London*, *Roche* the Maior, *Allen*, *Warren*, *Richard Gresham*, Knights and Aldermen, *Roger Cholmley* Knight, Sergeant at Law, *John Gresham*, *Michael Dormer*, the Archdeacon of *London*, the Bishops Commissary, *Chidley*, *Crayford*, *Edward Hall*, *Brook*, *Morgan*. And that these might be sure to do their Office, a Letter was procured from the King to *Boner* the Bishop, or his Commissary, to give all these their Oaths for the Execution of the said Act. The Form of which Oath was prescribed in that Act. The Bishop accordingly at *Guild Hall* administered the said Oath to them. And then the Jury were sworn; when the Bishop admonished them to spare none. So in all Parishes throughout *London* almost, some were summoned and accused, and brought into Trouble; to the Number of near Two Hundred. Several also of *Calais*, and of divers other Quarters, were brought into Trouble. So that all the Prisons in *London* were too little to hold them. Infomuch, that they were fain to bestow them in the Halls of *London*. But by the Means of the Lord *Awdley*, Lord Chancellor, they were bound for one another to appear in the *Star Chamber* the next Day after; being by this Means rescued from the Hands of the Bishop and Commissioners. And then none appearing against them, they were all discharged. This must be recorded for one of the good Deeds of that Chancellor.

Fox. p. 1100.

Prisoners upon the Act.

Of these Prisoners were *Grafton* and *Whitchurch*, the Printers of the Bible, and divers Parsons and Curates: One nameless, a *Scotch* Friar, driven out of his Countrey, Curate of *S. Catharine Colman*; the Parson and Curate of *S. Antholins*; *Thomas Capper*, Priest of the Church of *S. Mary Magdalen Old Fish-Street*, for saying, *That the Sacrament of the Altar was a Memory of the Lord's Death*; *Hardiman*, Priest, Parson of *S. Martins Ironmonger Lane*, for preaching, that

that Confession was Confusion and Deformation, and that the Butcherly Ceremonies of the Church were to be abhorred; that in making the Sacraments of such Virtue, they take the Glory of God from him; and, That Faith in Christ is sufficient without any other Sacraments, to justify. Richard Bostock of Algate, for saying, Auricular Confession had killed more Souls than all the Bills, Clubs and Halters had done, since King Henry was King of England: And, that Water in the Thames had as much Virtue as the Water the Priest did hallow: Thomas Lancaster, of St. Katharine's, Priest, for compiling and bringing over Books prohibited: Ward, a Friar, for Marrying a Wife: Wilcox, a Scotch Friar, for preaching against Confessions, holy Water, Praying to Saints, Purgatory, &c. John Taylor D. D. of St Peter's in Cornbil; William Tolwin, Parson of St. Anthonie's; Robert Wisdom, Parish Priest of St. Katharine's in Lothbury; Thomas Becon, George Parker, Parson of St. Pancrase; John Birch, Parson of St. Buttolphs Lane; Alexander Seton, a Scotch Man, and famous Preacher; he was the Duke of Suffolk's Chaplain, and preached sometime at St. Anthonie's. To these I add Dr. Crome of Aldermary, and South, Parish Priest of Alballow's Lombardstreet, and Some, a Priest.

By the Severity of this Act of the Six Articles, much Rigor was used towards such as espoused Principles more agreeable to the Gospel. The Germans had a great Compassion for them. As appeareth by what followeth. Martin Bucer, a learned Divine of the first Rank in Germany, and Professor of Divinity in Strasburgh, being intreated by his Friends in England, did earnestly deal with the Elector of Saxony, and Landgrave of Hesse, that Melancthon might go into England, (whose Presence the King had so earnestly before desired;) in hopes that the King might be prevailed upon by his Means, to abrogate, or mitigate that Sanguinary Law. But the Elector in the Month of October answered, 'That he was certain in his Conscience, that for 4 or 5 Years he omitted nothing, that might help the Cause of Religion in England: that he maintained at Wittenburgh the Bishop of Hereford [i. e. Fox] at his great Charge. And that he [that Bishop] was sufficiently instructed in the Heads of the Faith; and that he carried all to his King; but yet there came no Answer. That in the Year 1538, he sent Burcard and Boyenberg; and again 1539. him and Baambach: but obtained nothing. That the King continually delayed: and after so many Delays, privately had a Synod with his Bishops; and made a Defect from his Purpose of Reformation with great Precipitancy, they, the Protestants not being privy to it.' And he thought it to no purpose now to send Melancthon, things being come to that Extremity.

In this Year, July 30. without any Tryal, or Sentence of Condemnation, or calling him to answer, and two others with him, was Dr. Barnes burnt at Smithfield, once Prior of the Augustine's in Cambridge: A learned Man, well known to the King, and much employed by him and the Lord Cromwel in Embassies Abroad, especially to Germany. He was the great Restorer of good Learning in Cambridge, about the Year 1525 and 26. putting those Students of his House, upon reading good Classick Authors, instead of the School-men. Bilney converted Barnes wholly unto Christ. Mr. Stafford, a pious learned Man, and publick

1540.
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 Endeavours  
 from Germany  
 to mitigate  
 that Sanguina-  
 ry Law.  
 Hist. Luth.  
 per Seckingd.

Dr. Barnes  
 burnt.



A N N O  
1540.

Learning and  
Piety brought  
into Cam-  
bridge by his  
Means.

These Gospel-  
lers meet to-  
gether.

Gospellers in  
these times at  
Oxon.  
Garret.

publick Reader of Divinity, answered *Barnes* for his Form to be made Batchelor in Divinity. By the Means of this Man, and some few others in that University, many became godly Learned: Who shewed themselves, and flocked together in open Streets, in the Schools and at Sermons in *St. Marie's*, and at *St. Austins*, and at other Disputations. They were chiefly of *Pembroke Hall*, *St. John's College*, *Peter Houle*, *Queen's College*, *King's College*, *Gonwel Hall*, and *Bennet College*. The Names of some of them (for their Names deserve to stand in Record) were these, besides *Barnes* and *Stafford* and *Bilney* aforesaid, *Dr. Thixtel*, or *Thissel*, *Thomas Allen*, of *Pembroke*, *Dr. Farman*, of *Queens*, *Mr. Took*, *Mr. Loude*, of *Bennet*, *Mr. Cambridge*, *Field*, *Colman*, *Coverdale*, Batchelors of Divinity; *Parnel* of *St. Austins*, under *Barnes*; *Thomas Arthur*, *Dr. Warner*, *Segar Nicolson*, uncertain of what College; *Rodolph Bradford* of *King's*, *Dr. Smith* of *Trinity Hall*. To which we must add *Latymer* of *Christ's College*.

These and a great many more met often at a House called the *White Horse*, to confer together with others, in Mockery called *Germans*; because they conversed much in the Books of the Divines of *Germany* brought thence. This House was chose, because those of *King's College*, *Queen's College*, and *St. John's*, might come in at the Backside, and so be the more private and undiscovered. *Warner* before mentioned, was an Acquaintance of *Bilney's* at *Cambridge*, and being Parson of *Winterton*, was present with him at his Burning at *Norwich*; whom he chose to be with him then, to comfort him.

And that I may here take in (though it be a Digression) what Progress the other University of *Oxford* made about the same Time also in Religion; *Thomas Garret*, Curate of *Hony Lane London*, and who was burnt in the same Fire with *Dr. Barnes*, was the great Instrument thereof there. Who brought thither sundry Books in *Latin*, treating of the Scripture, with the first Part of *Unio Dissidentium*, and *Tyndal's* first Translation of the New Testament; which was about the Year 1525, or 1526. which Books he sold at *Oxon*, and dispersed them among the Students. Cardinal *Wolfsey* and the Bishop of *London* had Intelligence of this Man, and that he had a Number of these heretical Books, as they called them, and that he was gone to *Oxford* to vend them; and a privy Search was intended to be made for him in that University. But one *Cole* of *Magdalen College*, afterwards Cross-bearer unto the Cardinal, gave secret warning of this to a Friend or two of *Garret's*, and advised them to persuade him to be gone. And now a great many in *Oxon* became suspected in Religion: as they might well be; for they fell very hard upon reading these Books, and gathered much Light in Religion from them; namely, *Delaber* of *Alban Hall*; *Clark*, *Sumner*, *Bets*, *Taverner*, *Radley*, *Frith*, *Cox*, *Drum*, and others of *St. Frideswyde's College*, or the *Cardinal's College*, now *Christ's Church*; *Udal* and *Diet* and others of *Corpus Christi*; *Eeden* of *Magdalen College*; others of *Glocester College*; Two Monks of *St. Austins* of *Canterbury*, named *Lungport*, and *John Salisbury* of *St. Edmond's Bury*; Two White Monks of *Bernard College*; Two Canons of *St. Marie's College*, one whereof was *Robert Farrar*, afterwards a Bishop and a Martyr, and divers more.

Infomuch



Infomuch that a Commission was sent down hither to make diligent *ANNO*  
Search for Books, and for such as read them, or favoured the Gospel. *1540.*  
The chief of these Inquisitors were Dr. *Cotisford*, Master of *Lincoln*  
College, Commissary then of the University; Dr. *London*, Warden  
of *New College*; and Dr. *Higdon*, Dean of *St Frideswide*. In fine,  
such as were taken were made go in Possession, and to make their Recan-  
tation: and as they passed by *Carfax*, were made to cast a Book into a  
Fire there kindled, in token of their Repentance. *Fox. p. 1092.*

But to return to *Barnes*: It was not enough to take away his Life, *Barnes vindicated by Coverdale.*  
but one *Standish*, a Fellow of *Whittington College*, wrote a scurrilous  
Book against him, refuting what he had said immediately before his  
Burning. Which his Friend and old Acquaintance, *Coverdale*, answered,  
and justified the deceased Martyr.

Among divers of the Clergy of *London* taken up this Year, *Robert Rob. Wisdom.*  
*Wisdom* was one, as afore was said. This Man was a very painful  
setter forth of true Religion; of whom we have spoken somewhat in  
the *Memorials* of *Archbishop Cranmer*: to which in this place we will  
add somewhat more. He wrote an Exposition upon the Ten Com-  
mandments. For divers Passages in which Book he was put into *Lol-*  
*lards Tower* by the Council. And being convented before them, they  
laid to his Charge certain Texts of Scripture in that Book. One was,  
‘*Babes, keep your selves from Images.*’ Hence they said, he was guilty *His Doctrines.*  
‘of Heresy, because by that Text, he shewed he was for destroying all  
‘Images. Another thing they layd against him was, that he said,  
‘That at the Day of Judgment Christ would reward only of Mercy and  
‘not of Merit. That all Traditions of Men should be plucked up by the  
‘Roots. That Man hath no Free Will to do good. He spake against  
‘Invocation and praying to Saints, and against Censuring in the Church,  
‘and other Ceremonies: Against Trental Masses, and that they pro-  
‘fited not Souls departed. That he advised his Parishoners to take  
‘the Scripture into their Hands, when they met together on *Sundays*  
‘and Holy Days in the Alehouse, to talk and commune of it. That  
‘he said, he trusted to see the Day, when Maids should sing the  
‘Scriptures at their Wheels, and Plow-men at their Plows. That he  
‘said, we had a living Christ, and not a Christ of Clouts. That  
‘Souls departed do not come again, and walk, and play at Bo peep  
‘with us. Item, That every one of us ought to bear one anothers  
‘Burthens, as in the Body the Bones strengthen and maintain the  
‘Flesh. And that there was no difference of Meats.

These were the Articles, in Number Thirteen, laid against him.  
Which from *Lollards Tower*, he declared his Sense and Meaning of  
in a Letter. I refer the Readers to the *Appendix*, where they shall  
find it at large. Which being so very well penned a Discourse, and  
shewing the good Learning and Abilities of this Reverend Man, I  
was willing to preserve it. Out of it, I shall observe at present on-  
ly One or Two things. One was, that he foretold of the Reforma-  
tion under King *Edward*. Where speaking of the abolishing of the  
*Roman Bishop*, and the Dissolution of Monasteries, and the forbidding  
all Pardons from *Rome*, he added, ‘That the Residue of all the  
‘*Roman* Impostures must needs fall, tho’ all the Papists should set  
‘to their Shoulders, and lift and underprop, till they burst. And this

**A N N O** 1540. I say in the Word of the Lord, that the Day will come, when the very Root of all Popery, even your Masses, shall be plucked up.

And in the Margin he wrote, *Note this, for it will come to pass, and that shortly.* Another Matter I observe in his Letter is, the Reason why he advised People, when they were at the Ale-House, to take the Scripture and talk of it. Which one *Lefwel*, sent down into *Essex* to hear him preach on *Easter Thursday*, informed against him, that he then so taught. To which the Bishop, rebuking him for so saying, told him, that People, when they are drunk, will handle the Scripture unreverently; and that much Mischief may come of it. He answered, 'That therefore he exhorted to have the Scripture then especially read and heard, that they might, for the Fear of that, abstain from Excess and Drunkenness.

Troubled before.

Two Years before this, he was again in Trouble before the Bishop of *London*; and several things are entred in the Bishop's Register concerning him: That was the Time I suppose when he bare a Faggot.

And now Two Years after, they extracted out of the same Register Matter against him; tho' the Bishop then swore by his Baptism, that *Wisdom* should never hear of it more. He lived to better Times; for he was Archdeacon of *Ely*, and One of the famous Synod in 1562. and dyed 1568.

*Huntingdon*  
a Priest and  
Poet.

About this Time one *John Huntingdon*, a zealous Priest and Poet, compiled a Poem, intituled, *The Genealogy of Hereticks*: Mentioning only the Names of such godly Men as had been no Friends to the Pope; and no other Hereticks were once touched at, as if there were no Hereticks but such as opposed the Pope. By this *Huntingdon*, and Two more Priests, was one *Seton* a *Scotch* Friar, and an excellent Preacher in *London*, detected and informed against. But *Huntingdon* was afterwards converted to the same Doctrine himself, notwithstanding these his present Oppositions. There were many other Poets of this Strain, that appeared some Years before, who vented all their Wit against such as professed and loved the Gospel, and were Enemies to the Pope: *Viz. Thomas Smith, Richard Dallison, William Stawne, Stephen Prowet, Friar Adrian, Quarry* the Pardoner: whom *William Bale* calls, *Popish Poets*, and *dirty Metrists*.

Popish Poets.  
Im of both  
Churches.

**A N N O**  
1540.

The King's  
Supremacy  
owned in Ire-  
land.

In the Thirty Third Year of the King, which falls in with the Year of our Lord 1541, the Supremacy was gone through with in the Kingdom of *Ireland*. For then the *O Neals, O Relies, O Birus, O Carols*, and other old *Irish* Families, and the *English* Families of the *Desmonds, Barries, Roches, Bourks*, (whose Posterities do still continue zealous *Romanists*) did make their Submissions by Indenture to Sir *Anthony Sellenger*, then chief Governor of that Kingdom; wherein they acknowledged King *Henry* to be their Sovereign Lord, and confessed the King's Supremacy in all Causes, and utterly renounced the Jurisdiction of the Pope: as *Brambal*, the Learned Archbishop of *Armagh* extracted out of the Council Book of *Ireland*.

*Just Vindic.*  
Chap. 3.



## C H A P. L.

*A New Convocation. Bible in Folio printed. The Bishop of Winton's Interposition in a Controversy risen in Cambridge, about pronouncing the Greek. The Convocation meets again. Persecution at Oxford. The Necessary Erudition.*

**J**ANUARY the 20th, 1541. began a new Convocation. When the Archbishop landed at *Pauls Wharf*, and went thence on Foot, the Cross being carried before him to the Church of *S. Pauls*. Bishop *Boner* said High Mass: *Dr. Cox*, Archdeacon of *Ely* preached a *Latin* Sermon. His Text, *Vos estis Sal Terræ*: *Gwent*, Archdeacon of *London*, chosen again Prolocutor, was presented by *Nic. Wotton*, Dean of *Canterbury*. The Archbishop confirmed the Choice. And then signified unto all, that it was the King's Intention, that the Fathers, the Prelates and Clergy there assembled, should consult, *de Rebus Religionis lapsis & rueritibus*; and to deliberate among themselves of providing fit Remedies: and what they should think fit to be reformed and corrected, to correct and reform the same among themselves. Declaring to them further, that many Things in the Old and New Testament translated into the *English* Language, wanted Reformation. And further the said Archbishop would, that the Prolocutor with the Clergy should betake themselves to the Lower House, and discourse among themselves concerning Examination of the said Books. And that some skilful Persons should be appointed to turn over the Canons and other Laws for the shunning and restraining of *Simony*.

A Convocation. Their Business to consult about.

Extra of Convocation. M<sup>r</sup>. S. D. P<sup>r</sup>. Episc. Ross.

In this Synod also, the good Archbishop treated about making of *Homilies*; and likewise of translating the several Books of the Bible. And the Books were particularly delivered to certain Bishops to be translated. In another Session, he spake also concerning the same; and concerning Persons to be nominated to translate their Parts. And in the Session the next Day, (*viz* Sess. 6.) he moved the translating into *English* the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles Creed, and the Ten Commandments. And many Words inserted, to be examined, how they might aptly be translated into the vulgar Tongue. In this Synod, the Archbishop also signified his Pleasure, of making some Statutes or Laws against Adulterers, perjured Persons, and Blasphemers of the Name of God. And that he would exhibit his Conceptions thereof in Writing. Discourse also was entred into of some other things to be reformed: As, concerning the Lord's Prayer, the Angel's Salutation, the Creed, the Ten Commandments: Namely, of teaching them the People, and ordinary Sort. And here at another Session, the Bishop of *Winton* read what *Latin* Words were contained in the Sacred Volumes, which he would have understood according to their true and native Sense and Meaning, and the Majesty of the Things expressed, as far as might be, to be kept, or in *sua Natura*, *i. e.* in their own Nature: or as much as it could be done most accommodately unto the *English* Speech of the Word, or in *English* Expression. All these good Things, and divers more, were now in Hand in this

Matters proposed by the Archbishop to the Synod.

**A N N O** Convocation, by the pious Zeal of Archbishop *Cranmer*. But the Success answered not in the House.

1541.

The English Bible printed.

Yet now came forth the *English Bible in Folio*, with the King's Allowance. In the Title Page was the Picture of King *Henry VIII.* with *Crumwel* and *Cranmer*. And bore this Title; *The Bible in English, of the largest and greatest Volume; used and appointed, by the Commandment of our most redoubted and sovereign Prince, King HENRY VIII. Supreme Head of the Church and Realm of England: To be frequented and used in every Church within this his said Realm; according to the Tenor of his former Injunctions given in that behalf. Overseen and perused at the Commandment of the King's Highness, by the Reverend Fathers in God, Cuthbert Bishop of Durham; and Nicolas Bishop of Rochester. Printed by Ri. Grafton, Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum. 1541.* Nor was this the first Time the whole Bible in *English* was allowed by that King to be printed: having been set forth in the Year 1539. And this Sentence at the End of the Book, *A Dno. factum est istud*; but the Marginal Notes in an Edition before that, giving Offence, were now left out.

*Cheke at Cambridge reforms the pronouncing of Greek.*

In *May* this Year, the Bishop of *Winton* shewed his Authority in the University of *Cambridge*, of which he was Chancellor. For Mr. *Cheke*, being *Greek Lecturer*, had endeavoured some time before to make a Reformation, in the pronouncing of *Latin*, but especially *Greek*. For as *Greek Books* were not long before brought into Study and Reading, not without great Opposition in the Universities, so the Way of sounding the Vowels and Diphthongs and some Consonants, was very odd and untoward. They made no distinction of the Sounds of  $\alpha$  and  $\epsilon$ ,  $\iota$  and  $e$ , from the Vowel  $\omega$ : and  $\eta$ ,  $\iota$ , and  $\upsilon$  were sounded alike. The Consonant  $\pi$  when it stood after  $\nu$ , they pronounced as a Soft B. And  $\tau$  after  $\mu$  was pronounced as our D. Now *Cheke* laboured to refine this ill Pronunciation. He would have each Vowel to have its proper Sound, and Diphthongs, consisting of two Vowels, to have the Sound of Two. This took exceedingly among the more ingenious Men of the University, and great Improvements were made in the Knowledge of the *Greek Language* daily, and *Plato* and *Aristotle* began to be much read. But some of the old *Dons* made at length a great stir at this new found Way of speaking *Greek*: and the Complaint thereof was carried to the Chancellor. Who opposed it to that degree, as to make a publick Decree against it, upon pain of Expulsion out of the Senate, if one of that House, of being stopt of his Degree, if a Candidate; or private Correction, if an inferior Scholar. Which Decree may be found in the *Appendix*.

The Chancellor opposes *Cheke* and makes a Decree about it.

Numb.

CXVI.

*Cheke argues with the Chancellor.*

Upon this, *Cheke* wrote an elegant Letter to the Bishop. Therein he said, 'That the true Sounds of the Letters were changed in the last barbarous Ages: and that it was therefore better to mend that Barbarity than to follow it. And for this he appealed to *Erasmus*, (who had writ a Book of the right Pronunciation of *Latin* and *Greek*) and learned Men. The Bishop replied, 'That every Change was not to be disallowed. And that the Sound of Letters was more like to be changed by the Learned, (than the Unlearned:) the Learned being wont to have so much regard to the Euphony, and the Gracefulness of the Sound of Words.' *Cheke* shewed, how by pronouncing



the Diphthong *oi* as an *ῶι* (as was then ordinarily done) there would be no distinction between *ῶι* and *ῶι*. But the Chancellor was for no Changes. *Utere*, saith he to *Cheke*, *moribus antiquis, Verbis vero præsentibus, & multo magis sonis*: i. e. Use antient Customs, but present Words, and much more Sounds. And again, *Oro te*, *Cheke* &c. Pray Mr. *Cheke*, do not you encourage the Youth to frame another Sound to the Latin or Greek by their own Guesſes, than what they have received from their Ancestors, or than what learned Men do at this present retain. And again, Be not too Stoical in examining Sounds. And remember, that as Words, so also Sounds, take their Authority from Use, not from Reason. Again, he told the said Lecturer, That it was a vain Persuasion in him, to think that every thing that was writ, was to be sounded out; and that he brought an absurd and odd Sound to the Ears of that present Age, which by fallacious Conjectures he imagined the Antients were pleased with. He challenged *Cheke* to shew him a Difference between the sounding of *n* and *ε*. And if he could not do that, he would not have him boast, that he could learn that from the mute Letters, which he could not express by mute Letters.

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*Cheke's* Pretence in reforming the Sound of the Greek Language was, to vindicate Truth. But this moved not the Chancellor, if that were all the Benefit of it, as he replied: and brake out into this Expression, *Sed quid non Mortalia peïora cogit, VÆRI querendi Fames?* That is, But what does not the Itch of seeking out TRUTH compel Men to do? As though that were so great a Crime. This Popish Bishop cared not indeed to have Truth too narrowly searched after, for fear the old Errors of Popery should be found out. But to proceed; the Chancellor bad him, not to be the Author of removing out of its place an Evil well placed: especially, when that you call evil, said he, being removed, you have nothing that is good to put in the room thereof. However, he allowed him in his Lectures to instruct his Auditors, as concerning old Words, so concerning the old Sounds, [if that would serve,] to know them, but not to use them, that they became not ridiculous. He complained, that by that Progress that *Cheke* had made in mending the Sounds of Words, the Young Men insulted over the Old, who spake not as they did, and gloried in an exotic Way of pronouncing, and took a kind of Delight that they were not understood by their Seniors. And indeed at the Celebration of Divine Service in the Colleges, Latin and Greek began now to be read differently after a new Way. But this was looked upon as very odd, by the older Sort that heard it.

Why *Cheke*  
made this  
Change.

And whereas the Chancellor had called *Cheke* rash, bold and arrogant for attempting this Alteration, *Cheke* in another Letter told him, That he would not be convicted of Rashness, in that he had acquiesced in the Judgment of the most Learned and Antient Men; nor of childish Boldness, in that he approved of the Consent of almost all Ages; nor of Arrogancy, in being able to diminish by the Authority of wise and knowing Men, things unjustly and unprobably crept in. For he had, he said, the Authority of the Antients, and the perpetual Consent of the old Grammarians. That this Pronuntiation was profitable for Learning, sweet for Speech, and clear in Utterance.

*Cheke* vindicates himself from Rashness in this matter.

He

ANNO 1541. He added, ' That when he began this way, it took greatly among the Scholars; and now after some Years the old Way of reading *Greek* was nauseous and unpleasant to hear. And the Advantage was, that such as now learned *Greek*, profited more in the Knowledge of that Language in a Year, than they did before in Two; and came much sooner to a facility in speaking and writing it, which took up a very long Time before. And this the Experience of many Years shewed. That it was by the Variety of Sounds and Modulation of Numbers, that there was so much Delight and Sweetness in *Homer's* or *Sophocles's* Verses, that no singing of Musicians, no striking of the Harp, could be more various and delightful.' He hinted that it was affectation of Ignorance, and an unwillingness in some that the Learned Languages should be known: which was the Cause of the Discouragements he met with. ' When the *Latin* Language, said he, began to be studied and called into the World again, it was not without much Opposition and Indignation. The *Greek* Language was hateful to many, and still is so; and there be some, who studiously restrain Youth from the Knowledge of it. Many reprove the Study of *Hebrew*, and it is as much as ones Credit and Reputation is worth, to attempt the Knowledge of it; as he freely writ to the Chancellor.

Dr. Smith (afterward Sir Thomas Smith, and Secretary of State) being about the Year 1542, Vice-Chancellor, waited upon the Chancellor, as it seems, concerning this great Contest of Letters; who tho' he were for *Cheke's* Way, yet seeing, how resolved the Chancellor was to hinder it, told him, ' That for his Part he could pronounce both Ways, the New and the Old; that he might offend no Body by his Pronouncing. For he knew it was Matter of Praise even to stammer, if so be he that did so, could speak fluently, when there was need so to do; according to that, *I am Debtor both to the Fools, and to the Wise.*

But tho' this Authority put some Stop for the present to Mr. *Cheke's* commendable Purpose, and the Reformation of the Reading of *Greek*; yet afterward it prevailed, as Truth is said to do, and doth take Place to this Day.

The Letters  
between the  
Bishop and  
*Cheke* printed.

There passed Seven Learned Letters between the Bishop and Mr. *Cheke* upon this Argument: Which the said *Cheke* carrying with him, when after King *Edward's* Death, he passed through *Basil* into *Italy*, left in the Hands of *Celius Secundus Curio*, (a Learned Man of that City, and Father in Law to *Zanchy*,) who printed them in the Year 1555, and dedicated them to the Learned Sir *Anthony Cook*: the Book bearing this Title, *Joannis Cheki, Angli, de Pronunciatione Græcæ potissimum Lingux, Disputationes cum Stephano Wintoniensi Episcopo, Septem contrarijs Epistolis comprehensæ.*

The Vice-  
Chancellor  
required to  
punish the  
new Way of  
reading *Greek*.

Notwithstanding the severe Decree of the Chancellor, the new and true Way of pronouncing and reading *Greek* was not laid aside in the University. Insomuch, that the next Year, viz. 1542, Dr. *Edmunds* being Vicechancellor, the Chancellor sent his Letter to him, urging him to see Punishment executed against such as so pronounced: Telling him, ' That he would not be deluded nor contemned: and that he intended to use his Authority, both towards him and the Proctors, if they were negligent herein: but he trusted, they would not enforce him



him so to do. And that for the Order he made, he did it seriously, *A N N O*  
 and would maintain it. That to be Chancellor of the University *1541.*  
 was only Honour, which by Contempt was taken away: And he  
 would beware to give any Man Cause to contemn him.

In the same Letter he signified to his Vice-Chancellor, an Informa- *Some in the*  
 tion he had, that divers of the Regents of that University had eaten *University*  
 Flesh last *Lent.* Which he shewed himself much displeased at, and re- *eat Flesh in*  
 quired him to punish: Directing him to send privately for them, and *Lent.*  
 induce them to confess their Fault and pay a Fine, to be laid upon  
 them by his Discretion. But if they would not submit to this Punish-  
 ment, he was resolved, he said, to proceed to more open Inquisition.  
 For punished they should be. And as an Example hereof, he remind-  
 ed his Vice-Chancellor of what had been lately done at the Court,  
 which he was sure he had heard of; namely, how earnestly some there  
 had been prosecuted for this Fault, by the King's own Command by  
 the Advice of his Council. He added in the Conclusion of his Let-  
 ter, that the King, by the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost, (as he  
 termed it) had compounded all Matters of Religion. Which Unifor-  
 mity he required his Vice-Chancellor to take care of. But the Letter  
 of the Chancellor may deserve to be perused. *Numb.*  
*CXVII.*

After an Adjournment, the Convocation met in *March.* And  
*April 3. 1542.* Here the most Reverend treated of the *Homilies, &c.* *Sessions of*  
 and continued till Two Afternoon. Then Dr. *Cox* suspended all the *Convocation.*  
 Prelates, not appearing, or not licensed to be absent, from the Cele- *What was*  
 bration of Divine Things, and from Entrance into the Church. And *done.*  
 so by several Prorogations, till *February* following: Then the most  
 Reverend treated of giving the King a Subsidy. And they yielded  
 4 s. in the Pound in Three Years. And the *Homilies* were presented  
 by the Prolocutor, composed by some of the Prelates, concerning  
 divers Matters. And then he put up a Supplication, concerning  
 making Ecclesiastical Laws, according to the Statute in that Behalf  
 made. And also of paying Tythes, as well greater, or *Personal*, by  
 the Laity, more liberally and more justly. At another Session, the  
 most Reverend said, that the King would have some Ecclesiastical  
 Books to be examined and corrected. And delivered these Books ac-  
 cordingly to certain Bishops for that Purpose. And there he also  
 decreed, that each Morning and Evening, One Chapter of the New  
 Testament should be read in each Parish.

Those Books before-mentioned, which the Archbishop signified it  
 was the King's Pleasure they should be examined, were all Mass Books,  
*Antiphoners, Portuises* in the Church of *England:* that they should *Church Books*  
 be corrected, reformed and castigated from all Manner of Mention *to be ex-*  
 of the Bishop of *Rome's* Name: and from all *Apocrypha's*, feigned *amined.*  
 Legends, superstitious Oraisons, Collects, Versicles, and Responses.  
 And that the Names and Memories of all Saints, which be not men-  
 tioned in the Scriptures, or other Authentick Doctors, be put away.  
 And this for the eschewing of Inconveniencies, which daily chance to  
 the King's Subjects of the Clergy, for their Negligence, in not abolish-  
 ing such Things or Names, as by his Majesty's Injunctions and Pro-  
 clamations had been commanded to be stricken out, cancelled and  
 abolished. Hereupon it was ordered, that the Examination and Cor-  
 rection



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rection of the said Books of Service should be committed to the Bishops of *Sarum* and *Ely*, taking to each of them Three of the Lower House; such as should be appointed for that Purpose. But that the Lower House released. [ A gentle Refusal to have any thing to do therein. ]

Petitions of  
the Clergy.

It was ordered also, that every *Sunday* and Holy Day throughout the Year, the Curate of every Parish Church, after the *Te Deum* and *Magnificat*, should openly read unto the People one Chapter of the New Testament in *English*, without Exposition. And when the New Testament was read over, then to begin the Old.

This done, a Book of Subsidies of 6 s. in the Pound, was brought up by the Prolocutor. And then the Clergy desired the Lords to move to the King's Majesty these Petitions. I. For the Ecclesiastical Laws of this Realm, to be made according to the Statute made in the 5th Year of his gracious Reign. II. For Remedy to be provided by his Highness against the ungodly and unlawful Solemnization of Marriages frequently used, or abused, in the Chapel or Hospital of *Bethlem* without *Bishopsgate*. III. For an Act of Parliament to be made this Session, for the Union and Corporation of small and exile Benefices through this Realm; which for smallness of Fruits be not able to find a Priest: And so rest untaken by Parson, Vicar, or Curate. IV. For some good Order and Provision to be made by his Majesty, and established by Parliament, for due and true Payment of Tithes, both Predial and Personal, throughout this Realm; for Quietness of all Persons, and Discharge of the Consciences of the Lay-men.

ANNO  
1543.

Dr. London  
dies.

The next Year, viz. 1543. died in the *Fleet* under much Disgrace, *John London*, L L. D. a great Dignitary, and a great Champion for the Pope: whereby for a long Time he continued a fierce Prosecutor of the Professors of the Gospel both in *Oxon* and *Windsor*, where he had Preferment; And was the great Instrument with the Bishop of *Winton*, in carrying on a Plot for the Destruction of Archbishop *Cranmer*, as may be seen in the *Memorials* of that Archbishop. Being Warden of *New College*, *Oxon*, he created much Trouble to divers Men in Cardinal *Wolfsey's* College newly founded, by sharp Imprisonment, when *John Frith*, among other vertuous Young Men there, was apprehended; which fell in the Year 1527, or 1528. Many others were then detected in that University, and especially in Dr. London's College; namely, Mr. *Quinby*, *John Man*, *Talbot*, all of *New College*; and *Bartholomew Traheron*, afterwards Library Keeper to King *Edward*. But *John Man* recanted, whom therefore *Traheron* called the Stony Ground, on whom the good Seed of God's Word took no Root. *Talbot* also started back, and served afterward the Lord *Wriothesly*, teaching his Children: but nevertheless he was expelled by the Warden. But as for *Quinby*, he was imprisoned very straitly in the Steeple of the College, and half starved with cold and lack of Food, and at length died. He desired his Friends that came to see him, that he might receive the Lord's Supper in both Kinds, but it would not be granted. He was asked of his Friend, what he would eat. Who said his Stomach was gone from all Meat, except it were a Warden Pye. Ye shall have it, quoth they. I would have, said he again, but two Wardens baked, I mean, our Warden of *Oxford*, and our Warden of *Winchester*, *London*

Foxii MS.

Quinby of New  
College persecuted to  
Death.



and *More*. For such a Warden Pye might do me and Christs Church good, whereas other Wardens of the Tree can do me no good at all. Thus jesting at their Tyranny, through the Cheerfulness of a safe Conscience, he turned his Face to the Wall in the Belfrey where he lay, and after his Prayers, slept sweetly in the Lord. This Dr. *London* for his Incontinency, afterwards did open Penance in *Oxford*, having two Smocks on his Shoulders for Mrs. *Thykked* and Mrs. *Jennyrigs*, the Mother and the Daughter: with one of whom he was taken by *Henry Plankney* in his Gallery, being his Sister's Son. This was known to a Number in *Oxford* and elsewhere, many Years after living, as well as to *Loud*, the Relator of it in a Letter to Mr. *Fox*. After this for Perjury he was adjudged to another publick Disgrace set down in the Martyrology, and soon after ended his naughty Life in Prison.

A N N O  
1543.

Dr. *London*  
doth Penance!

The same Year, Three notable Learned Men were preferred: that is to say, *Octob. 3.* Dr. *Heth*, Bishop of *Rocheſter*, was admitted to be one of the King's Privy Council. *William Petre*, Doctor of Civil Law, was made a Master of Requests, and one of the Privy Council. And *William Paget* was made Clerk of the Council. And Six Days after, viz. *Octob. 9.* Sir *John Gage* was made Comptroller in the Place of Sir *William Kingston* deceased.

Counſillors  
made.  
*Cecil's Journ.*

Another Session of a former Convocation began *April 20. 1543.* Now they were concerned, as it seems, in a diligent Review of a former good Book, called, *The Institution of a Chriſten Man*. For it appears by certain Extracts of the Register, that in several Sessions, after the Correction of the Translation of the *Pater Noſter*, the *Ave Mary*, and the Ten Commandments in the *Engliſh* Tongue, and the Sacraments of Baptiſm, and the Eucharist: the *Engliſh* Interpretation whereof being examined and corrected by the most Reverend the Archbishop, and the Bishops of *Winton*, *Roffe* and *Westminster*; they were delivered to the Prolocutor, Dr. *Gwent*. And the next Day, the like was done touching the Five First Commandments, and the Exposition of them by the said Four Bishops. And on another Day were expounded, examined, and revised by the most Reverend the Archbishop, and the Bishops of *Westminster*, *Roffe*, *Sarum* and *Hereford*; the other Five latter Commandments, and the Sacraments of Baptiſm and the Eucharist. And the same delivered to the Prolocutor. And then by Adjournment, on the Morrow the like was done in the Sacraments of Matrimony, Penance, Orders, Confirmation, and Extreme Unction, by the same. And they again the same delivered, by the Consent of the said Archbishop and Bishops, to the Prolocutor, to examine the same by their, and the other Prelates Judgments: And then shew their Judgments on such a Day appointed.

The Convoca-  
tion met again.  
Review of the  
*Institution.*

*April 27.* The most Reverend, together with the Bishops of *Winton*, *Roffe*, and *Westminster*, examined the Exposition of this Word, *Faith*, in the vulgar Language, and the Twelve Articles of the Faith. Which all and singular, the Bishops approved. And in the Afternoon, a Tract was read, *de Juſtificatione*, and of *Works*, and of *Prayer for the Dead*. All which were delivered to the Prolocutor to be examined; and returned on a Day appointed. On another Day, viz. *April ult.* the most Reverend expounded the Article of *Free Will*, &c. And to the Prolocutor the same was delivered, with Intent, that he should read

**A N N O** 1543. over the same Tract before the Prelates of the Lower House. Which being read, and approved by them, that with the Residue was returned to the Upper House, with this Approbation: That they accepted them, *Pro Catholicis & Religiosis*: And gave great Thanks to the Fathers, that they underwent such great Labours, Pains and Vigilances for the Cause of Religion, and the Common Wealth, and for the Sake of Unity. And so the House adjourned, till *May 4.* And then prorogued. This produced a Second Edition enlarged of the *Institution*, and was called, *A necessary Doctrine and Erudition of a Christian Man.*

The necessary  
Erudition of  
a Christen  
Man.

And this Year it came forth, in Print with many Alterations and Additions, by a special Commission from the King to Archbishop *Cramer*, and divers other Learned Bishops, and other Divines. And had the foresaid Name given it, viz. *A necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christen Man. Set forth by the King's Majesty, &c.* Psal. xix. *Lord preserve the King: and bear us, when we call upon thee.* Psal. xx. *Lord in thy Strength the King shall rejoyce; and be marvellous glad through thy Salvation.* And this all set in the Title Page. On the next Page, on the other Side, are set down the Contents of this Book. Which are these, I. The Declaration of Faith. II. The Articles of our Faith, called, *The Creed*. III. The Seven Sacraments. IV. The Ten Commandments. V. The Lord's Prayer, called the *Pater Noster*. VI. The Salutation of the Anngels, called, the *Ave Maria*. VII. An Article of *Free Will*. VIII. An Article of *Justification*. IX. An Article of *Good Works*. X. Of Prayer for Souls departed. Where it is to be observed, the Article of *Purgatory* is left out, as not now approved; Which was in the Book, called, *The Institution*, &c. It was printed by *Thomas Berthelet*, the King's Printer, the xxixth Day of *May* MDXLIII. This Book was received in the Parliament, that sat this Year, as the Lord *Herbert* shews.

Life Hen. viii.  
p. 559.

Set forth by  
the King's Au-  
thority.

It was set forth by the King's own Authority in a general *Preface*, applied to all his Subjects. Wherein he gave an Account fully and largely of the following Book; and authorized his Subjects to make Use of it, for the better informing themselves of the true and right Doctrine of Religion. Which Royal Declaration is well worthy our Reading, and to be preserved in our History. And the Book being so rare and scarce to be met with, I shall here present it, (as I transcribed it) as the *Introduction* to the said Book.

The King's  
Epistle to the  
Book.

' *HENRY* the Eighth, by the Grace of God, King of *England*,  
' *France* and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith; and in Earth of the  
' Church of *England*, and also of *Ireland*, Supreme Head; unto all his  
' faithful and loving Subjects sendeth Greeting. Like as in the Time  
' of Darkness and Ignorance, finding our People seduced, and drawn  
' from the Truth, by Hypocrisy and Superstition; We, by the Help  
' of God and his Word, have travailed to purge and cleanse our Realm  
' from the apparent Enormities of the same: Wherein by opening  
' of Goddis Truth, with setting furth and publishing of the Scriptures,  
' our Labours, (Thanks be to God) have not been void and frustrate:  
' So now perceiving, that in the Times of Knowledge, the Devil,  
' who ceaseth not in all Times to vex the World, hath attempted to  
' return again (as the Parable in the Gospel sheweth) into his House  
' purged



‘ purged and cleansed ; accompanied with Seven worse Spirits ; and  
 ‘ Hypocrisy and Superstition being excluded and put away , we find  
 ‘ entred into some of our People’s Hearts, in an Inclination to sinister  
 ‘ understanding Scripture, Presumption, Arrogance, carnal Liberty  
 ‘ and Contention, used ; Be therefore constrained, for the Remedy of  
 ‘ them in time ; and for avoiding such Diversity in Opinion, as by  
 ‘ the said evil Spirits might be ingendred, to set forth with the Advice  
 ‘ of our Clergy, such a Doctrine and Declaration of the true Know-  
 ‘ ledge of God and his Word, with the principal Articles of our Re-  
 ‘ ligion, as whereby all Men may uniformly be led and taught the  
 ‘ true Understanding of that which is necessary for every Christen  
 ‘ Man to know, for the ordering himself in this Life, agreeable to  
 ‘ the Will and Pleasure of Almighty God. Which Doctrine also the  
 ‘ Lords both Spiritual and Temporal, with the nether House of our  
 ‘ Parliament, have both seen and like very well.

‘ And for Knowledge of the Order of the Matter in this Book  
 ‘ contained, Forasmuch as we know not perfectly God , but by  
 ‘ *Faith*, the Declaration of *Faith* occupieth in this Treatise, the  
 ‘ first Place. Whereunto is next adjoyning, the *Declaration* of the  
 ‘ Articles of our *Creed*, concerning what we should believe. And in-  
 ‘ continently after them followeth, the *Explication* of the Seven Sacra-  
 ‘ ments : Wherein God ordinarily worketh ; and whereby he partici-  
 ‘ pateth unto us his Spiritual Gifts and Graces in this Life. Which  
 ‘ Matter is so digested and set forth with Simplicity and Plainness, as  
 ‘ the Capacities and Understandings of the Multitude of the People  
 ‘ may easily conceive and comprehend the same. Then followeth  
 ‘ conveniently the *Declaration* of the *Ten Commandments*, being by  
 ‘ God ordained the high Way, wherein each Man should walk in this  
 ‘ Life : to finish fruitly his Journey here, and after to rest eternally  
 ‘ in Joy with him. Which because we cannot do of our selves, but  
 ‘ have need always of the Grace of God : as without whom we can  
 ‘ neither continue in this Life, ne without his special Grace do any  
 ‘ thing to his Pleasure, whereby to attain the Life to come ; we have  
 ‘ after the Declaration of the *Ten Commandments*, expounded the  
 ‘ Seven Petitions of our *Pater Noster* : Wherein be contained Requests  
 ‘ and Suits for all things necessary to a Christian Man in this present  
 ‘ Life ; with *Declaration* of the *Ave Maria* : As a Prayer containing a  
 ‘ joyful Rehearsal and magnifying God in the Work of the Incarna-  
 ‘ tion of Christ ; which is the Ground of our Salvation : Wherein the  
 ‘ Blessed Virgin our Lady, for the Abundance of Grace wherewith  
 ‘ God endued her, is also with this Remembrance honoured and  
 ‘ worshipped.

‘ And forasmuch as the Heads and Senses of our People have been  
 ‘ imbusied, and in these Days travailed with the understanding of *Free*  
 ‘ *Will*, *Justification*, *Good Works*, and *Praying for Souls departed* ; we  
 ‘ have, by the Advice of our Clergy, for the Purgation of erroneous  
 ‘ Doctrine, declared and set forth openly, plainly, and without Am-  
 ‘ biguity of Speech, the mere and certain Truth in them : So as we verily  
 ‘ trust, that to know God, and how to live after his Pleasure, to the  
 ‘ attaining of everlasting Life in the End ; this Book containeth a  
 ‘ perfect

A N N O

1543.

Faith.

The Creed.

The Sacra-  
ments.The Ten Com-  
mandments.The Pater  
Noster.The Ave Ma-  
ria.Free Will,  
Justification,  
Good Works,  
Praying for  
Souls  
departed,

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perfect and sufficient Doctrine, grounded and established in holy Scriptures.

Wherefore we heartily exhort our People, of all Degrees, willingly and earnestly both to read, and print in their Hearts the Doctrine of this Book; considering that God, who (as St. Paul saith,) distributeth and divideth to his Church his Graces distinctly, hath ordered some sort of Men to teach others, and some to be taught; and all things should be done *seemly, and in Order*; and hath beautified and set forth, by distinction of Ministers and Officers, the same Church: And considering also, that for the one Part which should teach others, is necessary not only Knowledge, but also Learning and Cunning in the same Knowledge; whereby they may be able conveniently to dispense and distribute to their Audience the Truth of God, according to their Cunning, for the Edification of others, and by true Exposition of the Scriptures, according to the Apostolical Doctrine received and maintained from the Beginning; and by conferring and declaration of them, to convince, reſell and reprove all Errors and Untruths set forth to the contrary: And finally, be also hable to give an Account, as St. Paul saith, of that they profess; It must be agreed then, that for the Instruction of this Part of the Church, whose Office is to teach others, the having, reading and studying of holy Scriptures, both of the Old and New Testament, is not only convenient, but also necessary. But for the other Part of the Church, ordained to be taught, it ought to be deemed certainly; that the reading of the Old and New Testament is not so necessary for all those Folks, that of Duty they ought and be bound to read it, but as the Prince, and the Policy of the Realm shall think convenient, so to be tolerated or taken from it.

The Scrip-  
tures.

Consonant whereunto, the Politic Law of our Realm hath now restrained it from a great mayny: Esteeming it sufficient for those so restrained, to hear and truly bear away the Doctrine of Scripture, taught by the Preachers, and to imprint the Lessons of the same, that they observe and keep them inwardly in their Hearts; and as Occasion serveth, expresse them in their Deeds outwardly, whereby they may be partakers of that Blyſſe, which the Giver of Blessedness, our Saviour Christ spake of, and promised to such; saying, *Beati qui audiunt Verbum Dei, & custodiunt illud: Blessed be they that hear the true Doctrine of God, and keep it.*

Luke xi.

Wherefore we exhort and desire all our loving Subjects, that they praying to God for the Spirit of Humility, do conform themselves as good Scholars and Learners ought to hear and bear away as afore, and willing to observe such Order, as is by us and our Laws prescribed: And to read and bear well away the true Doctrine lately by us and our Clergy set forth, for their *Erudition*. Whereby Presumption and Arrogancy shall be withſtanded, and Contention expelled, and carnal Liberty restrained and tempered, and Disdain clearly removed and taken away. So as endeavouring our selves to live quietly, and charitably together, each one in his Vocation, we shall be so replenished with manifold Graces and Gifts of God, that after this Life we shall Reign in Joy Everlasting, with the only Head of the universal



‘universal Catholick Church, our Saviour and Redeemer Jesus Christ, *A N N O*  
‘Amen.

1543.

I must observe that this Book, the *Erudition*, was so changed and altered, and enlarged, and thereby becoming so different from the *Institution of a Christian Man*, that it may seem to be another Book, rather than a new Edition of the former; as will appear by and by. The *Institution* is reprinted in the *Addenda* to the First Volume of the History of the Reformation. Which was transcribed from a Cotton Volume, being a fair Book in Parchment; writt by the Hand of *Morice*, Archbishop *Cranmer's* Secretary, (for I know his Hand) and was the Original, subscribed by the Hands of that Convocation, that had agreed to, and drawn it up. And so high a Value did Sir *Robert Cotton* set upon it, that at the Bottom of the First Page, he writ his own Name, *Robertus Cotton Bruceus*. But by comparing this Book with the *Erudition*, that was a Review thereof by the King's Commission, and was published about Six Years after, one may see what a good Step the Reformation of Religion had made: For whereas in the former Book, Devotion to Images, honouring of Saints, and praying to them, Masses for the dead, and various Popish Rites and Ceremonies were commended and confirmed; in this Book they spoke more dubiously and warily of, or rejected them. And as for *Purgatory*, which made one great Article in the former Book at the End of it, it is in this quite left out. And this that follows, is the good Conclusion of it; viz.

*Hist. Reform.*  
Vol I. *Addenda*,  
p. 305.

‘Finally, it is much necessary, that all such Abuses as heretofore  
‘have been Complices concerning this Matter, be clearly put away.  
‘And that we therefore abstain from the Name of *Purgatory*; and  
‘no more dispute, or reason thereof: Under Colour of which, have  
‘been advanced many fond and great Abuses; to make Men believe,  
‘that through the Bishop of *Rome's* Pardons, Souls might clearly be  
‘delivered out of it, and released out of the Bondage of Sin, and  
‘that Masses said at *Scala Cali*, and other prescribed Places, fantasied  
‘by Men, did then in those Places more profit the Souls, than in  
‘another, &c. And also, that a prescribed Number of Prayers, sooner  
‘than others (tho' as devoutly said) should further their Petitions  
‘sooner: yea especially, if they were said before one Image more  
‘than another, which they fantasied. All these, and such like Abuses,  
‘be necessary utterly to be abolished, and extinguished.

This *Erudition* also began with an excellent Description of *Faith*, shewed at large, as an Introductory to a right Belief of the Articles of the Creed, that next follows. This Description the former Book hath not. These are some of the Differences between the Two Books. But yet one thing I must add concerning this last and best Book: that the reading of the Holy Scriptures is not permitted to the common People: and in that respect, the other Party had the Advantage of those that favoured the Gospel. But however, soon after, even this Year 1543. the large *English Bible* was printed with the King's Allowance. Note, this was that, called, *The King's Book*: wherein the Archbishop had a considerable Hand: spoken of in the *Memorials* of him.

*Cran. Mem.*  
p. 81.

And

A N N O

1543.

The Progress  
of Religion  
reformed.

And now after so many Years Struggles of the Gospel-Party, headed by Archbishop *Cranmer*, and the Lord *Crumwel*, while alive, Religion reformed had made a considerable Progress under this King; and who hereby had obtained an high Esteem and Love, among the best of his Subjects. A large Description and particular Account whereof, let a Learned and Knowing Man living in these very Times relate, in a Book written by him, under the Name of *Theodore Basil*, and as near as I can guess, this very Year. Which to give a Prospect of these Affairs, I think worthy the repeating.

The right Path-  
way unto Prayer;  
By Tho.  
Basil.

‘ I think there is no Realm throughout *Christendom*, that hath so many urgent and necessary Causes to give God Thanks, as we *English* Men have at this present. And to whom is it unknown, with how miserable Captivity, we have been detained and suppressed these many Hundred Years, under the usurped Power and grievous Tyranny of the Bishop of *Rome*? Who knoweth not, how greatly the Consciences of Christen Men were snarled, yea, and almost slain through the Decrees of that Bishop? How greatly was the Christian Liberty enclosed and stopt up; so that no Man could enjoy the Use of those Things, which the Word of God determined free, without his Licence and Dispensation? How were the singular Merits of Christ’s Death, and the inestimable Price of his most precious Blood annihilated, and set at nought; and the Bishop of *Rome*’s Pardons trusted unto, and perfect Affiance reposed in them, for Remission of Sins, and eternal Salvation? What a Sort of hypocritical and superstitious Works crept in throughout *Christendom* only; which only were believed to be the alone good Works. And the true good Works, which are commanded of God in the Holy Scripture utterly neglected, dismissed and set at nought. Who thought it not a more meritorious Act to gild an Image, than to cloath a poor naked Man? Who thought it not a better Deed to run gadding a Pilgrimage into divers Countries, for to seek dead Images, than to tarry at Home, and to visit the poor Members of Christ; which laid bedrid, sick, lame, feeble and impotent?

‘ Again, what an infinite Number of *Monstures*, ( *Monks* I would have said ) and other Religious Persons, and *God will*, as they desire to be called, did there arise in this Kingdom? Who thought it not a better Deed to put his Child into an Abby, and there to live idle, swinishly and irreligiously, pampered up with all delicious Fare, that would provoke unto Lewdness, than to let him live abroad in the World; there to practise some honest Art and Occupation, that might turn to the Commodity, and Maintenance of the Common Weal? — Did we not think it rather our Duty to obey the proud Bishop of *Rome*, than our own native King? Did we not esteem his fantastical Decrees, above the Edicts, Laws and Acts of our own King? — Into what Perils would we not cast our selves, to do the *Romish* Bishop’s Pleasure, &c.

‘ Furthermore, what Ignorance and Blindness was in this Realm concerning the true and Christen Knowledge? How many favoured Christ aright? How many walked in the strait Path-way of God’s Ordinances? How many believed Christ to be alone Saviour? How many trusted to be saved only by the Merits of Christ’s Death,



‘ and the Effusion of his most precious Blood? How many ran to *A N N O*  
 ‘ God alone, either in their Prosperity or Adversity? How many *1543.*  
 ‘ amplexed Christ for their sufficient Mediator, and Advocate unto  
 ‘ God the Father? How many felt the Efficacy and Power of the true  
 ‘ and Christen Faith; whereby a Christen Man is freely justified? How  
 ‘ many did know what they professed at Baptism? How many had  
 ‘ knowledge what their *Pater Noster* meant; and wherefore they  
 ‘ prayed? How many did perfectly understand the Articles of the  
 ‘ Christen Faith? How many did know, what the Ceremonies of the  
 ‘ Church meant? As, holy Bread and holy Water, and such other?  
 ‘ How many heard the Evangelical Doctrine ever preached purely and  
 ‘ sincerely, &c. Meaning, how few there were of these.

‘ But now are these Enormities, yea, and Deformities of this Realm  
 ‘ of *England* utterly exiled and banished. All false Religion is extirped,  
 ‘ and plucked up by the Roots. The miserable Captivity, wherewith  
 ‘ we were oppressed in the Pope’s Kingdom, is turned into delectable  
 ‘ Liberty. Our Consciences are restored to their old Freedom. Christ’s  
 ‘ Death is believed to be a sufficient Sacrifice for them that are sancti-  
 ‘ fied. All Superstitious Fantasies, invented of idle Brains, are full  
 ‘ godly put down. The famous Images, wherewith the simple People  
 ‘ committed Fornication, I mean *Idolatry*, are justly plucked down,  
 ‘ and conveyed out of the way. All the Monastical Sects have put off  
 ‘ their Cowls, and Monstrous Garments. Our most Christen King is  
 ‘ now, according to the Verity of God’s Word, and his just and right  
 ‘ Title, recognized to be Supreme Head of the Church of *England*,  
 ‘ next under Christ, immediately here in Earth. Moreover, Ignorance  
 ‘ and Blindness is exiled and banished; God’s Laws are manifestly de-  
 ‘ clared unto us: So that we may, if we will, keep his most godly  
 ‘ Commandments. The most Sacred Bible is freely permitted to be  
 ‘ read of every Man in the *English* Tongue. Many favour Christ  
 ‘ aright; and daily the Number increaseth, thanks be to God. Christ  
 ‘ is believed to be the alone Saviour, &c. Christ is believed to be our  
 ‘ sufficient Mediator and Advocate. The true and Christen Faith,  
 ‘ which worketh by Charity, and is plenteous in good Works, is now  
 ‘ received to justify, &c. The Twelve Articles of the Christen Faith,  
 ‘ the Lord’s Prayer, called *The Pater Noster*, and the Ten Command-  
 ‘ ments, are now rehearsed in the *English* Tongue, both of young and  
 ‘ old; so that now all understand them. Many of the Ecclesiastical  
 ‘ Ceremonies are now right well taught and known. To conclude, all  
 ‘ old Things are past, and new Things entred into the same Place in-  
 ‘ stead of them.

And then the King is extolled for all these Privileges. ‘ All these  
 ‘ things God hath brought to pass by his dearly beloved Servant,  
 ‘ *HENRY* our King. Adding, (as suggesting, still more to be  
 ‘ done towards a complete Reformation) If his Grace go forth, as  
 ‘ he hath begun, he shall make such a flourishing Realm, both in Spi-  
 ‘ ritual and Corporal Goods, both for the Glory of God, and for the  
 ‘ Maintenance of his Grace’s publick Weal, as none may be able to  
 ‘ compare with this Realm of *England* throughout *Christendom*. And  
 ‘ as his most excellent Majesty shall easily overcome and excel in the  
 ‘ Exercise of true Godliness all his Predecessors, and leave a memo-  
 ‘ rable

A N N O

1543.

Processions to  
be said in the  
English  
Tongue.

Rigist. Ep.  
Bath and  
Wells.

Vol. I. B. III.  
Numb. 28.

‘ rable Aēt unto his Successors, most worthy to be followed : So like-  
‘ wise may his Grace be sure, that there is reposed and laid up in Store  
‘ for him in God’s Treasure House, the immacessible Crown of Glory,  
‘ &c. for his faithful Walking in the Divine Precepts, and setting forth  
‘ of God’s Glory.’ All this beforefaid Declaration had respect unto  
the late excellent Book, that came out by the King’s Authority, viz.  
*The Doctrine and Erudition of a Christian Man.*

Religion by this Time was so far advanced, as to the Reformation  
of it, that the Custom of having publick Prayers said in the *Latin*  
Tongue, was regulated ; and Processions and Prayers upon publick  
Occasions were commanded by the King’s special Order to be used in  
*English* hereafter, whereby the People, understanding what was said or  
sung, whether Exhortation or Prayers, might join therein, and might  
be edified and better instructed. Such an Order the King issued forth  
to the Archbishop ; by him to be sent to all the Bishops of his Province,  
with the Processions occasioned by the Wars and Commotions then in  
the World. The Copy of which, as it remains in the Register of  
the Bishop of *Bath and Wells*, was as follows, contracted. ‘ Being  
‘ resolved to have continually from henceforth general Processions in  
‘ all Cities, Townes, Churches and Parishes of this our Realm, said  
‘ and sung, with such Devotion and Reverence as appertaineth : For-  
: asmuch as heretofore the People, partly for lack of good Instruction  
‘ and calling on ; partly for that they understood no Piece of such  
‘ Prayers or Suffrages as were used to be sung and said ; have used to  
‘ come very slackly to the Processions, when the same have been com-  
‘ manded heretofore : W E have set forth certain godly Prayers or Suf-  
‘ frages in our Native Tongue. Which we send you herewith : signi-  
‘ fying unto you, that for the special Trust and Confidence we have of  
‘ your godly Mind, and earnest Desire to the setting forward the Glory  
‘ of God, and the true Worshipping of his most holy Name, within  
‘ that Province committed by us, unto you, &c.’ This is but a Con-  
traction of the King’s Mandate to the Archbishop. The whole may  
be found among the Collection of Records in the History of the Re-  
formation by Bishop *Burnet*. Therein signifying, ‘ How the King had  
‘ sent these Suffrages, not to be for a Month or two observed, &c. but  
‘ to the Intent, that as well the same, as other his Injunctions, might  
‘ be earnestly set forth by preaching, good Exhortations, and otherwise  
‘ to the People ; in such sort as they feeling the godly Tast thereof,  
‘ may godly and joyously, with Thanks, receive, embrace and frequent  
‘ the same.’ This was a further Step in the Reformation and Regu-  
lation of Abuses in Religion, in keeping God’s Service in an unknown  
Tongue.

As what the King had now done in Favour of Religion, gave a  
great Satisfaction and Joy to the Professors of the Gospel ; so it recon-  
ciled a mighty Love and Honour to himself, in the Hearts and Tongues  
of his Subjects.

2



## C H A P. II.

Leland his New-Years Gift to the King. John Loud ; William Morice ; Eminent Men. Some Account of them. Persecuted. Persecution at Court. Mrs. Anne Ascue, Martyr.

IN the Year 1545, *John Leyland*, or *Leland*, presented the King, for a New-Year's Gift, an Account of that memorable Commission he had granted him in the xxxvth Year of his Reign, which was in the Year of our Lord 1543, viz. to peruse and search all the Libraries of the Monasteries and Colleges throughout the whole Realm, that were then dissolved and broken up: that as much as might be, all antient Monuments of the Histories of this Land, and the Places, and eminent Persons of it, together with the Writings and Books of Learned Men, might be preserved: A Matter much redounding to that King's Honour and Renown; that he had such a Regard to Antiquity, and such a Care of rescuing remarkable *English* Events and Occurrences from Oblivion. But great Pity it was, and a most irreparable Loss, that notwithstanding this Provision, most of the antient MS. Histories and Writings of Learned *British* and *Saxon* Authors, were lost. Libraries were sold by mercenary Men for any thing they could get, in that Confusion and Devastation of Religious Houses. *Bale* the Antiquary, makes mention of a Merchant, that bought Two Noble Libraries about these Times for Forty Shillings: the Books whereof served him for no other Use but for waste Paper; and that he had been Ten Years consuming them, and yet there remained still Store enough for as many Years more. Vast Quantities and Numbers of these Books banished with the Monks and Friars from their Monasteries, were conveyed away, and carried beyond Seas to Book-sellers there, by whole Ship Ladings; and a great many more were used in Shops and Kitchens. But that the Reader may have some further Account of *Leland's* Commission, and what publick Fruit thereof was by him intended, I have transcribed his New-Year's Gift, and placed it in the *Appendix*.

*Leland's New-Years Gift to the King.*

*In his Edit. of Leland's laborious Journey.*

Numb. CXVIII.

*John Loud, a Learned and Pious Man. Foxij MSS.*

I will here subjoin the Mention of another Learned Man, and rescue his Memory, in Effect lost in Oblivion; who was of eminent Note in these latter Days of the King. His Name was *John Loud*, bred up in *Wickham's* College near *Winchester*, a Man of polite Learning, and a Contemporary and Companion of *John Philpot* the Martyr, and others of the godly Learned in those Times. He was a Member of *Benet College*, and after removed thence to the Inns of Court. And in both Places had the Care and Inspection over Mr. *Southwel*, afterwards Sir *Richard Southwel*, a Privy Counsellor, if I mistake not, to King *Henry*, King *Edward*, and Queen *Mary*. Under which last, he proved a bitter Persecutor of the Gospellers. But while he was under *Loud's* Tuition, he stood very well affected to Religion. This *Loud*, his Tutor, he entertained with great Respect in his House, in the *Char-*

*Sir Richard Southwel, his Pupil.*

*A N N O* ter-House, London; where he was also Tutor to his Son, and taught him *Latin*, and the Laws, Civil and Municipal Sir Richard would say of him, *He will make my Boy like himself, too good a Latinist, and too great an Heretick.* He was at the Burning of Mrs. *Anne Ascue*; Where, upon Occasion of a sweet Dew falling from Heaven just before Fire was set to her, accompanied with a gentle Crack, heard, as tho' it had been such a Thunder, as is spoken of in the Gospel, that seemed to the People to be the Voice of God, or the Voice of an Angel: this Man strangely as it were inspired thereat, went presently to divers Lords of the Council sitting by, to see the Execution, and with a loud Voice said to them, *I ask Vengeance of you all, that do thus burn a Member of Christ.* Whereat one struck at him with all his Might, but he escaped and went Home to the *Charter House*.

*William Morice*  
of *Ongar*, a  
Prisoner for  
Religion.

At this Time was detained Prisoner here with Sir *Richard Southwel*, a Person of good Quality, named *William Morice*, committed thither by the Council for Suspicion of Heresy. This Man lived at *Chipping Ongar* in *Essex*, and had the Lordship thereof. He was first Gentleman Usher to the Learned Mr. *Pace*, the King's Secretary and Ambassador Abroad to *Rome* and *Venice*, and afterwards was preferred to be Gentleman Usher to King *Henry* himself. The Lord *Rich* and others would the rather have brought about his Burning, out of the Desire they had of enjoying his fair Manor. But God delivered him and brought him to Honour in King *Edward's* Days. He was Father to Archbishop *Cranmer's* Secretary, *Ralph Morice*. To this Gentleman thus lying in Prison, would *Loud* frequently resort privately, and lay with him anights, leaving his own Silk and soft Bed, to converse with him about Religion, and to hear what Answers he intended to make to the Council concerning his Persuasions in Religion.

*Loud* narrowly  
escapes Im-  
prisonment  
for his  
Religion.

*Loud* while he lived with Sir *Richard Southwel*, was a Member of *Lincolns Inn*; and Orders having been sent, as it seems, to the Inns of Court, to search for such of their Members as favoured Religion, and imprison them, he was vehemently suspected. And that, because Mr. *Allington* (one I suppose taken for the same Cause) had confessed that he had discoursed with him about the meaning of *Hoc est Corpus meum*. Whereupon Mr. *Foster*, Mr. *Roper*, and Mr. *Griffin*, Benchers of that House, repaired to Sir *Richard Southwel's*, to lay up *Loud* upon Suspicion: But before they did it, asking his Leave, because he was of his Family. *Southwel* (though then a Friend to his Tutor, rather than to the Religion) told them, that he knew no such thing by him, but that he was a quiet Man in his House, and had well served his turn: yet bad them do what they would. But by these Means he then escaped.

This Man was first brought into a Dislike of the *Roman* Religion, while he was a Scholar at *Winchester*, by reading *Frith's* Book of *Purgatory*; which *Thomas Harding*, (who was afterwards Chaplain to *Grey*, Marquess of *Dorset*) delivered him to peruse for two Days only. But liking it so well, he begged his leave to keep it for Three and twenty. This Man was alive in the Year 1579, when he wrote a Letter to Mr. *Fox* his old Acquaintance; encouraging him to go on with further Enlargements of his Books of the *Acts* and *Monuments* and at the same Time supplied him with divers well-attested Stories



to be added to his Book, in case he should think fit to publish another *A N N O* Edition.

1545.

Persecution at Court.

The Persecution, by Means of Bishop *Gardiner*, with whom sided the old Duke of *Norfolk*, *Wriothesley* Lord Chancellor, and Sir *Richard Rich*, and some more, in this, and in the Year 1546. being the last Year of the King, grew exceeding hot; and that in the very Court itself. For there being many both Men and Women there that stood well affected to Religion, it was thought expedient for a Terror to the rest to begin with them. Of the Women was no less than the Queen her self, *Katharine Par*, of whose great Danger for her Religion, *Fox* hath made a Relation: To whom I add the Dutches of *Suffolk*, the Relict of *Brandon*, Duke of *Suffolk*; the Countess of *Suffex*; the Countess of *Hertford*; the Lady *Denny*; the Lady *Fitz Williams*; and among the rest, Mrs *Anne Ascue* or *Ascough*, Sister to Sir *Francis Ascough*, and to Mrs. *Disney* of *Norton Disney* in *Lincolnshire*. Which *Anne Ascue*, was taken up and put to Death. Of the Gentlemen of the Court were taken up divers, and particularly Mr. *Morice* before mentioned, Sir *George Blag*, Mr. *Lascel*, and others; the last of which suffered with Mrs *Ascue*. Of her and *Lascel* I shall say somewhat: and the rather, because not mentioned by *Fox*.

This good Gentlewoman being a Person of great Quickness and Learning, as well as Religion, somewhat before her Imprisonment lodged at an House over against the *Temple*. A great Papist of *Wickham* College, called *Wadloe*, a Curstitor of the *Chancery*, hot in his Religion, and thinking not well of her Life, got himself lodged hard by her at the next House. For what Purpose, saith my Author, I need not open to the wise Reader. But the Conclusion was, that when he came to speak evil of her, he gave her the Praise to Sir *Lionel Throgmorton*, for the devoutest and godliest Woman that ever he knew. For, said he, at Midnight she beginneth to pray, and ceaseth not in many Hours after, when I and others appyed our Sleep, or to work.

A few Notes of Mrs. *Ascue*.

*Foxij MSS.*

My Lord Maior, Sir *Mart. Bowes*, sitting with the Council, as most meet for his Wisdom, and seeing her standing upon Life and Death, I pray you, quoth he, my Lords, give me Leave to talk with this Woman. Leave was granted. Lord Maior. Thou foolish Woman, sayest thou, that the Priests cannot make the Body of Christ? *A. Ascough*. I say so, my Lord. For I have read, that God made Man, but that Man can make God, I never yet read: nor I suppose ever shall read it. Lord Maior. No, thou foolish Woman? After the Words of Consecration, is it not the Lord's Body? *A. Ascough*. No, it is but consecrated Bread, or Sacramental Bread. Lord Maior. What if a Mouse eat it after the Consecration? What shall become of the Mouse? What sayest thou, thou foolish Woman? *A. Ascough*. What shall become of her, say you, my Lord? Lord Maior. I say, that that Mouse is damned. *A. Ascough*. Alack poor Mouse! By this Time, my Lords heard enough of my Lord Maior's Divinity; and perceiving that some could not keep in their laughing, proceeded to the Butchery and Slaughter that they intended afore they came thither.

Her First Examination.

A N N O

1545.

*Loud's Testi-  
mony of her,  
and Lascel's.*

*John 12. 27.*

' I being alive, continues my Author, *John Loud*, mentioned above, must needs confess of her now departed to the Lord, that the Day afore her Execution, and the same Day also, she had an Angel's Countenance, and a smiling Face. For I was with *Lascel's*, Sir *George Blagge*, and the other, [*viz. Belenian* a Priest then burnt,] and with me Three of the *Throkmortons*, Sir *Nicolas* being one, and Mr. *Kellum* the other. By the same Token, that one unknown to me said, Ye are all marked that come to them. Take Heed to your Lives. Mr. *Lascel's*, a Gentleman of a right worshipful House of *Gatford* in *Nottinghamshire*, nigh *Worsop*, mounted up unto the Window of the little Parlour by *Newgate*, and there sat, and by him, Sir *George*. Mr. *Lascel's* was merry and chearful in the Lord, coming from hearing of Sentence of his Condemnation, and said these Words, My Lord Bishop would have me confess the *Roman Church* to be the Catholick Church; but that I cannot, for it is not true. When the Hour of Darknes came, and their Execution; Mrs. *Anne Ascue* was so racked, that she could not stand, but was holden up between two Sergeants, sitting there in a Chair. And after the Sermon was ended, they put Fire to the Reeds; the Council looking on, and leaning in a Window by the Spittle, and among them Sir *Richard Southwel*, [the Master of the Writer hereof.] And afore God, at the first putting to of the Fire, there fell a little Dew, or a few pleasant Drops upon us that stood by, and a pleasant cracking from Heaven, God knows whether I may truly term it a Thunder-crack, as the People did in the Gospel, or an Angel, or rather God's own Voice. But to leave every Man to his own Judgment, methought it seemed rather, that the Angels in Heaven rejoyced to receive their Souls into Bliss, whose Bodies then Popish Tormentors cast into the Fire, as not worthy to live any longer among such Hell-hounds.

## C H A P. LII.

*The Death of King Henry. Beloved by his People. His Character. And the Temper of his People.*

A N N O

1539.

*King Henry  
prevented in  
some good  
Designs by  
Death.*

THINGS went on in this Rate in the Church and University, unto the latter End of King *Henry's* Reign; and the Popish Bishops and Clergy carried the great Stroke; the King either thinking that he had sufficiently purged the Church already, or upon political Ends, judging it now not convenient, or, for his Wars, not being at Leisure, to proceed any further, in taking away the rest of the Corruptions that remained; till the very last Year of his Life, when he made some new Attempts, in Confederacy with the *French King*, but was



was prevented by Death, after he had entred Six Days into the Month of *January*; when he gave up his dying Breath.

For some little Illustration of this, it may not be unworthy knowing, that when the Lady *Mary*, soon after the King's Death, had writ to the Duke of *Somerset* the Protector, blaming his Proceedings in the reforming of Religion, as being against her late Father's Will; and that there was a godly Order and Quietness left by him in the Realm, at the Time of his Death: The Duke in his Answer told her, 'What Trouble the King had with the Papists or *Romanists*, what Outrages they were guilty of against his noble Person, only for God's Cause; and how some of them, as well within the Realm as without, conspired oftentimes his Death, which he said, was manifestly proved, to the Confusion, of some their privy Assistants. That his Grace dyed before he had fully finished such Orders as he was minded to have established, if Death had not prevented him. That no kind of Religion was perfected at his Death, but that he left all uncertain. That he [the Duke] and others could witness, what Regret and Sorrow, the King had, when he saw he must depart, for that he knew Religion was not established as he purposed to have done: And that a great many knew and could testify what he would further have done in it, had he lived.' He that would see more of this pious Design of the King, may consult Mr. *Foxe's Monuments*.

This King notwithstanding his rigorous Government, and his round Dealing with many, to the taking away of their Lives, lived and died highly beloved of his Subjects; whatever were the Reasons of it. Whether it were some of those Princely Qualities and excellent Accomplishments, that he was endued with, or the suppressing the Ecclesiastical Power, which was so oppressive of the People. For an Instance of the Affections of his Subjects to him: when about the Year 1544. He warred with *France*, and sent into the Counties for Supplies of Soldiers; it was obeyed with all the Chearfulness imaginable. One who wrote about this Time, a Divine in *Kent*, gives this Account of the Behaviour of the Men of that County. 'When the King's Letters were delivered unto certain Gentlemen there, for the preparing of certain People apt for the Wars, how expeditly was his Grace's Pleasure accomplished in every Condition? The Gentlemen, all other Businesses laid aside, immediately provided their before appointed Number of Men; Arraying them with decent Martial Armour. So that nothing wanted, but all things set at such a Stay, that they, receiving Premonition of very little time, were ready at all Houres to bring forth their Men apt and ready for the Wars. The Men which were Prest to go unto the Wars, it was almost incredible to see and perceive, what Alacrity and quickness of Spirit was in them. They seemed to be so desirous to defend their Country, that they in a Manner neglected their Domestical Travails, their private Business; not much esteemed their dear Wives, and sweet Children; no, nor yet their own Lives, so that they might in any point, do good to the publick Weal of *England*.

The same Year, 1544. a Benevolence was given to the King, for the carrying on of this expensive War; a MS. whereof I have seen, shewing what each County gave. And I find that *Kent* gave more than

1546.

Which was the Reformation of Religion.

*Faustina* c. 2. transcribed into the Hist. Ret. Vol. III. Coll. p. 115.

Acts and Mon. p. 1134.

Beloved by his People.

Becon in his Pref. to his Policy of War.

A Benevolence given to the King.

*A N N O* 1546. *U* than any one County in *England*, except the large County of *Somerset*, which exceeded *Kent* in Three or Four Hundred Pounds. The Sum that County gave was 6000 Pounds, and almost 500, (besides the City of *Canterbury*, which gave near 2000 *l.* more.) Which County I suppose was so extraordinary liberal, shewing so much Love and good Affection to their King, being swayed by the Influence and Counsil of their good Archbishop of *Canterbury*. The whole Benevolence amounted unto Seventy Thousand Seven Hundred Twenty Three Pounds and upwards; the City of *London*, the Counties of *York*, *Northumberland*, *Westmoreland*, *Durham*, not mentioned. What each County gave, if any be minded to know, let him consult the *Appendix*.

Numb.  
CXIX.

A Character  
of the King.

The aforementioned Author gives this great Character of the King, relating to his Care of the Nation. ‘ For all things that conserve and ‘ keep this Realm of *England* safe, and free from the Invasion and ‘ Danger of our Enemies, what Kingdom in the World is to be compared to this *English* Empire. How hath our most Puissant and redoubted King, fortified his most flourishing Monarchy, Empire and Kingdom, with all things that any Man can invent, for the ‘ prosperous Conservation of a Common Weal. Never was there ‘ Prince, that took like Pains for the Safeguard of his Communalty. ‘ Never was there Father, that so greatly watched for the Health of ‘ his Son, as he doth for ours. Too much ingrate, unthankful and ‘ ungentle is he, that doth not agnize and knowledge the unmeasurable Kindness of this most excellent Prince. If this Title, *Pater Patriæ*, might lawfully at any Time be ascribed unto any temporal ‘ Ruler, Certes, to our most victorious Prince it is most of all due and ‘ convenient. For he is a very right and true Father of this our ‘ Countrey of *England*; as his most godly Actions, and virtuous ‘ Enterprizes do manifestly shew every Day more and more. And ‘ quoting that Passage of *Augustus* the Emperor, *Romani Lateriviam accepi, marmoream relinquo*, he addeth, How much more justly may ‘ our most bounteous King say, *I took England, made of Tiles, but I leave it of Marble*.

A further  
Character of  
of him.  
Udal in Pref.  
to *Erasm.*  
*Par.*

Another about this Time, a Learned Man, and Prebendary of *Wind-  
sor*, thus spake of this King. ‘ King *Henry VIII.* besides his Felicity ‘ and lucky Fortune in all his most Royal Enterprizes, as well by martial Chivalry, as also in Politick Governance; besides his manifold ‘ Conquests and Victories in *France*, *Scotland*, *Ireland*, and elsewhere; ‘ Besides his inestimable high Triumphs, Voyages, and Acts done ‘ both at Home and beyond the Seas; besides his exceeding great and ‘ manifold Buildings, Palaces, Honours, Manors, Castles, Fortresses, ‘ Holds, Block-Houses, Havens, as well for the Strength and Safe- ‘ guard of his Realms and Dominions, as for the Commodity of ‘ Friends arriving, and the Annoyance of the Enemies; beside the ‘ Defence and Maintenance of all his Ports, and narrow Seas with ‘ Carikes, Barks, Hulks, Ships Gallies, and many other high and ‘ sumptuous Devices of Shipwright; beside the abundant furnishing ‘ of all and singular the Premises, with all Kind of Ordnance, Artillery, and other requisite Provisions; beside his founding, edifying ‘ and erecting of an incredible Number of Bishops Sees, Cathedrals, Colleges,



Colleges, Lectures, Schools, and other Colleges for Students in  
 both Universities, and so sumptuous endowing every of them with  
 Lands, Possessions, Jewels, Ornaments, and all requisite Furniture,  
 so much and so large, as every one of the Premisses particularly  
 might be judged an Act sufficient in a King's Time to be done:  
 Besides his most vigilant and careful Study about the enacting of a  
 great Volume of right wholesome Statutes and Laws, for the Com-  
 modity and Behoof of the Publick Weal of *England*, and his other  
 Dominions; and among these his uncessant Endeavours about a Re-  
 formation in Religion; and therein as a thing most necessary for  
 all Common Weals, tending to Christ's Glory, the extirping and  
 abolishing of the detestable Usurpations of the Papacy of *Rome*,  
 the Rooting up all Sects of Cloisterers, of all counterfeit Religion,  
 and of Idolatry, together with the setting forth of the Scripture  
 in the vulgar *English* Tongue: Beside all these Premisses, and his  
 other Acts, &c. King *Henry* was a Prince of singular Prudence,  
 of passing stout Courage, of Magnanimity incomparable, of in-  
 vincible Fortitude, of notable Activity, of Dexterity wonderful.  
 He was a continual welling Fountain of Eloquence, a very rare  
 Spectacle of Humanity. Of Civility, or good Nourture an abso-  
 lute Precedent; a special Pattern of Clemency and Moderation; a  
 worthy Example of Regal Justice; a bottomless Spring of Largess  
 and Benignity. He was in all the Arts and Faculties profoundly  
 seen; in all Liberal Disciplines equal with the chiefest; in no Kind  
 of Literature unexpert. He was to the World an Ornament, to  
 his Countrey a Treasure, to his Friends a Comfort, to his Enemies  
 a Terror; to his faithful and loving Subjects a tender Father, to  
 Innocents a sure Protector, to wilful Malefactors a sharp Scourge,  
 to his Common Weal and good People a quiet Haven, and Anchor  
 of Safeguard, &c. A Man he was, in all Gifts of Nature, of For-  
 tune and of Grace, peerless; and shortly to break off in a Matter  
 of it self infinite, a Man above all Praises. This Quality I observe  
 in the Favourers of the Reformation in those Days, that tho' this  
 King were very hard upon them, and would not be brought to coun-  
 tenance them in many things, yet they were wont to give high *En-*  
*comiums* of him upon all Occasions. Which is a Token, that it was  
 not all Flattery which they spake, but Truth in a great Measure.

To all that hath been said of him, I add, that it must ever redound  
 unto the Honour of his Memory, that bold and venturesome Act of  
 his, in so bravely casting off the long usurped Power of the Pope in  
 these Realms. Which so enraged that Bishop, that he excommuni-  
 cated him, and set all the Princes of *Christendom* upon him. And  
 how mortally the King was hated in *Italy*, and railed at in all Societies  
 in those Parts, we have the Testimony of Mr. *Pole*, (afterwards Car-  
 dinal) as he told the King plainly in a Letter he wrote to him, about  
 1537, from those Parts. *viz.* 'That though he were often in Company  
 with all Sorts of People, he never heard one, (and he swore *Afore*  
*God* to the Truth of it) either praised his Actions or allowed them.  
 And that further, when he would take the King's Part, and speak  
 in Favour of what he did, he was in Jeopardy of his Life, incited,

Hated mor-  
tally in *Italy*.

A N N O ‘ as he plainly told the King, by the Injustice they judged of his  
1546. ‘ Doings.

The Condi-  
tion of the  
Laity.

The Rich  
Covetous.  
Becon in his  
Jewel of Joy.

As we have given some Character of the King, so here shall follow another of the People. Of whom take this Account, as it seems they were about the latter End of the King's Reign. Both the Gentry and the Clergy grew extreme Covetous. As for the Lay-fort, they fell to raising their old Rents, turned their Arable into Pasture, for grazing Sheep, and enclosed Commons, to the great Oppression of the Poor. This may be best understood by reading what one writes who lived in those Days. ‘ How do the rich Men, and especially such as be Sheepmongers, oppress the King's Liege People, by devouring their common Pastures with their Sheep. So that the poor People are not able to keep a Cow for the Comfort of them and of their poor Familyes, but are like to starve and perish for Hunger, if there be not Provisions made shortly. What Sheep-ground escapeth these Caterpillars of the Common Weal. How swarm they with abundance of Flocks of Sheep; and yet when was Wool ever so Dear, or Mutton of so great Price? If these Sheepmongers go forth as they begin, the People shall both miserably die for Cold, and wretchedly perish for Hunger. For these greedy Wolves, and cumbersome Cormorants, will either sell their Wool and their Sheep at their own Price, or else they will sell none. O! what a Diversity is this in the Sale of Wools? A Stone of Wool sometime to be sold at Eight Groats, and now for Eight Shillings; and so likewise of the Sheep. God have mercy on us. And a little after. ‘ Rich Men were never so much estranged from all Pity and Compassion towards the poor People, as they be at this present Time. They devour the People as it were a Morsel of Bread. If any piece of Ground delight their Eye, they must needs have it, other by hook or by crook. If the poor Man will not satisfy their covetous Desires, he is sure to be molested, troubled and disquieted on such Sort, that whether he will or not, (though both he, the careful Wife, and miserable Children, with the whole Family, perish for Hunger) he shall forgo it, or else it were as good for him to live among the Furies of Hell, as to dwell by those rich Carles, and covetous Churles.

Depopulate  
Towns.

There was another Evil these rich Men were guilty of; namely, of depopulating Towns, by letting Houses and Cottages fall down to the Ground, or pulling them down. They got many Houses and Tenements into their Hands, yea, whole Townships sometimes; and then they would suffer them to go to utter Decay and Ruin. By which Means whole Towns became desolate, and like to a Wilderness, no Man dwelling there, except it were a Shepherd and his Dog. Inasmuch that the before mentioned Author said, ‘ That he himself knew many Towns and Villages fore decayed: so that whereas in times past, there were in some Towns an Hundred Households, now there remained not Thirty; in some Fifty, there were not then Ten; yea, which was more to be lamented, some Towns so wholly decayed, that there was neither Stick nor Stone standing, as they use to say. Where many Men had good Livings, and maintained Hospitality; able at all Times to help the King in his Wars, and to sustain other Charges; able also to help their poor Neighbours, and vertuously to bring



‘ bring up their Children in godly Letters and good Sciences, now *A N N O*  
 ‘ Sheep and Conies devour altogether, no Man inhabiting the foresaid *1546:*  
 ‘ Places. So that, he addeth, those Beasts which were bred of God  
 ‘ for the Nourishment of Man, do now devour Man. And since  
 ‘ Gentlemen began to be Sheep-Masters, and Feeders of Cattel, the  
 ‘ Poor had neither Victual nor Cloth at any reasonable Price: For  
 ‘ these Forestallers of the Market had gotten all things so into their  
 ‘ Hands, that the poor Men must either buy it at their Price, or else  
 ‘ miserably starve for Hunger, and die for Cold. They abhorred the  
 ‘ Names of Monks, Friars, Canons, Nuns, &c. But their Goods  
 ‘ they greedily griped. And yet where the Cloisters kept Hospita-  
 ‘ lity, let out their Farmes at a reasonable Price, nourished Schools,  
 ‘ brought up Youth in good Letters, they did none of all these Things.  
 ‘ They lightly esteemed, and in a Manner contemned the Priests, Par-  
 ‘ sons, Vicars, Prebendaries, &c. yet their Possessions they gladly  
 ‘ embraced, and niggardly retained. So that now they were be-  
 ‘ come in Effect, saith he, tho’ not in Name, very Monks, Friars,  
 ‘ Canons, Priests, Parsons, Vicars, Prebendaries, and at the last,  
 ‘ what not? And yet how vainly those Goods be spent, who seeth  
 ‘ not?

As for the Spiritual Men, they affected mightily courtly living, *The Condition*  
 and taking their Pleasure. Little Residence upon their Benefices, and *of the Clergy:*  
 less Hospitality. ‘ God commandeth, saith the same Author, Tythes  
 ‘ to be paid. But for what Cause? That the Ministers should spend  
 ‘ them in the Court, or at the University, or about whoring, or in  
 ‘ keeping of Hawks or Dogs, or in maintaining a Sort of idle, valiant  
 ‘ Lubbers, and do nothing but consume the good Fruits of the Earth?  
 ‘ Nay, verily, but that there should be Meat in his House. For the  
 Parsonage, or Vicarage, is God’s House. The vast Number of Priests  
 made them contemptible. For there were Mass-Priests, *Dirige*-Priests,  
 Chantry-Priests, Sacrificing-Priests, as the Author of the *Defence* *Def: of Priests*  
 of Priests Marriage reckons them up, and tells us, that *Pighius* *Mar. p. 24.*  
 in his Book of *Controversies*, complaining of the Contempt of Priests,  
 attributes the same to the great Swarm and Multitude of them, over  
 many. The great Neglect of their Parishes added also to their Disre-  
 pute. For they made them only serve as Means to accumulate Wealth  
 to themselves, without any Conscience to discharge their Duties there.  
 For they for the most Part followed divers Trades and Occupations *Follow Sect-*  
 Secular: Some were Surveyors of Lands, some Receivers, some Stew- *lar Eustacks:*  
 ards, some Clerks of the Kitchen, many Gardiners, and Orchard-  
 Makers. And commonly this was the Trade, the better Benefice, and  
 the Cure the more, the seldomer was the Parson or Vicar Resident at  
 Home. If they wanted now and then Sermons to be preached in  
 their Churches, they got Friars to do it for them. Or as the Author  
 above mentioned expressed it, ‘ If any of them thought for Man-  
 ‘ ner’s Sake to have some Sermons in their Cures, they had Friars at *p. 25.*  
 ‘ their Hand ready to supply such Parts at their Pleasure.

A N N O

1546.

## C H A P. LIII.

*A notable Book came forth, called, A Supplication of the poor Commons to the King; shewing the late State of the Kingdom. The King's Care for the Education of his Children in Learning. Praises of the King. Leagues, Conventions, &c. in this King's Reign.*

A Supplication of the poor Commons.

**T**HIS Year came forth a little Book, called, *A Supplication of the poor Commons*; addrest to the King: Whereunto was added, another Book called, *The Supplication of Beggars*, printed Anno 1524. which Book is preserved in *Foxe's Acts and Monuments*. This *Supplication* is a notable Piece: Shewing the State of the Kingdom in those latter Years of King *Henry's* Reign; and representing the Condition of the various Ranks of the Subjects, the Usurpations of Priests, the Hardships of the Poor, Oppressions of the richer Sort, their Covetousness; the Stop made to the Progress of Religion: Which occasioned the Complaints of the Commons to the King for Redress of these Things. And it gives such a Light into the Affairs of those Days, that a better History can scarce be given thereof, being writ in those very Times: And since it is a Piece hardly to be met withal, I shall give here some Periods of it.

It was prefaced, 'To the most Victorious Prince *HENRY VIII.* by the Grace of God, King of *England, France and Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, and Supreme Head of the Church of *England and Ireland*, immediately next unto God: His humble and most faithful Subjects of the Realm of *England*, with Life Everlasting.

Their Poverty:

Beginning, 'Piteously complaining the poor *Commons* of this your Majesty's Realm; greatly lamenting their own miserable Poverty: and yet much more the most lamentable and more than wretched Estate of their Children and Posterity, &c. Not many Years tofore your Highness poor Subjects, the lame and impotent Creatures of this Realm, presented your Highness with a pitiful and lamentable Complaint; imputing the Head and chief Cause of their Penury and lack of Relief, unto the great and infinite Number of valiant and sturdy Beggars, which had by their subtil and crafty Demeanour, and begging, got into their Hands, more than the third Part of the yearly Revenues and Possessions of this your Highness Realm. Whereupon, as it seemed, your Highness, seeking a Redress and Reformation of these great and intolerable Enormities, as a merciful Father of your natural Country, moved with Pity, towards the miserable and pitiful Number of blind, lame, Lazars and others, the impotent Creatures of this your Realm, hath, with most earnest Diligence, supplanted, and as it were, weeded out a great Number of valiant and sturdy Monks, Friars, Chanons, Heremits and Nuns; disguised Hypocrites, who under the Name of the Contempt of this World, wallowed in the Sea of this World's Wealth. And to the Intent your loving and obedient Subjects might the better be able to relieve the needy and impotent Creatures, you took from them the

Sturdy Beggars: Viz the Monks.

great



great Number of gilted [gilded] Beggars, [Images of Saints.] *A N N O*  
 Holiness was so fast rooted in the Harts of us, your poor Com- *1546.*  
 mons, through the false Delusion of the foresaid sturdy and valiant  
 Beggars, that we would not stick to go an Hundred Miles of our  
 bare Feet, to seek one of them. That we might not only bestow  
 our Almes upon them, but also do them Reverence and Honour,  
 none otherwise than if they had been very Gods.

Yea, when your Highness had ordained, that all these foresaid  
 Beggars should be utterly abolished, never to deceive us of our  
 Almes any more; we like Mens always brought up in foolish Su-  
 perstition of these false *Pharisees*, and flattering Hypocrites, knew  
 not the Obedience that we owe to you, our natural and rightful  
 Prince: But incontinent fell in an Uproar; crying [up] our Holy-  
 Days, Abbies and Pilgrimages: None otherwise than the *Ephefians*  
 did against the Elect Vessel of God, *St. Paul*, when he said, *They*  
*are not Gods which be made with Hands*: And as the *Jews* did  
 against holy *Stephen*, when he said, *That God dwelleth not in a*  
*House made with Hands*. Yea, had not God wrought on your  
 Part, in appeasing that sturdy Throng, this Realm had even then  
 been like to have been utterly decayed. For even those, whom your  
 Highness had called together, to assist you in that dangerous Time,  
 were for the most Part so bent to the Opinion of the other, that many  
 would not stick to say, *When we shall come to the Battel, we know*  
*what we have to do*.

They, the Commons then promised him for certain, that they  
 walking in the Fear of the Lord, would not from henceforth, so  
 long as the Knowledge of God's Word reigned, attempt any such so  
 devilish Enterprize, as to rebel against his Highness, their most na-  
 tural Sovereign and Liege Lord; either for their Fathers Popish Tra-  
 ditions, or other their own fantastical Dreams, &c.

The Remnant of the sturdy Beggars not yet weeded out, did  
 daily in their Writings, Counsils and Preaching, stir us thereunto,  
 [Viz. Rebellion.] For what mean they in their Sermons, when they  
 lament the great Discords and miserable State of this our Time;  
 wishing, that all Things were now as it was xx Years since; but  
 that they would have a Pope, Pardons, lighting of Candles to Ima-  
 ges, Knocking and Kneeling to them, with running hither and  
 thither on Pilgrimage? *Sermons of Priests.*

They tell us, that Vice, Uncharitableness, Lack of Mercy, Di-  
 versity of Opinions, and other like Enormities, have reigned, ever  
 since Men had the Scripture in *English*. And what is this other,  
 than to cause Men's Consciences to abhor the same, as the only Cause  
 and Original of all this? They say, it sufficeth a Lay-Man to be-  
 lieve as they teach; and not to meddle with the Interpretation of the  
 Scripture. And what meaneth that, but that they would have us  
 so blind again as we were, when we would have fought against our  
 Natural Prince, for the Maintenance of their Popish Traditions and  
 Purgatory Patrimony? They cannot abide this Name, the *Word of*  
*God*; but they would have Scriptures called, the *Commandments*  
*of God*. They have procured a Law, that none shall be so hardy  
 to have the Scripture in his House, unless he may spend 10*l.* by  
*Bible in English disliked.*

A N N O  
1546.

Year. And what meaneth this, but that they would famish the Souls of the Residue, withholding their Food from them? We appeal to your Highness's Judgment in this Behalf, whether this would be indifferent, or no; if none should be allowed Meat in your Highness's House, but such as were cloathed in Velvet, with Chains of Gold about their Necks? What Servants would your Majesty have shortly? What Starvelings would your Servants be of all other? For no Man within your Realm may refuse to do you Service. Hath God put immortal Souls in none other, but such as be Possessioners of this World? Did not Christ send Word to *John the Baptist*, that *the Poor received the Gospel*? — Why do these Men disable them from reading of the Scriptures, that are not endued with the Possessions of this World? Undoubtedly, most Gracious Sovereign, because they are the very same that shut up the Kingdom of Heaven before Men. They enter not in themselves: nor suffer they them to enter, that would. They are like to a Curr Dog lying in a Cock of Hay: for he will eat none of the Hay himself, nor suffer any other Beast that comes to eat thereof.

But some will probably say, they were not all sturdy Beggars, that were in the Parliament, when this Law was established. For many of them, and the most Part, were Secular Men; and not of such Ability, that this Law would permit them to have the Scripture in their Houses. Wherefore this Law is indifferent, and taketh not the Word of God from us. But we with our full Consent, have committed it to them in that said Law limited. Whereunto we answer, that if we have given it over from us to the Possessioners of this World, we may well be likened to the *Gedarites*, *Mark V.* Which desired Christ to depart from their Countrey; and the lurking Night-Birds, which cannot abide the Brightness of the Sun. — If we have rejected this merciful Proffer of our most merciful Father, (to have the Scriptures, the Declaration of God's Will) when he used your Highness, as his Instrument to publish and set forth his most lively Word; let us fall down prostrate with Repentance of this Contempt of his merciful Gift: most humbly beseeching him to behold the Dolours of our Hearts, and to forget our Obstinacy therein; giving your Highness such Desire of our Salvation; and that you will as favourably restore unto us the Scripture in our *English* Tongue, as you did at the First Translation thereof set it abroad. Let not the Adversary take Occasion to say, the Bible was of a Traytor's setting forth, and not of your Highness own Doing. For so they report, that *Thomas Crumwel*, late Earl of *Essex*, was the chief Doer, and not your Highness, but as led by him.

*Tho. Crumwel.*

A Bible to be  
in every Pa-  
rish Church.

When your Highness gave Commandment, that they (the Bishops and Clergy) should see, that there were in every Parish Church one Bible at the least, set at Liberty: So that every Man might freely come to it, and read therein such things as should be for his Consolation; many of this wicked Generation, as well Priests as others, their faithful Adherents, would pluck it, other into the Quire; other else into some Pew; where poor Men durst not presume to come; yea, there is no small Number of Churches, that hath no Bible at all. And yet not sufficed with the withholding it from the

‘Poor



‘ Poor of their own Parishes, they never rested till they had a Com-  
 ‘ mandment from your Highness, that no Man, of what Degree soever  
 ‘ he were, should read the Bible in the Time of God’s Service, as  
 ‘ they call it. As tho’ the hearing of their *Latin* Lies, and conjuring  
 ‘ of Water and Salt, were rather the Service of God, than the Study  
 ‘ of his most Holy Word. This was their Diligence in setting forth  
 ‘ the Bible at your Highness Commandment. But when your High-  
 ‘ ness had devised a Proclamation, for the burning of certain Transla-  
 ‘ tions of the New Testament, they were so bold to burn the whole  
 ‘ Bible, because they were of those Men’s [ *Tyndal, Coverdale, &c.* ]  
 ‘ Translation ; [ And not the New Testament only. ]

Some Tran-  
 slations to be  
 burnt.

‘ We heard say, that they proffered your Highness, that if you  
 ‘ would please to call in the Bible again, soasmuch as it was not faith-  
 ‘ fully translated in all Parts, they would oversee it ; and within Seven  
 ‘ Years, set it forth again — Your Bishops, most victorious Prince,  
 ‘ if they might have gotten in the Bible for Seven Years, they would  
 ‘ have trusted, that by that Time, either your Highness should have  
 ‘ been dead, or the Bible forgotten : or else they themselves out of your  
 ‘ Highness Reach ; So that you should not have had like Power over  
 ‘ them, as you have now.

Some offer to  
 translate the  
 Bible again  
 within Seven  
 Years.

‘ When your Majesty appointed Two of them, [ *Hetbe and Tun-*  
 ‘ *stall* ] to overlook the Translation of the Bible, they said, they had  
 ‘ done your Highness Commandment therein : yea, they set their  
 ‘ Names thereunto. But when they saw the World somewhat like  
 ‘ to wring on the other Side, they denyed it ; and said, they never  
 ‘ meddled therewith : causing the Printer to take out their Names,  
 ‘ which were erst set before the Bible ; to certify all Men that they  
 ‘ had diligently perused it, according as your Highness had com-  
 ‘ manded.

Two Bishops  
 to overlook  
 the Transla-  
 tion.

‘ One other Point of their Diligence your Highness may note, in  
 ‘ the setting forth and using of your Highness’s *Primer*, both in *Eng-*  
 ‘ *lish* and *Latin* : and in the diligent reading unto the People the Ex-  
 ‘ hortation to Prayer. Which you ordained, and commanded to be  
 ‘ read always before the Procession in *English*. We think, that no  
 ‘ Man can blameless say, that ever he heard one of them read it  
 ‘ Twice over. Yea, when your Highness was returned from your  
 ‘ Victory, done at *Boleyn*, they did what they could to have it cal-  
 ‘ led in again. Inasmuch, as they caused all such Parishes as they  
 ‘ might command, to use their old *Kyrie Eleyson* again. And yet to  
 ‘ this Day, they use on solemn Feasts to follow their old *Ordinary*,  
 ‘ notwithstanding your Highness’s Commandment.

The King’s  
*Primer*. The  
 Prayer there.

‘ But when they catch any Thing that soundeth to the contrary,  
 ‘ it shall not escape so, we warrant you. It shall be swung in eve-  
 ‘ ry Pulpit, with, *This is the King’s Gracious Will* : and yet these  
 ‘ Hereticks will be still doing in the Scriptures. A Shoemaker, a  
 ‘ Cobler, a Taylor, a Boy, not yet Twenty Years of Age, shall not  
 ‘ stick to reprove that a Learned Man of Forty Years Study shall  
 ‘ affirm in the Declaration of God’s Word. Oh ! how godly were  
 ‘ the People disposed, when they knew nothing of the Scripture, but  
 ‘ as they were taught by profound Clerks, and well Learned Men ?  
 ‘ Then were there Hospitals builded for the Poor ; then were there

The Priests  
 follow their  
 old *Ordinary*.  
 The Priests  
 vaunt in their  
 Pulpits.

‘ Colleges

ANNO  
1546.

‘ Colleges builded for the Maintenance of Learning. Yea, if they  
‘ durst, they would say; then were Abbies and Chauntries founded,  
‘ for the Relief of the Poor Souls in the bitter Pains of *Purgatory*;  
‘ Then were our Purfes filled with the Offerings of the devout Peo-  
‘ ple, that used to seek the blessed Images and Relicks of our Savi-  
‘ our Christ, and his blessed Mother *Mary*, with the Residue of the  
‘ Saints.

Unfit Men  
obtain Benefi-  
ces.

‘ Then, for the Abuse of obtaining and holding *Benefices*: Let them  
‘ be appointed Livings, worthy their Ministration. What Reason is  
‘ it, that a Surveyor of Buildings, or Lands, an Alchymist, or a  
‘ Goldsmith, shall be rewarded with Benefice upon Benefice? Which  
‘ of very Reason ought to be committed to none other, but such as  
‘ who by godly Learning and Conversation were able, and would ap-  
‘ ply themselves to walk amidst their Flocks in all godly Example and  
‘ Purity of Life. How great a Number is there of them, that in the Name

The King's  
Chaplains.

‘ of your Chaplains, may dispend yearly by Benefices, some one C. some  
‘ CC. some CCC. some CCCC. some CCCCC. yea, some a M, Marks  
‘ and more. It is a common Saying among us, your Highness poor Com-  
‘ mons, that one of your Highness's Chaplains, not many Years since,  
‘ used, when he lusted to ride abroad for his Repast, to carry with  
‘ him a Scroll; wherein were written the Names of his Parishes,

A Story of  
one of them.

‘ whereof he was Parson. And it fortun'd in his Journey, he espied  
‘ a Church standing upon a fair Hill, pleasant beset with Groves, and  
‘ plain Fields, the goodly green Meadows lying beneath, by the  
‘ Banks of a chrySTALLINE River, garnished with Willows, Poplars,  
‘ Palm-Trees and Aldars, most beautiful to behold. This vigilant  
‘ Pastor taken with the Sight of this Terrestrial Paradise, said unto  
‘ a Servant of his, (the Clerk of his Signet, no doubt it was: for  
‘ he used to carry his Master's Ring in his Mouth) *Robin*, saith he,  
‘ yonder Benefice standeth very pleasantly: I would it were mine.  
‘ The Servant answered, Why, Sir, quoth he, it is your own Benefice,  
‘ and named his Parish. Is it so, quoth your Chaplain? And with  
‘ that he pulled out his Scroll, for to see for Certainty, whether it  
‘ were so, or not. See, most Dread Sovereign, what Care they took  
‘ for the Flock. When they see their Parish Churches, they know  
‘ them not by the Situation. If your Highness had so many Swine  
‘ in your Realm, as you have Men, would you commit them to  
‘ the keeping and feeding of such Swineherds, as did not know their  
‘ Swine's Coats when they saw them?

Complaint of  
Extortioners,  
and Raisers of  
Rent, or  
Fines.

‘ Insted of these sturdy Beggars, there is crept in a sturdy Sort of  
‘ Extortioners. These Men cease not to oppress us, your Highness  
‘ poor Commons; in such sort, that many Thousands of us, which  
‘ here before lived honestly upon our sore Labour and Travail; bringing  
‘ up our Children in the Exercise of honest Labour, are now con-  
‘ strained, some to beg, some to borrow, and some to rob and steal,  
‘ to get Food for us, and our poor Wives and Children. And, that is  
‘ most like to grow to Inconvenience, we are constrained to suffer our  
‘ Children to spend the Flower of their Youth in Idleness: Bringing  
‘ them up, other to bear Wallets, other else, if they be sturdy, to stuff  
‘ Prisons, and garnish Gallow Trees. For such of us as have no  
‘ Possessions left to us by our Predecessors and Elders, departed this



Life; can now get no Ferm, Tenement or Cottage at these Men's **A N N O**  
 Hands, without we pay unto them more than we are able to make. **1546.**  
 Yea, this was tolerable, so long as after this extreme Exaction, we  
 were not, for the Residue of our Years, oppressed with much greater  
 Rents, than hath of antient Times been paid for the same Grounds.  
 For then a Man might within a few Years, be able to recover the  
 Fine; and afterwards live honestly by his Travail. But now these  
 Extortioners have so improved their Lands, that they take of xl s.  
 Fine xl l. and of v. Nobles Rent v l. yet not sufficed with this Op-  
 pression within their own Inheritance, they buy at your Highness  
 Hand such Abby Lands, as you appoint to be sold. And when they  
 stand once full seized therein, they make us, your poor Commons,  
 so in doubt of their Threatnings, that we dare do none other, but  
 bring into their Courts our Copies taken of the Convents, and of  
 the late dissolved Monasteries, and confirmed by your High Court of  
 Parliament: They make us believe, that by Vertue of your High-  
 ness, all our former Writings are void, and of no Effect: And that if  
 we will not take new Leases of them, we must then forthwith avoid  
 the Grounds; as having therein no Interest. Moreover, when they  
 can espy no commodious Thing to be bought at your Highness Hand,  
 they labour for, and obtain Leases for XXI Years, in and upon  
 such Abby Lands, as lye commodious for them. Then do they dash  
 us out of Countenance with your Highness Authority; making us  
 believe, that by the Vertue of your Highness Lease, our Copies  
 are void. So that they compel us to surrender our former Writings;  
 whereby we ought to hold, some for Two, and some for Three  
 Lives: And to take by Indenture for XXI Years, overing both  
 Fines and Rents, beyond all Reason and Conscience.

This thing causeth, that such Possessioners as heretofore were able  
 and used to maintain their own Children, and some of ours, to  
 Learning, and such other Qualities, as are necessary to be had, in  
 this your Highness Realm; are now of Necessity compelled to set  
 their own Children to Labour. And all is little enough to pay the  
 Lord's Rent, and to take the House anew at the End of the Year.  
 So that we, your poor Commons, which have no Grounds, nor are  
 able to take any of these Extortioners Lands, can find no way to set  
 our Children on work now, though we proffer them for Meat and  
 Drink, and poor Clothes to cover their Bodies. Help, Merciful  
 Prince, in this Extremity. Suffer not the Hope of so noble a  
 Realm, utterly to perish through the unsatiable Desire of the  
 Possessioners.

Remember, that you shall not leave this Kingdom to a Stranger, **Prince Ed-**  
 but to the Child of great Towardness, our most natural Prince, **ward.**  
**EDWARD.** Employ your Study to leave him a Common Weal  
 to govern; and not an Island of Brute Beasts, among whom the  
 Strongest devour the Weaker.

If you suffer Christ's poor Members to be thus oppressed, look for **They put him**  
 none other than the rightful Judgment of God, for your Negligence **in mind of his**  
 in your Office and Ministry. For the Blood of all them that **hoar Head.**  
 through your Negligence shall perish, shall be required at your Hand.  
 Be merciful therefore to your self, and us, your most obedient  
 Subjects.

ANN O  
1546.

Vice and  
Wickedness  
reigned.

Popish Priests.

Complaint of  
an Act for  
Tithes in  
London.

Subjects. Endanger not your Soul by the Suffering of us, your poor Commons, to be brought all to the Names of *Beggars*, and most miserable Wretches. Let us be unto your Highness, as the inferior Members of the Body unto their Head. Remember, that your hoar Hairs are a Token, that Nature maketh hast to absolve the Course of your Life. Prevent the subtil Imaginations of them, that galye look after the Crown of this Realm, after your Days. For what greater Hope can they have, as concerning that detestable and devilish Imagination, than that they might win the Hearts of us, your Highness Commons, by delivering us from the Captivity and Misery that we are in.

Defer not, most dread Sovereign Lord, the Reformation of these so great Enormities. For the Wound is even unto Death. - - - - By this we mean the great and mighty Abomination of Vice, that now reigneth within this your Highness Realm this Day. For *Whoredom* is more esteemed than Wedlock; although not universally, yet among the greatest Number of Licentious Persons. *Simony* hath lost his Name: And *Usury* is lawful Gains, &c. What Example of Life is in us this Day, to declare that we rather be the People of God, than the *Jews* or *Mahometans*? *Certes*, most renowned Prince, none; but that we confess him to be God. And that were sufficient, if our Deeds did not deny him,

But these dumb Dogs have learned to fawn upon them that use to bring them Bread; and to be wonderful hasty, when they be maintained and cherished. But if they be once bid *Couch*, they know their *Sire Pope* so well, that they draw the Tayl between the Legs; and get themselves strait to the Kennel. And then come who so will, and do what they will; these Dogs will stir no more, than they hear their Master say, *Hey Cut*, and *Long Tail*. So fraid they are of stripes; and lest they should be tyed up so short, that they might not range Abroad, and worry now and then a simple Lamb or two.

The last Year they obtained by their Importunity a Grant, which if it be not revoked, will in continuance of Time be the greatest Impoverishment of us, your poor Commons, and chiefly in the City of *London*, that ever chaunced since the first Beginning thereof. They have obtained, and it is enacted, that every Man within the said City, shall yearly pay unto them *vi d. ob.* of every *x s.* [Rent.] So that if the Lord of the Grounds please to double and triple the Rents, as they do indeed; then must the poor Tenant pay also double and triple Tenths, as due Encrease of their Riches, &c. Have Compassion upon us, most gracious Sovereign, suffer not these unsatiable Dogs to eat us out of all that we have. Consider, that it is against all Reason and Conscience, that we, your poor Commons, should be thus oppressed: That where the Landlord demandeth of us double and triple Rent, that then we shall pay also to the *Parson* double and triple Tenths. But, most dear Sovereign, how craftily have they wrought this Feat? They require not the Tenths of the Landlords that have the Encrease, but of the Tenants; which of Necessity are constrained to pay to the Lords their asking; either else to be without Dwelling-places. They know right well, that if they should have matched  
them-



‘ themselves with the Landlords, they happily would have been too *A N N O*  
 ‘ weak for them at the Length. But they were in good Hopes, *1546.*  
 ‘ that we, your poor Commons, should never be able to stand in  
 ‘ their Hands. — — — If we have not wherewith to pay them,  
 ‘ they may, by Virtue of the Act, distrefs such Implements as they  
 ‘ shall find in our Houses, &c.

‘ Doubtless, most Renowned Prince, if the Oppression were not  
 ‘ too much, beyond all Reason and Conscience, we would never have  
 ‘ troubled your Highness with it. Yea, if there were any Hope,  
 ‘ that they would be satisfied by this, we would rather fast Three  
 ‘ Days every Week, than we would seem to be slack in doing all  
 ‘ such things as the Law bindeth us to do. But we see daily, such  
 ‘ great Increase of their unsatiable Desire, that we fear least in Pro-  
 ‘ cess of Time, they will make us all beg, and bring to them all that  
 ‘ we can get.

‘ It is no rare thing to see poor impotent Creatures beg at *Easter*, *The Poor beg*  
 ‘ to pay for the Sacrament, when they receive it. And it is no less *for Money to*  
 ‘ common, to see Men beg for such dead CorpSES, as have nothing to *pay for the*  
 ‘ pay the Priest’s Duty. Yea, it is not long since, there was in your *Sacrament at*  
 ‘ Highness’s City of *London*, a dead Corpse brought to the Church to *Easter.*  
 ‘ be buried, being so poor, that it was naked, without any Cloth to  
 ‘ cover it. But these charitable Men, which teach us, that it is one  
 ‘ of the Works of Mercy to bury the Dead, would not take the Pains  
 ‘ to bury the dead Corpse, unless they had their *Duty*, as they call  
 ‘ it. In fine, they caused the dead Corpse to be carried into the Street  
 ‘ again, and there to remain, till the poor People, which dwelled in  
 ‘ the Place where the poor Creature dyed, begged so much, as the  
 ‘ Priests call their Due.

‘ Judge then, most victorious Prince, what an unreasonable Sum *Priests petty*  
 ‘ the whole, and gross Sum of these enhaunced Tenths, with other *Briberies.*  
 ‘ their *petty Briberies* draweth to. They receive of every 100 *l.* 13 *l.*  
 ‘ 15 *s.* And of the Thousand, one 100, and 37 *l.* 10 *s.* Then may  
 ‘ your Highness soon be certified, what they receive of the whole  
 ‘ Rents of the City. No doubt, Gracious Prince, they receive of  
 ‘ us yearly, more than your Highness did at any Time, when you  
 ‘ were beset on every Side with mortal Enemies. And yet their  
 ‘ Consciences will serve them well enough, to take Three Times as  
 ‘ much as they do, if your Highness would suffer them. As they  
 ‘ use to say, that forasmuch as it is established by a Law, they may  
 ‘ with good Conscience take it, if it were more. Yea, if your  
 ‘ Highness would suffer them, their Conscience would suffer them to  
 ‘ lye with our Wives, every Tenth: and the other Lords, to have  
 ‘ every Tenth Wife in the Parish at their Pleasure. But our Trust is,  
 ‘ that your Highness will tye them shorter. And, to say the Truth,  
 ‘ it is Time. For if you suffer them a while, they will attempt to  
 ‘ make your Highness pay the Tenths unto them, as long as they have  
 ‘ paid them to you. For they have already sought our Warehouses,  
 ‘ Storehouses, Stables, Wharfs and Fairs: Causing us to pay, not only  
 ‘ the Tenths, ( for that we have paid before ) but also the Seventh  
 ‘ Penny of the whole Rents, raised throughout the whole City.

‘ Remember, Oh! how they led your Highness, when you sent forth *King Henry*  
 ‘ your *Superstition.*

A N N O

1546.

Who to receive the  
Lord's Supper at *Easter*.

Baptism by  
Priests.

The King  
bred his  
Daughters to  
Learning.

your Letters under your Broad Seal, commanding every and singular your Highness's Subjects, under Pain of your Highness's Displeasure, to aid, support and further all and singular Proctors and Pardoners. Remember in what Case they had brought your Highness, when you thought it Godliness to visit in your own Person the Graves, Images and Relicks of Superstition, and dead Saints : Doing to them Divine Honour and Reverence, &c.

Your Highness commanded, that none should receive the Sacrament at *Easter* but such as could, and did use the *Lord's Prayer*, with the Articles of the Faith in the *English Tongue*. But they bid us use that which is most ready to us.

They Baptize our Children in the *Latin Tongue* : Bidding us say *Volo*, and *Credo* : when we know not what it is they demand of us. By this Means it is brought to pass, that we know not what we promise in our Baptism, but superstitiously we think, that the Holiness of the Words, which sound so strangely in our Ears, and of the Water that is so oft crossed, is the doing of all the Matter. Yea, we think that if our Children be well plunged in the Font, they shall be healthful in all their Limbs ever after. But if they suffer by any Misadventure, or have any hurt in any of their Members, incontinently we lay the Fault : Saying, that Member was not well Christened. These are some of the chief Parts of this notable *Supplication of the Commons*.

I have still further to add under this Reign, and to enter upon Record, as a most commendable Quality of this King, his Care for the Education of his Children, not only his Son, but his Daughters too, in good Learning, and in the Knowledge of the learned Tongues, as well as in other Accomplishments. Which Example of the King, many Noble Men following, bred up their Daughters under the best learned Men, whom they fetched from the Universities. And many young Women now arrived to very considerable Attainments in the Tongues and Philosophy. Sir *Anthony Cook's* Daughters were all excellently Learned in *Latin* and *Greek* ; and so were Sir *Thomas More's*. Queen *Katharine Par* was well Learned, and the Lady *Jane Grey*, the Duke of *Suffolk's* unfortunate Daughter ; and so were the Lady *Mary*, and the Lady *Elizabeth*. *Erasmus* in one of his Letters wrote in the

Ep. 31. lib. 19.

Year 1529. makes mention of the former, ' That as *Katharine* the Queen, her Mother, was *Egregiè Docta*, so her Daughter *Mary*, *Scribit benè Latinas Epistolas* ; that is, writ Letters in good Latin. And Sir *Thomas More's* House was nothing else but *Musarum Domicilium* ; *A Habitation of the Muses*.' In the same Letter he speaks how the Emperor's Aunt *Mary* delighted in *Latin Books*. To whom therefore he wrote a Treatise ; Intituled, *Vidua Christiana*, *The Christian Widow*. And lastly, the same *Erasmus* hence makes this Observation, † ' It is pretty that this Sect should now at last betake it self to the antient Examples. — The Scene of humane Things is changed ; the Monks famed in times past for Learning, are become ignorant ; and Women love Books.

† *Bellum est, eum Sexum ad prisca exempla sese postliminio recipere. — — Scena rerum humanarum invertitur : Monachi Literas nesciunt, & Famina Libris indulgent. Ubi Supra.*



As to the Lady Mary's Learning, I will set down a *Latin Letter*, *A N N O* 1546. which in *November* this Year, by the Opportunity of some Ambassador, was sent to her from her Name-sake, another King's Learned Daughter, and related to her; wherein she makes the Fame of our Lady Mary's Learning, and her notable Endowments, which rendred her famous Abroad, as well as Consanguinity, the Reason of her writing to her, and why she desired her Correspondence. By which well penned Letter, we may observe the Care that in that Age was taken, for the bringing up of Ladies in good Literature in other Parts as well as in England. But behold the Letter.

King of Portugal's Daughter writes to the Lady Mary in Latin.

*Maria Emanuelis Portugallie Regis Filia, Mariæ Principi, Henrici Angliæ Regis Filia.*

*S*I nulla inter nos esset Necessitudo, quæ peculiari quadem ratione ad amandum & scribendum alliceret, tamem singularis tua vel Virtus vel Eruditio, quæ ad nos usq; non obscura fama defertur, efficeret profectò, Serenissima Princeps, ut & Te amarem, & Literariam consuetudinem, quando alia non datur inter nos esse, cuperem. Nunc quum ad eximias animi tui Dotes, quæ Te Orbe toto reddunt amabilem, jus etiam Consanguinitatis mihi tecum intercedat, non video cur alias Scribendi ad Te causas disquiram; quum majores nec quæri debeant, nec inveniri possint. Quas ob res tenebar ego jampridem incredibili quodam desiderio Te Literis appellandi meis. Nam ex quo de candidissimis tuis moribus, de singulari Prudentia, de bonarum Literarum Studio, ac deniq; de omni Virtutum genere, quibus Nobilitaris, accepi; dici non potest quantum Te de his omnibus amer, quanti Te faciam; ut omittam interim Sanguinis Vinculum, quo quum venit in mentem, non mediocriter soleo delectari.

MSS. G. Pelyt. Amig.

Ergo quum tam opportuna quam volebam nuncii occasio nunc esset oblata, statim hoc ad Te Literarum dare; quibus animum erga Te meum, i. e. Tui amantissimum, significarem, & Literas item tuas elicerem. Quas jure meo videor jam sperare debere, quod Te prior subinvitarem. Facies ergo tuam, quum rescribes, Officium. Facies autem cumulatius, si de Salute, deq; Voluntate erga me Tua pluribus ad me Verbis diligenter scripseris. Ego enim, si Te literis meis delectari perspexero, non intermittam, quin quoties Tabellarii potestas erit, meum Tibi hoc in genere præstem officium. A Te autem peto primum, ut me ames; quod quoniam mihi jam debere videris, spero Te non gravatè facturam: Deinde, ut siquid ego facere possim, quidpiamve apud nos est quod Tibi sit usui, aut Voluptati futurum, ea imperes fiducia, quam vel benevolentia in Te mea pollicetur, vel tam arcta necessitudo deposcit. Non enim committam, ut aut fidem meam aut spem tuam fefellisse possim videri. Vale. Datis apud Santarenam, Nonis Novembris, Anno millesimo, quingentesimo quadragesimo sexto.

But to take yet a further Review of this great King, before we conclude. Beside what hath been related of him by others, already mentioned, let me add the Judgments of two Persons of Eminence, living in that King's Time, and after; both of them Statesmen, and

Sortie further Account of King Henry.

ANN O well acquainted with the Transactions of that Monarch; Men also of 1546. Integrity, as well as Learning.

By Sir Rich.  
Morison;

In Apomax.

One of them, viz. Sir Richard Morison, commends the Endowments of his Mind, as well as the Beauty of his outward Proportion, Aspect and Demean, in these Words. *Quis tam bardus, tamve barbarus est, ut in illo Principis Serenissimo ore, Clementissimi Regis signa non videat? Quis potuit unquam frontem illam, vultum illum vel procul vidisse, & non agnovisse Clementia Sedem? Quis augustam illam totius Corporis Majestatem potuit, vel è longinquo, Spectasse, & non Diademate, Sceptro, balteo, fibulis, fimbriis, Regno deniq; natum, dicere? At patior, Corporis dotes, quas Rex omni virtutum genere ornatissimus, nunquam in suis laudibus locum habere voluit, nihil ad rem attinere, nisi cum natura Providentia Dei O. M. benignitatem certasse comperias, animumq; multo pulchriorem is dederit, quam illa corpus parare potuit.* That is, 'Who is there so dull, or so barbarous, as not to see, in that most serene Countenance, the Signs of a King? Who ever could see even at a Distance, that Forehead, that Face, and not acknowledge it the Seat of Clemency? Who could behold afar off that August Majesty of his whole Person, and not say, he was born to a Diadem, a Scepter, a Belt, &c. in a word, to a Kingdom? But the King, who was adorned with all kind of Vertues, admitted not these his Corporal Endowments to have any Place in his Praises; but that by the Providence of Almighty God, Kindness and Goodness strove with Nature, and gave him a Mind much fairer, than they could frame his Body. This in general.

And Sir Tho.  
Chaloner.

In laud Hen.  
carm. Paneg.

But for a more particular Account of this King, and of his Qualities, Abilities, and Influence in the Affairs of the World, wherein he was concerned, I subjoin what Sir Thomas Chaloner, more largely shews in his Poem, intituled, *In laudem HENRICI Octavi Regis Angliæ Præstantissimi, Carmen Panegyricum.*

And First, in Excuse for the King's Vices, he hath these Words,

*Quo minus id mirum est, si fortunatior & Rex  
Indulset genio, admittens quandoq; proterva,  
At non immani veniam superantia Facto.*

He was Learned, Pleasant and Eloquent, from his younger Years, as he describes him:

*Quem Musa fovere sinu, Charitasq; lepore  
Dotarunt, gratæ multa gravitate loquela.*

When he had Occasion to speak to his Subjects, or to some Ambassador, or to any that came to him about Business, he spake well and readily; and that in divers Languages. He moved them with his Eloquence. And so he did also by his Behaviour and Countenance. For,

*Gestus, vultusq; etiam sat amabile spirans.*

As for his Make and Person, it was beyond all others. Infomuch, that when he designed to conceal himself, he was known. For he would sometimes go disguised through the City, to know the better, the



the Minds and Manners of his People. He walked stately, and was *ANNO* higher by the Shoulders than others.

1546.

*Specie atq; ipso gressu sublimior esse,  
Quam mentiretur, vulgo appareret, & alta  
Ingrediens cervice tenuis turbæ superesset  
Attonitæ, humano ceu quiddam augustius ore,  
Cerneret obtutu fixo.*

His Aspect was beyond all others, and his Countenance bespoke Majesty.

*Vicerat ille omnes tunc pulchros pulchrior unus :  
Tanta fuit Sacræ Majestas regia Formæ.*

His Mind equal to the Beauty of his Body.

*Sed acer & aptus Præstitit.*

He exceeded others in shooting in the long Bow, and in wrestling, and in riding, and managing the great Horse. He became his Armour, which he sometimes put on : And exercised himself in hunting.

He held the Balance between the Two great Kings of *Europe* ; and set Bounds to their Conquests.

*Trutina adversos dum pensitat æqua.  
At potuit prohibere alterum, ne vinceret alter.  
Atq; ita si alteruter præstaret, sorte favente ;  
Jamq; instans, jugulum victriciæ tela pararet  
Figere in alterius, quo junctis viribus auctus,  
Tunc vacuo solus possit dominarior Orbi.*

He was a due Executor of Justice upon Malefactors. And for his Rigor in having Justice done upon Breach of his Laws, he was apt to be censured. But he saw it was necessary to be done; who before in his younger Time was too mild, and inclined to spare Offenders.

*Junior hic etenim, dum forsan mite benigni  
Principis ingenium precibus miseratio fleçit,  
Non uni indulgit, non uno crimine turpi.  
At cum ignoscendo tandem perceperat, unus  
Quanta nocens toti dimissus damna maniplo  
Inferat, audaci ingeminans sua crimina factò ;  
Noluit ulterius jam clemens dicier, uni  
Parcere, sed multis duxit mansuetius esse  
Parcere, quam soli, qui nollet parcere multis.  
Ergo metum duxit Vinculum præstantius esse,  
Quo Populus temerè mores mutatus in Horas,  
Stare loco possit, crudæ formidine pænæ,  
Quam si indulgentem vitij vitiosior Horæ, &c.*

A N N O

1546.

The King was Assistant to the Poor against their proud, rich, oppressing Neighbours: For if any such happened to live near a rich Man, on whom they had any Dependance, unless they did whatsoever he pleased, and were absolutely at his Nod, he seized upon all that the poor Man had.

*Actum erat istius de Re, de Bobus & Agro.*

And he would say, ‘ Go, seek some New Habitation: I will not suffer it unrevenge: But you shall know, who I am, and who you are.

*Hæc olim HENRICUS damnans malesueta Potentum  
Imperia, injusto miseros torquentia fastu,  
Uterius vetuit.*

And appointed Judges at stated Months in the Year, to go down and decide Suits and Contentions in the middle of the Kingdom, after the antient Custom; to do Justice to the poor and obscure, as well as the rich, without Respect of Persons.

*Pauperne obscurus, an Aurum  
An genus & Proavos jactet, discrimine nullo.*

This King extolled. And why.

Udal's Pref. to  
Erasm. Paraphr.  
on St. Luke translat.

This King, notwithstanding some unjustifiable Deeds of his, and shedding some innocent Blood, was, in the latter End of his Reign, much applauded and extolled; and that chiefly for Two or Three brave Acts: *viz.* First, the rejecting the Bishop of *Rome*, extirpating his pretended Supremacy in these Kingdoms; and not allowing any Papal Jurisdiction over his Subjects. The Second, in dissolving the Monasteries, and putting an End to idle Monks, Friars and Nuns. And the Third, in causing the Holy Scripture in the *English* Tongue, to be freely read and used in his Kingdom by the Laity. Observe the Praises given him, by one in an Epistle to his last Queen *Katharine*. ‘ His most excellent Majesty being a Man after the Heart of the Lord, and being a right *David*, chosen to destroy *Goliath*, the huge and cumbrous Enemy of *Israel*, without any Armour, and without any other Weapon, but the Stone of God's Word, cast out of the Sling of the divine Spirit, working in him, and his Laws made here in *England*: and being the elected Instrument of God to pluck down the Idol of the *Romish* Antichrist. Who following the Steps of his Father, *Lucifer*, hath not only usurped a kind of Supremacy and Tyranny over all Princes on Earth, as well Christen, as Heathen; but also hath ensurged against Heaven: and hath lift up and exalted himself above all things that is called GOD; making void the plain Commandment, for the advancing of his own more than *Pharisaical* Traditions; perverting the true Sense of the Holy Scriptures, and wresting them to the Maintenance of his Abominations, being both afore God and Man detestable. His Highness being our *Ezechias*, by the Providence of God, deputed and sent to be the Destroyer, not only of all Counterfeits in Religion, who swarmed among us like  
‘ disguised



disguised Maskers, and not Mummers, but Mumlets: Who under *A N N O*  
 the Cloak of Holiness, seduced the People, and devoured the Houses *1546.*  
 of rich Widows; and were Maintainers of all Superstition, Idolatry  
 and Rebellion: But also to root up all Idolatry, done to dead Images  
 of Stone and Timber, as unto God, &c.

His most excellent Majesty from the first Day, that he wore the  
 Imperial Crown of this Realm foresaw, that to the executing of the  
 Premises it was necessary that the People should be reduced to the  
 Sincerity of Christ's Religion, by knowing of God's Word; he con-  
 sidered, that requisite it was, his Subjects were nouzzled in Christ,  
 by reading the Scriptures: Whose Knowledge would easily induce  
 them to the clear espying of the Sights of the *Romish* juggling.  
 And therefore as soon as might be, his Highness by most wholesome  
 and godly Laws, provided, that it might be leeful for all his faithful  
 loving Subjects to read the Word of God, and the Rules of Christ's  
 Discipline, which they professed. He provided, that the Holy  
 Bible should be set forth in our own vulgar Language: To the End,  
 that *England* might the better attain to the Sincerity of Christ's  
 Doctrine: Which they might draw out of the clear Fountain and  
 Spring of the Gospel, &c. By this his Majesties most godly Pro-  
 vision, it hath come to pass, that the People, which long time had  
 been bred in Error and Blindness by blind Guides, Monks, Friars,  
 Chanons and Papistical Preachers, do now so plainly see the clear  
 Light, that they do willingly abhor Idolatry and Superstition:  
 they do now know their Duty to God and their Prince: they do  
 now embrace the Verity for Verity Sake, &c. Finally, that their  
*David*, the King *Henry VIII.* had so substantially cast the Founda-  
 tion, and raised the Building of the Temple, that he trusted, it  
 should be no Burthen to their young *Solomon*, [Prince *Edward*] to  
 consummate and finish the same; when his Time should come.

As this King was contemporary with the greatest Monarchs of *Eu-*  
*rope*, viz. the Emperor, the Kings of *Spain* and *France*, so he was *King Henry's*  
 engaged in many Wars, and in divers Leagues and Pacifications with *Leagues.*  
 them or either of them; for the better consulting the Peace of Man-  
 kind. Which, what they were with each Prince, and in what Years  
 made, throughout the whole Course of his Reign, I have retrieved  
 the Titles thereof, and transcribed them from a curious MS. in the  
*Cotton Library*: Consisting of Leagues, Treaties, Conventions, Com-  
 missions, Instruments, Confirmations of Treaties, Oaths, Obligati-  
 ons, Articles, &c. This Transcript is repositied in the *Appendix*, and *Numb.*  
 concludes it. *CXX.*





# APPENDIX:

CONTAINING

RECORDS,  
LETTERS,

AND OTHER

Original Writings,

Referred to in the

MEMORIALS

Under the REIGN of

King *HENRY VIII.*



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Printed in the YEAR 1724.

APPENDIX

RECORDS

1871-1872

of the

MEMORIALS

of the



Printed by



# A N A P P E N D I X

T O T H E

Memorials Ecclesiastical,  
Under the REIGN of  
King H E N R Y VIII.

N U M B. I.

*K. Henries letter to Sir David Owen, to provide an hundred men to go into France with him, in behalf of the Pope against the French King.*

By the KING.

H E N R Y R.

**T**RUSTIE & Welbeloved, wee grete you wel. And wheras wee, according to our dutie to God, & to his Church, at the instant requests & desires of the Popes Holines, & other Christen Princes, our Confederates & Allies, have for the defence of the said Church, being by our Enemy the *French* Kinge, oppressed, and the extincting of the detestable Schisme, raised by certain perverse Cardinalls, and maintained by the same King, entred actual War against him; intending, God willing, by the aid & assistance of such of our Confederates, and Allies, as shal joyn with us in that Gods Quarrel, to pursue & continue the said Wars, & personally to proceed into *France* with an Army Royal this next Summer, as wel for that our purpose, as for recovering our Right there: Wee signifie unto you, that for our better assistance in that behalf, wee have appoynted you, among others, to pass over with us in this journey, & voyage, with the number of a hundred able men, mete for the warrs, to be by you provided. Wherof threescore to bee Archers, & forty Bills on foot, sufficiently harnessed & appointed for the warrs.

A a a 2

Willing

MSS:  
D. G. H. Eq:

Willing & desiring you therefore not onely to prepare your self for that purpose, but also with al spedie diligence, to put the said number of men in convenient readines accordinglie : & to ascertaine us thereof by your writing on this side the beginning of *April* next coming at the farthest : & at the same season to send unto us some discrete servant of yours, to receyve mony for jackets, & conducting of the said number. To the intent that yee, with the said number, may be ready to set forward towards us, at any time after, when wee by our writing shal require you so to do. And these our letters signed and sealed with our own hand & signet shall be as sufficient warrant & discharge unto you in that behalf, as though the same had passed under our Great-Seal of *England*. Any Act, Statute, or Ordinance heretofore made to the contrary concerning Retainers notwithstanding. Faile ye not to accomplish the premises, as ye tender the honour & suretie of us, and of this our realme, & the advancement & furtheraunce of this meritorious voyage. Yeven under our Signet at our Mannor of *Greenwiche*, 22 Feb. A<sup>o</sup> Reg. 4.

---

N U M B. II.

King Henry to his Ambassador in *Flanders*, in behalf of  
*Thomas Barnaby*, Merchant.

To our trusty and right welbeloved Counsailler, Dr. Knight, our  
Ambassador in the parties of Flaundres.

By the KING.

HENRY R.

MSS.  
G. H. Eq.

**T**Rusty and right welbiloved We grete you well. And albeit, that we by our letters patents of save conduyte under our great Seale, have licenced and auctorised our welbiloved subgiet, *Thomas Barnaby*, of our Citie of *London*, Merchaunte, that he by himself, his servants, factors, or Attorneys, Denyzens, or Straungiers, shal use and occupie the feate and entrecourse of al maner merchaundize, in al places, and at al seasons, during the terme of yeres in our said letters conteigned ; Yet that notwithstanding, it is shewed unto us on the behalf of our said subgiet, that our right dere, and right entirely welbiloved Cousine, the Duchesse of *Savoye*, hath caused certain Proclamations to be made of late, that noe Baye-salt, or Wine, of the growing of the parties of *Fraunce*, *Normandy*, *Bretayne*, or *Gascoigne*, being of the commodities of our auncientemie, the *Frenshe* King, shalbe brought or conveyede into the parties of *Flaundres*, or elsewher under her Dominion, upon payne of forfeiture of the same, as we be enformed : We tenderly mynding & willing the said *Thomas Barnaby*, to enjoy the whole effect of our said letters of save conduyte, to hym in this partie graunted, Wol & desire you in such substantial & discrete wise, to solcite our said Cousine, that she wolbe contented to graunte unto the same *Thomas* his letters Patents of save conduyte,



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## Records and Originals.

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conduyte, under hir grete Seale, in as large & ample manner, as is specified in our said letters of Saveconduyte. And for the more & better knowlege herof, we send unto you, at this time, our trusty and welbiloved servant Sir *John Wallop* Knight, with other our letters directed unto our said Cousine; whome we desire you tenderly & diligently to favor in the speedy expedition & furtheraunce of this cause. Wherby ye shal minister unto us ful good pleasure. Yeven under our Signet at our Monastery of *Chartefaye* the xii<sup>th</sup> daye of *August*.

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### N U M B. III.

King *Henry* to his Ambassadors with the Prince of *Castile*, for satisfaction to be demanded for staying of a Merchant man, put in by stress of weather to *Zealand*.

To our Trusty & right Welbiloved Counsailors, & Knight for our body, Sir *Edward Ponynge*, Comptroller of our Household, & Maister *William Knight*, our Ambassadors with our Cousin the Prince of *Castile*.

By the KING.

HENRY R.

**T**Rusty & right Welbiloved, we grete you wel; lating you wit, it is comen to our knowledge, that where as a ship lately to us belonging, called *The Cast*, laden by our welbiloved subgiets, *John Alen*, *Hugh Clopton*, & *Richard Fermour*, and others, with wolles, cloth, & othre merchaundises & commodities of this our Reame, being in her voyage towards the parties of *Italye*, was by excessive rage & storme of weder, afre many daungiers & perillis, in avoyding her extreme ruyn, driven by violence and force into the parties of *Zeland*, taking for her refuge & focour the road and watier nere unto *Armewe*; a pretence & clayme was made in the name of our Cousine, the Prince of *Castille*, of certain tolls, custums & othre exactions, called *The Toll of Grave-lyng & Zeland*. Wherupon the Officers of our said Cousin, caused not oonly the Purser of the said Shipp to be arrested in the Town of *Middylborowe*, & committed unto prison, wher he remayned to his grete payne, hurte & prejudice; but also with force of gonshot, in manner of warre, caused our said ship to be borded, and out of the same spoiled and toke al her failles, & so deteigned, withhilde & kept her from her voyage, til such tyme as our said subgiets were driven to put in sufficient suretie & caution, to aunswer according to law. Which said detaigning not oonly put our said subgiets to grete & excessive costs & charges, & their tyme gretely hindred, to thair expresse wrongs, but also hath been the cause, that by the retardation of our said ship, she now lately fell into the daungier & hands of the *Mores*, & Enfidels enemys to *Christs* faith.

Which

MSS.  
G. H. Eq.

Which Infidels, having certain foists & galeis, appointed for the waeres, have not oonly slayne diverse of our subgiets, the maryners & gonners of our said shipp, but also have taken hir, & al the said goodes & merchaundises, with the residue of the people being in her, whom they have & detaigne in prison & captivity. And in as moch as it is notory, that in caas the said retardation had not been, our said ship of al similitude had not happened into the said daungier, we do not impute the culp & blame therof in any person, but oonly in the Officers of our said Cousin. Which iacture, wrong & prejudice we cannot, né woll suffre to passe without sufficient reformation and amends. And considering that it is contrary to al law, right & conscience, that any tolls, custumes, or othre impositions shuld be exacted of any person for any ship, goods or merchaundises so forced and driven in by weders, specially where nothing is intended to be put to sale; & for that also the treaties of Enter-course, which hath hertofore been made betwene Us and our Progenitors, & our said Cousin & his Progenitors, be expressely contrary hereunto; We therfore wol & command you, that shewing & extending this matier, at good length, to the Commissioners of our said Cousin, ye not oonly require restitution of such mony, or bonds, as have been made, or payd, in the name of our said subgiets for the said tolls, wherby they may be clerely recompensed & discharged of the the same; but also for the more aggravation of this matier, ye demande amends as well for our said ship, & the goods and merchaundises, which, by meane of the said retardation, be now lost & taken, as is above said; as also of al other losses, dammages & hindraunces, susteined by the same. Endeavouring you with all effect to reduce & bring this matier to a good resolution, as our special trust is in you. Yeven undre our Signet, at our Manour of Greenwich, the xxii day of July.

#### N U M B. IV.

*The Constables of Tournay, being the Yeomen of the Kings Guard there, to Cardinal Wolsey, and the Privy Council; certifying the great Hardships and Inconveniencies they must undergo, if, according to a late Order, their Wages should be altered from Quarterly to Half-yearly Payments.*

Cott. Librar.  
Caligula.

**W**HEREAS it hath pleased your Grace to direct, &c. certifying your Grace & al the Lords of the Kings most Honorable Council, that wee, Yeomen of the Kings most Honorable Guard, his poor Servants & daily Orators, & yours, being Constables here, whose Names be subscribed everich of us in his Behalf, hath examined his Company, according to his Duty. And it is considered among us in general, that it would be great Prejudice and Hurt to the said Garrison, if they should be paid according to the Tenor of your Graces Letters, for divers & many Considerations.

First,



First, it is to be considered, that the said Garrison doth serve three Months before they receive their Wages. And incontinently at the Receipt of the same, they pay for Meat & Drink, & for other things necessary, in the said three Months had, and obtained upon their Credence. And what Time they have paid al their Duty, many a one have not a Peny left, to convey himself for the three months to come.

And besides, & over that, many one is in debt to the Sum of 10 or 20 shill. some more, some less. This considered, it should be much more harder, with us, and with the said Garrison, if we be put to the half years Payment.

Also, it is to be considered, that there is many a poor man in the said Garrison, as well single men, as wedded men. And wheras it is so, that single men can wel convey themselves from three months, but to be in debt more or less: much more harder it is with wedded men, having here his wife, and 2 or 3 or 4 Children apiece, & some more and some less. And wheras men convey themselves by the space of 3 months, it should be much more harder to convey themselves by the space of half a year.

Also, tho it be so, that Victualers, which be not able of themselves to victual xx or xxx Persons, but they should be greatly relieved out of the Kings Coffers: yet other poor Men that hath Wife & Children, & keepeth a poor House by himself, is not relieved, except he have his Wages. For tho it be so, that Men may have Bread and Beer upon their Scores and Tayles, yet shal not Men have Fleth, Fish, Butter, Eggs, Cheefe, nor other things necessary, except they have ready Mony. For the Country victualetth the City for ready Mony. For and if the Country should withdraw for lack of Payment, it would cause great Scarcenefs to be among us, to the great Hurt of the said Garrison.

Also, it is to be considered, that we be not among our special Friends, as the King's Garrisons of *Calais*, and elsewhere: but we be among our Friends by Compulsion. And in such Friends is no great Trust & Fidelity; but smal Faith or Favour, without Friendship or Kindnes. For in the highest Part of al *France*, we of the said Garrison may have for our Mony as much Friendship, as we may have in the said City of *Tournay*: which hath been oftentimes proved. For what Time any of the said Garrison hath not Mony to convey themselves & their Households, then taketh they a Gage, and layeth the same to a Townes man to pledge, for to have Mony therupon. And if their Gage or Pledge be of the Value of xx sh. then he shal have therupon the said Pledge or Gage 7 sh. or 8 sh. or therabouts. And if he fail of the day of Payment, incontinently he leeseeth his Gage or Pledg, of what Valour soever it be. In which their so doing is no maner of Friendship.

Also, it is to be considered, that the Kings most gracious Coin is not accepted here & in *England* accordingly. For tho that it be so, that the Garrison receive the Kings Coin, as the Pence after the Rate of *England*, nevertheles what time that Men shal buy Victuals & other Necessaries, the Peny Starling is but worth a *Flemish* Peny. And thus in every Threepence Starling, there is One Peny lost. And he that taketh 12 d. by the Day, his Wages in buying any thing is but 8 d. by the Day. And he that taketh 8 d. by the Day is in like maner; his Wages cometh to 5 d. Starling, & *Flemish* Halfpeny. And like maner in al other

other what Wages soever they take. Which is great Loss and Damage to the said Garrison here : & shal continue by reason of the Payment of the said Pence. Except it shal please the Kings Highnes to command the said Pence to be called home again into the Realm of *England*, or else some other Order & Direction therein to be had & taken. And also that the Kings most noble Coin of his Gold, as his *Royal* may have Course for 10 sh. Sterling ; and his *Angel Noble* at 6 sh. 8 d. Sterling. And the *Crown* at 4 — 2. Sterling. Whereas the said Garrison receive them, as the *Royal*, for 11 sh. Sterling, the *Angel Noble* for 7 — 2. Starling, & the *Crown* for 4 — 6. Starling. And thus appeareth the impoverishing of the said Garrison.

For it is to be considered, that the Merchant will sel their Wares & Merchadize, & likewise Victuals ; Strangers, their Victuals, so that they take no Loss by the said Mony. Whereas al the *English* Victualers bear the Loss, & others of the said Garrison.

Also, that where Men lack Mony, Meat & Drink, with other Necessaries, which must needs be had : And that thing which a Man may buy for 4 d. Starling of ready Mony, if it be borrowed it shal cost 6 d. or 7 d. Starling. Which should be great Hindrance to poor Men : and should be never able to recover it, if they should be paid by the half Year, according to the Tenor of your Graces Letter.

Also, it is to be considered, that in the Kings Garrison Royal, as in *Calais* & elsewhere, no *Maltot* is demaunded, nor paid : whereas we of the Kings Garrison of *Tournay* pay for every Tun of Wine 40 sh. Sterling *Maltot* ; & for every Barrel of Beer 12 d. Sterling. Also, we pay for Fish, for Flesh, & for every other thing that is bought. Which amounteth to a great Sum in the Year ; to the great Hurt and Damage of the said Garrison.

Also, it is to be considered, that in the Kings Garrison Royal, as in *Calais* and elsewhere, is wel invironed ; as the Sea and *England* on the one side, and the Marches of the same on the other side. Which be to them great Friends. By whom the said Garrisons of *Calais* & elsewhere, be oftentimes relieved. And they have more for a *Flemish* Penny, than the Garrison of *Tournay* hath for 2 d. Sterling. Which Commodities the Kings Garrison of *Tournay* lacketh in every Behalf. Also, there is in the Kings said Garrison of *Calais* divers Merchants that do Victual the said Garrison for half Year to half Year ; and with as easie Price as Men may buy for ready Mony. Whereas we, the said Garrison of *Tournay*, have no such Friends, but the contrary. For when the said Garrison lacketh Mony, then the said Garrison lacketh Victuals ; as at this present is wel proved.

Humbly we beseech your Grace, with al the Lords of the Kings most Honorable Council, that it may please your Grace, with al the Lords of the Kings most Honourable Council, to be mean, & to inform the Kings Highness of these the Premises, & other, for the Relief of the said Garrison. And that it may please his Highness to have Consideration & Remors : to this before rehearsed, in considering the true & faithful Service, that we his poor Servants, Yeomen of his most Honorable Guard, with al the whole Retinue of the said Garrison, have don unto his Highness heretofore, & hereafter intendeth to do : That it may please his abundant Goodness, to look upon the said Garrison with



with the Ey of Pity, & of Consideration, for the eschueing of the Indempnity of the said Premisses.

And that it may furthermore please his Highness to command that provision of Mony may be had to the Deputy of this his City of *Tournay*, & Treasurer, to content & pay the Garrison here accordingly, by the three Months, as it hath been heretofore used.

And further, we humbly beseech your Grace, and al the said Lords of the Kings most Honorable Council, your said daily Orators, to have Consideration of the said Premisses: & for the Information therof to the Kings Highness.

And furthermore, not to take Displeasure with your said poor Men, & daily Orators, for their rude Writing unto your Grace; which lacketh as wel Learning, as good Counsil. But as they write unto your Grace after their natural Witts, & as Poverty and Necessity constraineth them to write according to the Truth; & further, for the Preservation of the said Garrison, & the Welfare of the same.

And thus your said poor Men & daily Orators be ever bound to pray to God for your Grace, & for al the Lords of the Kings most Honorable Council, that your Honors may long continue & endure.

|                       |                         |                      |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|
| <i>John Prince.</i>   | <i>Tho. Gray.</i>       | <i>John Brodger.</i> |
| <i>Will. Bentall.</i> | <i>Tho. Stribithil.</i> | <i>Tho. Walett.</i>  |
| <i>Rich. Forster.</i> | <i>Will. Harford.</i>   | <i>Rich. Stone.</i>  |
| <i>Rob. Mitchel.</i>  | <i>Rich. Dobell.</i>    | <i>Rob. Axe.</i>     |
| <i>John Erdeley.</i>  | <i>Evan Bodmer.</i>     |                      |

# NUMB. V.

*Sir Richard Jernegan, L. Deputy of Tournay, & the Council: their Letter to the Cardinal; accompanying the former, written by the Constables.*

**P**LEASETH your Grace to understand, that 28 day of *April* last past, we received your Letter dated at *Westminster* the 22. day of *April*; wherein your Graces Pleasure is, that upon deliberate Communication had of sundry of our Letters sent unto your Grace for Provision of Mony, it was thought by the Kings Grace, & his most Honorable Council, that inasmuch as none of the Kings Garrisons in any other Place, be, or have been used to be paid their Wages, but half yearly; it standeth not with any Necessity, that the Garrison of this Town of *Tournay* should have continually so hasty and speedy Payment made to them at the end of every three Months: And for that Cause the Kings Pleasure is, that after the third day of the said Month of *April* finally determined, the Payments to be paid at the end of every half Year, & not before. So that the third day of *October*, & the third day of *April* shall be from henceforth our days of Payment. And for Ease

B b b

& better

*Cotton. Librar.  
Caligula.*

& better Commodity of Soldiers & Victuallers, his Pleasure is, that a Preft of a Thouſand Marks ſhal be advanced, & aſſigned to the Garrifon, to be deducted and rebated at the half years Payment. And over this, it is his gracious Pleaſure, the Premiſſes to be notified & declared to al the Garrifon. And after, that we al of our Council here, & Captains of the Retinue, do ſend a Certificate ſigned, and ſubſcribed with our Names ; Declaring our ſelves to be contented, & conformable to receive the Payment in Form afore rehearſed ; without any farther calling, or moleſting the King & his Council in that behalf, &c.

Pleaſeth your Grace, according to the Kings Commandment & your Grace in this Behalf ; we have called before us al the Captains, Men of Arms, Vinteners, & Conſtables ; & declared & ſhewed them the Kings Pleaſure & your Graces, taken in the Premiſſes, with the whole Circumſtance of your Graces Letter ; to the end, that they & every of them ſhould aſſemble their Companies, to advertiſe them the ſame ; & that they ſhould conform themſelves to follow the Tenour of your ſaid Graces Letter. Whereupon they have al aſſembled their Companies ; & have made Certificates, as it appeareth. Which Certificates we ſend your Grace with this Letter ; as wel the Captains with the Men of Arms by themſelves, as Vinteners & Conſtables by themſelves.

Whereby your Grace ſhal perceive the great Neceſſity & Poverty that is among them. And, Sir, as far as we can know, we aſcertain your Grace, & al my Lords of the Council, that al the Articles declared in the ſaid Certificates, be of Truth, & unfeigned. And alſo, that we cannot ſee it is poſſible to be brought to ſo long a day without the Adventure, without ſome great Inconvenience.

For at the making hereof, there were certain Victuallers came, & complained to me, the Kings Deputy, that there were divers of the Garrifon that had taken their Victuals from them by Force. Whereupon I called afore me the Parties ſo doing, to make Redreſs therof. And they answered me, that they had offered the Victualers to taylle with them, & to ſet it upon Scores : for that that they had was laid to Pledge : & that Poverty made them do it ; for Mony they had none ; nor no Man would truſt them ; & without Meat and Drink they could not live. And the Victuallers being as poor for their Parts, as others. For theirs might not abide the ſame. Whereupon I was driven to find remedy for the time, as I might. Nevertheles, Sir, we aſſure your Grace, if that we have not right ſhortly Relief of Mony for their Wages, what great Inconveniences would fortune by this extreme Neceſſity, God knows ; & we fear the Likelihood. Eſpecially, becauſe the Danger is at al Howres ſo near, as here, to us.



## N U M B. VI.

*The L. Mounjoy, & the Council at Tournay, to Cardinal Wolsey ; Upon his Information of an Enterprize intended against that Place.*

PLEASE your Grace, my Lord, we have received your Letters, Cott. Librar. Caligul. E.  
dated at Duresm Place, &c.

My Lord, Your Grace knoweth wel, we lately have advertised you, as to the News of the Enterprize of the *French Men*; how that we suppose verily they be of little effect. I, the Kings Lieutenant here, was also advertised of the same News by the said Master Deputy: & both afore his Advertisement, & since, I sent out divers Ways to know what Assemblies were made, & the Cause thereof: & was ascertained, that the Assembly that was made was full poor, as was their Musters. And as some take it, that it was to make Braggs to the King of *Arragons* Ambassadors. And I think it shalbe hard, what by such Friends as I have gotten in these Parties, & by such Espies as I send forth, that smal things shal be attempted against this City, but I shal have Warning afore. Notwithstanding, we require your Grace to continue your Advertisement concerning this City. And that that shal come to our knowledge, we shal ascertain you in like wise, as our Duties are. And if I had Authority, and therewith to retain Folks of their Council, as wel might be don, I doubt not but I should know more of their Privities, & their Enterprizing, than I can now.

And as to the furnishing of this Town with things necessary, if busines should fortune, we shal do that in us do ly. But your Grace knoweth wel we are but bare of Mony here; & have but little over to bear the Charge of the Garrison & Labours monthly. And for that Purpose must be occupied divers ways, (if any such Chance should fortune,) no smal Sums of Money. This City is also ill provided of Victuals: & much we have to do with the Inhabitants & Council, to have it amended, & to cause them to make Provision for themselves. And as to the Soldiers, they be of none Ability for to provide of Victuals, but look it should be provided of the King, in like wise as it was in Mr. *Poinyngs* Days. For as yet there is no established Garrison.

Furthermore, wheras your Grace thinketh, that the Assembly which is bruited to be, or if any Attemptates shalbe made against us, is not without the Comfort, stirring and procuring of the Inhabitants of this Town; Wherefore the Opinion of the Kings Council is, & the Kings expresse Commaundment, that we forthwith, by all the best Means that we can use, shal take from the said Inhabitants al their Harnes & Habiliments of War: wherby we shalbe out of Danger of them, if they intend any thing prejudicial unto the City.

My Lord, As to that Matter, we have used the best way we could devise. And for the same have caused al the City to be searched, what Harnes & Habiliments of War they have: shewing unto them, we would know in what a readines they were to serve the King, if need

were. And the Report is brought in by Captains & others, which had the Busines, that in Harnes & Habergeous, good & evil, there be not in the Inhabitants Hands above the number of 557. In Cross-bows 80. & in Hand Guns 65. Which number we think little to be feared, if any Danger. Where we may soon have them. And now if we should take them, they would little help us. And a great Rumour should rise thereof. If the Kings Grace, or his Council wol, that in any wise we shall take them, his Pleasure shal be accomplished to the best we may.

We have also visited the Artillery House of the Town. Which is no great Thing. It is under strong Doors & Locks, in the keeping of the four Chiefs of this City. And I, the Kings Lieutenant, intend to have other Keys of the same Doors, and to be the Fifth with them.

My Lord, we beseech your Grace to have in remembrance, that we may have Mony shortly ; & that we may have some Store remaining by us. For we were never so ill furnished. My Lord, we had made you Answer or this, of the Premisses, saving we deferred the same unto we had taken View throughout this City, both of their Store of Victuals & Harnes. And thus our Lord have you in his Tuition. Written at *Tournay* the *xī* day of *Septemb.*

At your Graces Commaundment,

*Will. Mountjoy.*

*Sir Ric. Jarnegam.*

*Richard Sampson.*

*Sir Joh. Tremayle.*

*Sir Richard Whettehil.*

## N U M B. VII.

*A private Combination of France, Denmark & Scotland, of Invading England, and Attacking Tournay ; Discovered to Sir Richard Jernegan the Kings Lientenant there, by one Henry Crossene, a Spy of the Cardinals in the French Court. Being part of a Letter from the said Sir Richard to the Cardinal.*

*Cotton. Librar.  
Caligula.*

**P**Leasith your Grace to understand, that this Day came one *Henry Crossene* unto one of the Gates here at *Tournay*, &c. Your Grace shal moreover understand, that the same *Henry Crossene* is come strait from the *French Kings Court*, and hath shewed me this News following to advertise your Grace with Diligence.

First, he saith, that the *French King*, the *King of Denmark*, the *Duke of Albany* for the Realm of *Scotland*, & *Richard de la Pole*, be al in one Confederation, & Appointment, & concluded upon these Enterprizes following. And for the sure Conclusion of the same, there is already departed into *Scotland*, & from thence to *Denmark*, *Monfieur de Pursel* Chief Counsellor of *Roan*, & *David Cokron* King of Herolds.

The



The which *David Herold* of *Denmark* was the same that I took going to *France* now lately : of whom I wrote unto your Grace with speed. And whether my Letters came to your Grace, or not ; or if I did in the same acceptable Service, or not, hitherto knew neither the Kings Pleasure, nor your Graces.

*Item*, That *Richard de la Pole* should take Shipping in *Denmark*, & the Duke of *Ulske*, the King of *Denmarks* Unkle, with a certain Number of Lance Knights, to land in some part of *England*.

*Item*, That the Duke of *Albany* shall take Shipping in *Bretaign*, to go into *Scotland* : and there to make Busines against the King in those Parties.

*Item*, That *Monsieur de Burbone*, & the Duke of *Vendosme* at the same time shal come before this Town. So that al these Enterprizes should be put in execution al at one time : To the End that the King should be the more troubled for the Defence of the same.

And al this should be put in ure within this 2 or 3 Months.

And for that your Grace may give the more Credence, & to have the more knowledg in this before rehearsed, there is one Mr. *Robert Cokborne*, a *Scot*, & Bp of *Ruse*, who hath disclosed al this to the same *Henry Crossene*, as he saith ; to the end that your Grace may be advertised. And the same Mr. *Robert Kokborn* desireth the Kings Passport to pass & repass with twelve Horses with himself, and then at his Coming he will shew your Grace more at length of al that is further determined. The which he wil disclose to no Man, but to the Kings Highnes, or to your Grace. And if it shal be your Graces Pleasure, that the said Mr. *Ro. Kokb.* shal have the Kings Passport, & that it may so please your Grace, that the same Passport may be sent to me, or to the Master of the Fellowship, Mr. *Hewester*, where the said *Will. [Henry] Crossf.* do tary for the same : who should have the conveyance of it most secretlie that might be. For, as far as I can perceive by *Will. [Hen.] Crossf.* the said Mr. *Rob. Kokb.* would depart secretlie out of *France*, & with Hast by this Herold of *Denmark*, which was here taken, is much of this before rehearsed, come to Mr. *Rob. K.* knowledge. For they are both *Scots*. And the Herold thought that Mr. *Ro. K.* was good *French*, as he hath been before. But some Cause there is, that he is not at this time content with the *French* King, but glad to be revenged.

Your Grace shall understand, that *Richard de la Pool* is departed from the *French* King, & is departed to *Mence* in *Lorain*. And from thence shall go to *Denmark*, as the same *William* saith. I doubt not, but as shortly as he shal depart from thence, I shal be advertised of his Departure. For I have sent Espials to *Mence* for the same.

Also, I send your Grace a Letter here enclosed, that one *Polle*, a Master of a Ship, dwelling at *Hansardame [Amsterdam]* in *Holland*, hath sent to a Priest, Sir *William*, that is with *Rich. de la Poole*. The which *Polle* hath always served in time past *Perkyn Warbeke*, from *Edmond de la Pole*, & now *Richard de la Pole*. Wherefore this Letter is the more suspect. And if this Enterprize before rehearsed should be put in execution, I am fory that your Grace, & al the Lords of the Kings most Honorable Privy Council hath not given Credence to our oft Writings, for the Avauncement of such Works, as should have been great, and most necessary for the Surety of this the Kings Citadel. For  
if

if the same had been after our poor Avices followed in the same, at the time the older part of this Castle, which is yet very feeble, had been clean out of danger, & as strong & as defenceable as other of the new Works is. And for lack of the same, I assure your Grace, who-soever hath informed your Grace the contrary, there shalbe great Danger and great Paine, with Loss of many Men to defend the same, if any such thing shal fortune, or chaunce.

And now, Sir, at this Time, for extreme Poverty by Fault and Lack of Mony, there be here, I assure your Grace, many dead, weary and uncomfortable Hearts, as knoweth our Lord God, who ever preserve your Grace to his Pleasure. Written at *Tournay*, the last day of *May*, By your Servant to his little Power,

Sir Rychard Jarnegan.

To my Lord Cardinals  
good Grace.

## NUMB. VIII.

*The Chapter of the Church of Tournay to their Bishop, the Cardinal of York: Acknowledging their Thankfulness to him, for procuring them the Kings Patent, confirming al their former Liberties: And begging his Patronage.*

Cotton. Librar.  
Caligula. F. 1.

**L**ITERAS Vestrae Amplitudinis, Reverendissime Pater, accepimus; quæ nobis omnibus & jucundissimæ & gratissimæ fuerunt: eoque magis, quod jampridem summo desiderio expetivimus occasionem aliquam nobis oblatum iri, qua Vestrae Dignationi studiosissimè gratificareremur. Quam nunc oblatam esse mirificè gaudemus, & lætamur. Non quod vestris in nos Beneficiis dignū aliquid jam rependamus: quinimo (sicuti par est) declarare imprimis cupimus, non modo nostram erga Vestram Paternitatem benevolentiam (quæ, ut debetur, maxima est) sed Cultum in eam præcipuum, Observantiámq; singularem. Nos igitur omnes eodem assensu, ac una omnium voce, ita Vestrae Dignationis Petitioni annuimus (quæ imperare potius quàm rogare debuisset) ut vehementer doleremus nos in re ampliori vestrae Paternitati non posse morem gerere: Condonantes hilarissimè Chirurgi Regij filio quicquid Vestra Amplitudo postulavit. Desideramus etiam id Vestrae Amplitudini esse persuasum, nichil esse, sive & exiguum sit, aut grande, quod non alacriter ac promptissimè vestra causa efficiamus.

Neq; tamen illud est omittendum, quod literatissimo, humanissimóq; D<sup>no</sup>. Doctori, Vestrae Paternitatis Vicario, pluribus exposuimus; eam scil. pecuniam, quæ imprimis Canonicorum Receptionibus solita est persolvi, non in nostros usus & commoditatem converti, aut à nobis esse institutam, sed id omne pecuniæ quod persolvitur, in Ecclesiæ fabricam, & Thesaurarium ad Cappam comparandam, implicatur. Quod etiam Apostolica Auctoritate & Decreto huic Ecclesiæ concessum est.

Cæterum,



Cæterùm, ne pluribus Vestram Dignationem detineamus, ea omnia eidem pollicemur, quæ à fidelissimis Oratoribus, & Vestræ Dignitatis & Nominis amantissimis, postulari possunt. Ad quod sanè astringimur multis magnisq; rationibus. Vestra enim providentia effectum est, ut Ecclesiastica Libertas Regali munere conservata & defensa sit, atque hætenus ejusmodi Gubernatores Rectorésq; assecuti sumus, qui nos nostraq; privilegia illæsa inmotaq; tutati sunt. Quæ nimirum omnia in vestræ Amplitudinis egregiam Laudem & Gloriam cumulatissimè reddiderunt.

Oramus igitur, atq; obtestamur Vestram Dignitatem, ut Vestræ hujus Ecclesiæ Patrocinium Tutelamq; suscipiat, quæ cotidie supplicibus votis & pro invictissimi Regis nostri Serenitate, & vestræ Paternitatis prospero successu Omnipotentem Deum, humiliter suppliciterq; precamur. Valeat Dignissima vestra Paternitas. Ex Capitulo nostro *Tornacens.* hac xv Octobris.

V. Rev<sup>ma</sup>. Paternitati humiles & obsequiosi  
Oratores, Capitulum *Tornacense*, Decano  
absente.

Reverendiss. & Observandissimo in  
Christo Primati, & Domino nostro  
Dno. Cardinali Eboracensi.

## N U M B. IX.

A Commission of Cardinal *Wolsey* to the Bishops; To require al *Luthers* Books & Writings to be brought in, & delivered up to them from al Persons whatsoever: And they to send them up to him. It was Intituled,

*Commissio ad monendum omnes Personas, Ecclesiasticas & Sæculares; quod omnia Scripta & Libellos Martini Luther. Hæretici, penes se existen. ad manus Episcopi, vel ejus Commissarij infra tempus assignat. afferant, & tradant sub Excommunicationis & Hereticorum pœnis.*

**T**HOMAS miseratione divina Tituli Sce *Cecilie* Romanæ Ecclesiæ, Regist. Booth  
Ep. Heref. Cardinalis *Eboracensis* Archiep. *Angliæ* Primas, & Apostolicæ Sedis Legatus, ipsiusq; Regni *Angliæ* Cancellarius, necnon Sanctissimi in Christo Patris & Dni. LEONIS divina Providentia hujus Nominis Papæ Decimi, & dictæ Sedis etiam de Latere Legatus. Ad Illustrissimum & Potentiss. Principem & Dom. nostrum HENRICUM Dei gra. *Angl. & Franc.* Regem, & Dom. *Hibern.* Universumq; ejus *Angliæ* regnum; ac omnes & singulas ipsius Regni Provincias, Civitates, Terras, & loca illi subjecta, & alia illi adjacentia.

Venerabili Fri. nostro Dno. CAROLO *Herefordens.* Episcopo, ipsiusve in Spiritualib. Vicario generali, Salutem in Dno.

Cum

Condemnatio  
errorum Mar-  
tini Luth.

Cum jampridem præfatus Sanctissimus Dus. noster multos & varios Articulos sive Errores cujusdam *Martini Lutheri* pestiferos & perniciosos, ac *Græcorum* Hæresim & *Bohemicam* expressè continentes; olim etiam per Concilia Generalia & summorum Pontificum Constitutiones, damnatos, & per ipsum *Martinum* nuper fuscitatos, habita primitus super eisdem, & eorum singulas diligenti discussione, atque matura Deliberatione, tanquam pestiferos, perniciosos & hæreticos, ac simplicium mentium seductivos, Veritatique Catholicæ obviantes; ejusdem quoq; *Martini* Libellos, scripta ac scedulas in Latino, vel quocúmque alio Idiomate reperta; Damnaverit, reprobaverit, atque omnino rejecerit, próque damnatis, reprobatis & rejectis ab omnibus Christi Fidelibus habere debere, decreverit, & declaraverit. Inhibueritque idem Sanctissimus Dus. noster, in virtute sanctæ Obedientiæ, & sub majoris Excommunicationis sententia; atque etiam hæreticorum & Fautorum eorundem, aliisque multiplicibus gravibus & formidabilibus pœnis, eo ipso, absque ulteriori declaratione, incurrend. omnibus & singulis, tam Ecclesiasticis quàm secularibus Personis, cujuscúmque gradus ac conditionis aut præminentia forent; Ne præfatos errores, aut eorum aliquos, asserere, affirmare, defendere, aut quomodo libet favere; vel hujusmodi Libellos, Scedulas, Scripta vel in iis contenta Capitula, Legere, asserere, imprimere, publicare, defendere, vel in sermonibus suis, sive locis aliis, privatè vel occultè, quoquomodo tenere, præsumant. Prout in Literis præfatis sanctiss. Dni. nostri sub plumbo cum filis sericiis rubei & glauci coloris pendentibus, more *Romanæ* Curia bullatis. Dat. *Roma*, apud Sanctum *Petrum*, Anno Incarnat. Dominicæ, Millimo. quingentesimo. Viceesimo, xiii. Kalend. *Julij*: Pontificat. sui anno octavo, plenius continetur.

Rex Angliæ,  
Fidei Defen-  
sor nuncupatus.

NOS igitur THOMAS Cardinalis *Eborancens.* ac Legatus de Latere antedict. pro divina, & ipsius Sanctiss. Dni. nostri Reverentia, eq; Officij nostri debito, hujusmodi Pesti, priusquam in hoc inclyto *Angliæ* Regno radices agat, providere; ac ne tanquam Vepris nocua latius serpat, viam præcludere cupientes, de Consensu, Voluntate & Mandato expressis, prefati Potentiss. & Illustriss. Principis, Dni. nostri Regis, quem dictus Sanctiss. Dnus. noster, tanquam præcipuum Fidei Catholicæ Propugnatorem & Defensorem, per suum Breve, ad hujusmodi hæresim ab hoc inclyto suo Regno explodendum, extirpand. & abolend. summopere, rogavit & hortatus est; habitoque super hac re diligenti Tractatu, & exacta deliberatione cum Reverendiss. in Christo Patre & Dno. D. *Willimo Cantuar.* Archiepiscopo, totius *Angliæ* Primate, & Apostolicæ Sedis Legato, ac cum nonnullis aliis venerabilibus Fratribus nostris, hujus Regni Prælati; deque eorum consilio & expresso consensu; VOBIS Auctoritate nostrâ Legatinâ, qua fungimur, in hac parte firmiter injungendo, Mandamus, quatenus omnes & singulos, Abbates, Priores, Gardianos & Præsidentes, Monasteriorum, Prioratum, & locorum Religiosorum quorumcúmque, cujusvis Ordinis, tam exemptorum, quam non exemptorum, necnon Collegiatarum Decanos, Præpositos, & Custodes, Parochialiumque quoque Ecclesiarum Rectores, Vicarios, & Curatos quoscúmque, tam vestra quam cujusvis peculiaris, sive exemptæ jurisdictionis intra vestram Dioc. consistentes, distinctè moneatis, & eis injungatis, seu sic moneri & injungi faciatis; quod proximo die Dominico, sive solenni post hujusmodi vestram Monitionem sive Injunctionem eis fact.

in



in Ecclesiis suis intra Missarum, sive Divinorum Officiorum solemnia, cum major inibi convenerit multitudo, publicè moneant, vel moneri faciant omnes & singulos Bibliopolas, Stationarios, sive Librorum Venditores, ac omnes alias & singulas Personas, Ecclesiasticas & Sæculares intra Præcinctum Monasteriorum, Prioratuum, Collegiorum sive locorum aut Parochiarum suarum respectivè existentes, seu commorantes, cujuscunque generis, status aut Conditionis existant; Ut omnia scripta, vel impressa, vizt. Schedulas & Libellos dict. *Martini Lutheri*, vel ejus nomine composita, edita, sive divulgata in Latino, vel quovis alio Idiomate, penes se existen. ad Vos seu vestrum in hac parte Commissarium citra quintum decimum diem hujusmodi monitionem seu injunctionem ei fact. proximè & immediatè sequent. afferunt & ad manus vestras vel vri. hujusmodi Commissarij, realiter tradant & liberent, seu sic afferri, & tradi faciant. Recusantes vero, aut ultra dict. quintum decimum diem hujusmodi Scripta inferri, ut premissum est, & realiter tradere, temerè & contumaciter differentes, omnes & singulos, cujuscunque gradus, Status & Conditionis existunt, majoris Excommunicationis Sententiam eo ipso incurfuros, ac tanquam hæreticæ pravitatis, & hæreticorum celatores & fautores esse reputandos, habend. & judicand. hæreticorúmq; pœnis percellendos, & puniendos, denuntient, & declarent.

Prædictos etiam, Abbates, Priores, Gardianos, Præsidentes, Decanos, Præpositos, Custodes, Rectores, Vicarios & Curatos supradict. ut supra moneatis, & eis injungatis, quod & ipsi omnia Scripta impressa, Libellos, seu Schedulas à dict. *Martino* composita & edita, aut sub ejus nomine divulgata, penes se existentia, pari modo citra prædict. XV diem, ad vos, vel vestrum hujusmodi Commissarium afferant, & realiter tradant. Quod siqui ex ipsis non curaverint, aut prædict. vestras Monitiones debitè exequi non fuerint & Personis infra sua Monasteria, Prioratus, Collegia, Parochia & loca commorantibus (prout eos respectivè concernunt) modo quo præmittitur, minimè publicaverint, eos denuntietis simili modo majoris Excommunicationis Sententia innodatos, & tanquam hæreticorum fautores habendos, ac eorum pœnis afficiend. Moneatis insuper omnes & singulos Abbates, Priores Gardianos, &c. & eis Auctoritate nostra injungatis, quod ipsi omnes & singulas Personas, Ecclesiasticas & Sæculares, infra limites Monasteriorum, Prioratuum, Collegiorum, &c. respectivè existentes sive degentes, loco tempore & modo præmissis, discretè moneatis, quod siquis hujusmodi libellos vel schedulas, scriptave, sive impressa dict. *Martini Luther.* opera, penes aliquem cujuscunque Status aut Conditionis fuerit, occultè servari aut suppressi; ac Vobis, vel dicto vestro Commissario, citra præmissum diem quintum decimum tradi ac liberari cognoverit; quod sic servantem, tenentem, & suppressentem, mox ipso quinto decimo, sub pœnis, superius expressis, vobis vestrove hujusmodi Commissario, denuntiet, detegat, & revelet. Quod si fortassis non ante præmemoret quintum decimum, sed postea ad alicujus notitiam pervenerit hujusmodi scripta vel impressa dict. *Martini* opera, à quovis celari, teneri & servari, tunc infra quindecim dies à tempore notitiæ suæ hujusmodi, sub pœnis superius expressis, id vobis detegere, & denuntiare non omittat.

Et quoniam universæ Reip. Christianæ, præsertim hujus Regni, & locorum supra memoratorum plurimum interest, præfatas Literas Sanctiss.

Dni. nostri Damnationem dict. *Martini Luther.* & Opinionum suarum perversarum continentes, divulgari & publicari; Idcirco vobis commitimus & mandamus, quatenus ipsarum Literarum Apostolicarum transumpta per Notarium publicum, in forma autentica redacta, & sigillo nostro sigillat. quæ ad vos una cum præsentibus, transmittimus, in valvis, seu locis publicis Ecclesiæ vestræ Cathedral., aliarumq; Ecclesiarum Regularium, Collegiatarum, & Paroch. vestræ Dioc. magis insignium, firmiter affigatis; sicq; affixa dimittatis; seu saltem affigi & dimitti faciatis.

De die vero receptionis præsentium, executioneq; earundem, & quid in præmissis feceritis, nos citra primum diem mensis Augusti proximè futur. debitè, distinctè & apertè Certificetis. Ac omnia & singula, Schedulas, Libellos, Tractatus & Opera prædict. *Martini*, edita, scripta & impressa, per vos recepta, vel aliter quovis modo in manibus vestris, sive penes vos existen. citra prædict. primum diem Augusti, nobis tradere, sive ad nos fideliter, & absque ulla fraude, transmittere curetis. Dat. sub sigillo nostro in Ædibus nostris prope *Westmer'* XIII die mensis *Maij*, Anno Dom. 1521.

Sequuntur aliqui Errores pestiferi *Martini Luther*, &c.

Qui quidem Errores respectivè, quàm sint pestiferi, quàm perniciosi, quàm scandalosi, quàm piarum & simplicium Mentium seductivi; quàm deniq; sint contra omnem Charitatem, ac S. R. E. matris, omnium Fidelium, & magist. Fidei Reverentiam, atq; nervum Ecclesiasticæ Disciplinæ, Obedientiam scil. quæ Fons est, & Origo omnium Virtutum; sine qua facilè unusquisq; infidelis esse convincitur; nemo sanæ mentis ignorat. Nos igitur in præmissis, etc.

## NUMB. X.

*Fox Bishop of Winchester to the Cardinal: Upon his Purpose of Reforming the Ecclesiastics & Religious in both Provinces. For which he sheweth an earnest Desire, as highly necessary.*

**R**everendissime Pater & Dne. mihi unicè semper observande, Saltem<sup>m</sup> Plurimum, & optatum votorum omnium successum.

*Cott. Librar.*

*Faustina, C. 7.*

Ingentem atq; mirificam, Pater Amplissime, ex proximis vestris ad me Literis, cepi consolationem atq; voluptatem; quod ex illis intellexi D. V. Reverendissimam universi Cleri Reformationem secum instituisse; & ad eam inchoandam atq; aggrediendam diem brevi futuram præfinisse & præscripsisse. Eum namq; profectò diem jam diu non minus, quàm *Symeon* ille Evangelicus expectatum Messiam, votis omnibus videre expetivi, & ex quo illas D. V. Reverendiss. Literas legi, Reformationem ampliolem et multo exactiorem universæ *Anglorum* Ecclesiasticæ Hierarchiæ, mihi videor tantum non sentire & palpare, quàm ego hac hominum ætate vel faciundam vel ineundam divinare potui, nedum sperare. Conatus enim facere (quod mearum erat partium) in ditione hac meâ peculiari



peculiari & exigua, quod V. præstantissima Dominatio instituit in utraq; amplissima hujus Regni Provincia; Et hoc ferè perpetuum triennium illi uni negotio diligenter incubui; omniâq; mea Studia, Labores, Vigiliâs, Sudores, in ea ferè una collocavi. Ubi, quod prius non putassem, deprehendi & animadverti, omnia, quæ ad antiquam Cleri, & præcipuè Monachia, integritatem spectant, adeo vel Licentiis & Corruptelis depravata, vel Temporum malignitate & diuturnitate abolita & corrupta, ut ætate mihi confecto, Voluntatem & Studium auxerint; spem verò omnem sustulerint, perfectam & absolutam unquam videndi Reformationem, in hac vel mea Diocesi privata.

Nunc autem ex optatissimis illis V. R<sup>mæ</sup>. D<sup>nis</sup>. Literis veni in certissimam spem, summamq; expectationem brevi videndi universalem & publicam. Exploratissimum nempe habeo, multisq; experimentis luculentissimè perspectum, quicquid D. V. R<sup>mæ</sup>. moliatur, instituerit & susceperit, id eam omne prudentissimè & constantissimè, citra negotium aut contationem, confecturam & felicissimè absoluturam: Tam incomparabilis extat in ea divinarum humanarumq; rerum peritia, tamq; singularis apud Serenissimum nostrum Regem, Sanctissimamq; D. Papam, gratia & Autoritas. Quibus, quum V. circumspectissima D. hætenus ita perfuncta sit, ut summam inde Laudem, amplissimamq; per universum Orbem famam, sic assecuta; ex hac profecto sua clarissima Legatione, quam compositis, & suâ unâ operâ inter Christianiss. Principes, confirmatis Foederibus; ad Statum & Ordinem Ecclesiasticum reformandum, & componendum decrevit convertere; solidam & immortalem apud Deum & omnem posteritatem gloriam reportabit. Tanto cæteris omnibus, qui nostra memoria quovis gentium à summi Pontificis Latere missi sunt, præstantiorem & celebriorem, quanto vel Pax Bello expetibilior, vel Clerus populo Sanctior, & veneratior. Nam si quamplurimis Pontificibus maximis, vel oblivione, vel silentio præteritis, bini illi olim huc Legati omnium ore ubiq; terrarum hodiè celebrantur: idq; tamen ob nonnullas Sanctiones, quas præmaturo *Romæ* reditu infirmiores reliquere, quæ ætas, aut quæ malignitas V. R<sup>mi</sup>. Nominis Laudem & celebritatem vel delere possit unquam, vel obfuscare; cum universum *Angliæ Clerum* & Monachiam suæ integritati & dignitati restituerit; & Legem ad eam tuendam, & inconcussè servandam, condiderit; conditâque moribus & consuetudine comprobari & confirmari, fecerit.

Quod D<sup>ni</sup>. V. R<sup>mæ</sup>. non dubito eo multo facilius feliciusq; succedet, quod Rex noster Christianissimus, cujus hortatu & auspicijs (arbitror) hanc Provinciam recepit, omnem suam auctoritatem & opem ei ad votum, impertiet: Omnèsque Prælati, præsertim Episcopi, suos assensus & studia alacres, ni admodum fallor, adhibebunt.

Et ut de meipso saltem pollicear, quod animus meus ferre præstareq; gestit, sic mihi videtur hæc *Reformatio* Cleri & Sacrorum omnium oblatrantem diu populum placatura, Clerum illustratura, Regem ipsum Sereniss. & Optimates omnes Clero conciliatura; & Deo imprimis Opt. Max. plus omnibus Sacrificiis usq; adeo placitura, ut quicquid reliquum sit mihi hujus vitæ curriculi, id in eam lubentissimè impenderem atq; consumerem: uti D. V. Rev<sup>mæ</sup>. apertius coram declarabo ad diem in illius Literis præfinitum; si mihi vivo & sano illum videre detur.

Interim vero, imo dum vixero, Deum benignissimum cotidie assidueq; inter Sacri - - - - precabor, ut D. V. Rev<sup>am</sup>. diutissime servet, omniâque illius Instituta secundet, & feliciter & fausté. Ex Marwellis postridie Calendas Januarij.

V. Rem<sup>az</sup>. Dis. devinctiss. Orator.

Ri. Wynton.

## NUMB. XI.

Richard Pace, the Kings Ambassador to the Emperor, from his Camp in Italy; Concerning the State of his Army there against the French. To the Kings Highnes.

MSS.  
D. G. H. Eq.  
Aur.

**P**leasith hyt your Highnes to bee advertisid; that upon the 21<sup>th</sup> of July wee entred the Montens, namid *Le Colle de Tenda*, so upright to ascend and stand, that in many places it made us creep of al four: & so proclive in descence, that without great forcemeant to go bolt upright, wee could not avoide to fal down headlyng; & universallie so difficile and joberdeuse, that no man can peraventure beleve the same without like experience, as wee al therin fownde: but, our Lord highlie be laudid & semblablie thankid, the number passid with leasse detriment, then is in manner credible: but what tediousnes of heats, thirst and hunger, with molestious passage of baggage, was therin generallie sufferid, with other inconveniencies infinit, at this present I omit to declare, as things over base to write unto your Grace. Whom I wold not ignorant, that I your poor servant among the mo making as gud shift, as an other, hath byn on horsbacke & foot in continual jorney from mydnight to mydnight. Where I durst not in the most part therof other turn my horse travers for al the worldlie riches, nor in manner look on my left hand, for the pronite and deepnes to the valei. The 6<sup>th</sup> day imediatlie foloing wee attained *Nice*, the foot of the said Hill. Where themprour, bankettid for the space of two howers of the Duke of *Savoy* & the Duchesse, departid incontinent to the Camp, lyng three miles beyond in Saint *Laurence* within the jurisdiction of *France*. Where for the refreshing of his army, now very werie, & with intolerable labour almost overcum, continued five days: and thens made seven long miles: the next day ten leages, & postridie twelve: attayning a Towne, called *Frjew*, replenisht with Capiten *Tamise* Band, contayning seven thousand such *Almans*, as often hath not byn seen, both of personage, & also valiancie. The which imbarkid at *Oeane*, after they had depopulatid the Cond of *Mirandula* his londes, were hard set - - - -, & putting all the Town to flight and sacke, as thorowe all our jorney wee found the people fled into the mowntens, for the savegard of there lyves and goddes: notwithstanding his Majestie made Proclamation thorowout by Trumpet, that they should not feare nor flye him, for that that hee had no quarrel against; but offerid, if they wolde tarie, to protect & kepe them & thers harmeles, as a Prince ful of misericord & mercy,



mercy, having no notable vice reigning in hym worthy reprehension, more then the fragilitie of man temperid & governid with Reason often sufferith & provokith. After wee enterid the said Kings londes, wee found all kindes of Vitell plentie, and food for horse in great copie, as otherwyse in our other passages before made, store of gudlie rivers to drink. Where every man, compellid to make provision of bred & wine, did accordinglye, by the gudnes of Almighty God so abundantlie furnishid with the same, that wee did therwith pass thorow the journey, without any great detriment suffered. Here tharmy continued four days; many of our tents and pavilions by extreme vehement windes not onely blown downe, but also rent in peaces. From whence, before the departeur of the same, was sent before the mentionid Capiten with hys to scower the way of al enemise, accompanyng hym *Ferdinando Gonzaga* with three hundred light horses: that skirmishing with four hundred Hagbushiers of *France*, an hundred & fifty Archers, & so many men of armes (as more particularly this present meafenger can sufficientlie instructe your Grace) defaitid them all in a shorte tyme, both parties manfully fightyng for the space; and that onely by the meane of an hundred old Soudiers of *Spayne* Hagbusheirs mynglied among our mentionid light Horses. In the which combatterie were taken two Nobles of *France*. Thone namid *Monf. Busie*, & the other *Monteiane*, Capiten general of the *Pictons*; now returnid home upon there rancesome paid before, brought to thEmperor to kys his hondes: that of there parties humble offerid, hee like hymself refusid. Seven hundred horsemen sent from the Kyng of *Romans* hath now attaynid our Camp. Which I esteeme so strong & potent; that hyt were able in my judgment to discomfit the *Turque* and his armie; comprizing an hundred thousand of as gud fyghtyng men, as ever hee was Capiten of: ye, if there were therunto adjuted fiftie thousand moo. Here yet remainith many Gentlemen of *France* under savegard taken in the skirmish abone towchid. Themprour kepith as gudlie an order in hys fyld, & in the settyng forth of the same, as possible is, always in a reddines to rencontre hys adversarie. That in *Fryew* set four & twenty great peaces of Artillerie on lond with carteis to carrie the same, dayly folowing us in the hinder ward. Hit is a wondre to see the boties our Soudiars bringith dayly into the Camp from the Mountaines, & what shyft is made to fynde out hidden riches in Wals, & under the ground, nothyng escaping the *Spanyardys*, in that facultie wonderfullie experimentid or learnid.

Your Highnes herith all the resystance themprour hath had syns his Entrie into the Province. Owr being in *Fryew* came a Trumpeter of *France* to view our Campe, under the couler of visitation of a Marques of *Spayne*, in the behalfe of *Monfr. Roch de Mann*, not long syns plegge for the surrenderie of *Fussan*, in my other Lettres from those parties sent mentioned, for that humanitie hee then sownd in that fortune of the said marches. Among all other his Majesties Awnswer unto such a sleeveless Messeage was, that hee cow'd not a litle marvel to perceive so great paines & charges taken in this Visitation, where personallie hee might have rendrid hys condign thanks more nere home very shortly by moughth. There is cumen alate from *Almane* a Capiten, named *Jasper*, with twelve thousand Men of War: Wherof part bee left at *Turin* in *Italy*,  
& part

& part be in this our Camp with the said Capiten. The sixth day after our departur from *Savillay* in *Piemont*, the *French* men of *Thurin* came thither with all there power & force to sack the same. The which as they were a doing, themprours army there left of *Almans* & *Italions* so set upon them; that scarce escapid one to carie newes of there defeat to the said *Turkin*. The King of *Romains* horsemen touchid in my other letters of *Bocmes* remainith in *Italy*, for the defence of the same against such persons, as are had in a jelosie of revolting, that bee in my beleafe the *Venetians*. That, having no manner of possessions nor jurisdictions, but by tyranny & mear occupation, fearith the greatness of his Majesty, that in tyme to cum may so peasiblie increafe, that there feathers should bee thereby worthilie pluckid: there own consciences arguing & condempning there intolerable ambition, usurping other mens gudes. Whom I may reasonably compare to the Bat, deplumed for hur inconstancie, of part taking now here, now there; givying ayd where she saw victorie incline, as a condign punishment for hur defection from hur natural Lord & Capiten, as referrith the wise fable of *Isope*.

There bee a thousand *Spaniards* cumming from *Spain*, the which (as I conjectur) bee to put into Fortresses, as they bee renderid or gotten. For they be naturallie men of great pain, & that can suffer hunger as long as is for man possible; that in a seage is necessarie: as knoith our Lord God, who keep your Highnes in long life and like prosperitie; loulie besekyng the same to pardon me, that I now use my Secretaries help, myn hond not hable to performe hys accostomid office, as shortlie I trust hee shal.

My fortune being to visite Monsieur de *Grandvele* in *Fryew*, I meat there with Cardinal *Carachelus*, that very gladlie salutid me, & demaundid, How your Grace did fare, making a syngular great prayse to me of your wisdome, gudness of nature, and like humanite, experimentid sumtime at hys being in your Realme, as Collector to hys Mastre, to whom hee hertilie besought God to send a reconciliation of your partie. That shewid me, that hee was in desperation of peace, considering that his Collega *Trenouls* had not according to promise written to hym syns his departur toward *France*. And wheras I yet said, that I trustid that peace shuld succede by his prudencie, he made me awnsuere, that he perceivid not how it shuld cum to pass: adding, that as his Commission extendid no ferder, so trustid hee to obtaine Licence of themprour to returne. As then hee toke hys Licence, and thens conveyd by See. *Antonio de Leva* ys thorowout all thys long journey caried upon mens sholders.

Most noble Prince, to recyte vnto you the wisdome of this Prince, or the conduit of this hys enterprize, you wold not a litle marvel. So that, setting apart hys manifold other verteus qualites in this onlie thinge, me thinkith that hee is the Prince, that *Luce* in his Evangelie touchith, that cowntith to what effect his war may cum unto, before he beginnith the same; unless that otherwise hee bee compellid to send for peace to hys dishonor, nothing hable to performe that, that hee had begone. His ingins of war of all sorts in great copie ar caried continually with him, with myners, as wel for that asfer, as in all this our journey, ready to make our way, where it is not passable; provision  
by



by fe of wyne, bisquiet, meal, salt, meats and corn from al quarters in such abundance, as hatli not byn sene, cumith to meat hym in every - - - - - by the costes, whereby hee rytchith his Camp.

[The rest is defaced.]

From *Luca* in the Province. 5. *Augusti*.

Your most faithful bedisman, &  
like assidid servant

*Rychardus Pace*, Priest.

## N U M B. XII.

Cardinal *Wolsey* to Mr. Secretary *Pace*, the Kings Ambassador in *Italy*; To treat with the *Venetians* to ayd the Emperour, against the *French*; Attempting to recover *Milain* & *Naples*.

To my loving frende Master Richard Pace, the Kings  
principal Secretary.

Master Secretary,

I Commende me unto you in my most herty maner. Sens my last writing unto you, I have receyved divers & sundry your letters, to the Kings Highnes, & to me directed, bering date as wel in *Mantua* & *Verona*, as also in *Trent*, after your arrival there. Wherof the last be of the xxiii<sup>th</sup> of *Décember*. In your said letters ye have ful discretely advertised the Kings Highnes, & me, of the occurrants in those parties, with such matiers, as the Duke of *Burbon* hath desired you to write on his behalf. For which your diligence the Kings Grace geveth unto you herty thanks, like as I do the semblable.

MSS.  
D. G. H. Eq.

Advertising you, that the Kings grace by sundry wayes hathe lately be advertised, that the *Frenshe* King, lying himself with the most part of his armie stil at the siege of *Pavia*, hath sent & avaunced, or intendeth shortly to send forthe ons again, the Duke of *Albany* towards *Naples*. After whom it was first said, that the said Viceroy of *Naples*, & others themperors folks, leving *Lody*, were passed & took their way thiderward, for defence of the same: And that the *Frenshe* King therupon had sent after them the Countie *Saint Pole*, with other good Captaines & Bands of men, thinking to interclude themperors folks betwene both companies. Afterwarde by letters sent from the Duke of *Milan* of the xxii<sup>th</sup> of *December* to his Ambassador resident with the Kings highnes, the same amonges other newes perceyved, that in case the *French* king shulde send any power towards *Naples*, or make visage so to do, for any policie or crafte, thinking therby to cause the said Viceroy to abandonne *Italy*, & to attende the defence of *Naples*, the said *French* king shulde be gretely frustrate of his owne opynyon. For the

the said Viceroy wolde in nowise leue *Italy*, but asone as he shulde have his power unite, experiment batail with the said *French* King. Which thing to here & understood, the kings highnes was veray joyeows & glad, commending & lawding gretely the said Viceroyes grete vertue, wisdome, & good conduyte in this behalf. This matier is of grete & high importance, upon the succesles wherof be like to depend many things in *Cristendome*; & particulerly in the kings affaires.

Specially considering, that if the *French* king, causing themperours folks thus by litle and litle to abandonne the Duchie of *Mylain*, & contynuing his enterprises, shulde fortune to have also the overhande in *Naples*, it were like that he sholde therby be so elated, that he wolde be more obstinate, & ferder from good wayes of peax, then ever he was bifore.

On thother partie, if his armye thus divided, themperours folks, and such as be bounde to take his part in *Italy*, may be conjoynd togedre in tyme, & do their dutie, according to thair bands & conventions; it were not unlike, but that the *Frenche* king & his armye may be brought unto a grete extremyte, & peradventure reapente this his enterprise. But if by remysse dealing of such as shulde put their hande to the remedy of the matier, the Imperialls shall not be puissant inoughe to withstand the malice of their enemyes; than were it better, that some politique waye wer taken & provided in tyme, rather then to put bothe the Duchie of *Mylain*, & also the realme of *Naples* into extreme daungier & peril. For which cause the kings highnes, mynding alwaies to pretermyt nothing, that his grace may do for the furtherance of the common affaires, seing & perceyving the matiers of *Italye* to bee so intriked, as they now be, & not without apparance of grete dangier, hath at this tyme signified unto the bishop of *Bathe*, to bee shewed unto the Poores Holynes, what is thought here to be the best means for the remedy of the same: like as by the copie of my letters sent at this tyme to the said bishop of *Bathe*, being herewith, ye shal mowe perceyve at good length; mentionyng amonges other things thre wayes & devices, by the which it is thought here, that a remedy may be provided to the grete inconvenientes in my said letters specified, & apparant to ensue in cace the *Frenche* king shulde attayne the realme of *Naples*. On is, batail to bee stryken with the *Frenche* king, suffring the said Duke to pass in to *Naples*. The other is, an enterprise to be made upon the Duke of *Albanye*, & his company in his passage towards *Naples*. And the thirde is, a compromysion to bee made of such partys, as either themperour, or the *Frenche* king have in the Duchie of *Mylain*, into the Poores hands *per viam depositi*: as by the said copy ye shal perceyve at grete length. By renour wherof ye shal, amonges other things, understande, that for the better furtherance of these three things, the kings highnes promiseth, that ye shal repaire in diligence unto *Venece*, there to solicite & procure the spedy avauncing & setting forthe of their armye, to joyne with that of themperours, against the common enemye.

Wherefore his highnes & I desire you to take some payne herin, seing the good effects, that may ensue of the same: &, amonges other things, to persuade unto the *Veneceans*, upon such grete & notable considerations, as be mentioned in the said copie, towching the daungiers imminent



mynt unto al *Christendome*, fermely & constanrely to stik & adhere at this tyme unto thempersours partie, & not to suffre themselves to be brought in to suche dangier as they are like to be, if the *Frenche* king were Lorde of *Naples* & *Mylain*. Who, they may be wel assured; wolde be no quiete neybour unto them; ne they shulde, withoute their grete trouble & perill, conveniently resist, or withstande any his pleasures or commaundements. The example wherof, & of his entente towards that Seigniorye, if he may have an overhande in *Italy*, appered at suche tyme, as the late *Frenche* king compassed & brought about the grete liege of the Poope, Emperour, hymself, & the king of *Spayne* than being, with other grete princes against the same.

And in this matier ye shal the better animate & encourage them, if ye say secretly to the Duke & other of the Counsaile, that it is not unknowne unto the kings highnes, how inhumainely the *Spaniards* have ordred them selves in *Italy*, geving thereby cause & occasion to such as favour thempersours parte to declyne from the same, & rather to desire & suffer the *Frenche* men there, not being so cruel, than the *Spaniards*. But ye shal say, that the matiers wel proceding at this tyme, the kings highnes trusteth to do so moche with thempersour, that he shal geve the investiture of the Duchie of *Mylain* clerely unto the Duke of the same. Wherby *Italy* may be delyvered both from the *Frenche* men & also the *Spaniards*. And thus by the best meanes ye can to further, by al the wayes to you possible, the exclusion of the *Frenche* king from this enterpryse of *Naples*, & the strengthening thempersours folks, to resist him in the Duchie of *Mylain*.

Wherunto if the *Veneceans* wol not condescende, like as they shal be partyners of the peril, the *French* king having such a foot in *Italy*, that he may commaunde them at his pleasure, so thei shal be of the first that shal suffre & put their state & domynion with the rest of *Christendome* in trouble, hazarde & dangier.

Ye shall say also unto them, that if thei breking their pacts, bands & convencions with thempersour, shulde geve unto the *Frenche* king commodite to attayne the realme of *Naples*, the kings highnes cannot repute them as thempersours frends, but rather his enemyes: wherof in that cace, as god forbode, shulde grow & ensue also cause of enemyte bitwene the kings grace & them. In the declaration wherof ye must handle them in doulce & pleasant maner; putting them in remembrance of the grete intelligence & frendship, that hath of long season continued bitwene this realme, and that Seignorie. Which to be discontinued in their default, the kings highnes, for the grete favour, that his grace bereth to the same, wolde be right loth to see. And the point of enemyte bitwene the king & them not to be spoken of, onles then ye shal see a desperation in their proceding.

It shal also be wel done, that at some convenient tyme, as of your self, ye perswade unto the Duke of *Venece*, that these grete things depending, touching as wel the contynuaunce of the good intelligence bitwene the kings grace & them, as other matiers of weighty importance, concernyng the state of their Seigniorye; it shal be right expedient for conducing of things to the better trayne & purpose, that they have an Ambassadour here resident, by whose meanes the matiers may be directed to moche the more perfection, as by their wysdomes

they can wel consider. And what answer shalbe made unto you, upon al the premisses, with other occurants & successes there, I pray you to advertise me with diligence, from tyme to tyme, as the kings, & my special trust is in you. And thus right hertely fare ye well. At my place besides *Westminster* the xvi<sup>th</sup> day of *Januar*.

Ann<sup>o</sup> 1524.

Your Lovyng Frende

T. Car<sup>lis</sup> Ebor.

### N U M B. XIII.

*Instructions by the King, for Mr. Pace, sent to the State of Venice.*

HENRY R.

MSS.  
D. G. H. Eq.

**I**NSTRUCTIONS yeven by the Kings highnes to his trusty & right welbiloved Counsaillor & chief Secretarye Mr. *Richard Pace*, conteygnyng such charges & matiers, as he shal disclose to the Duke & Senate of *Venyce*, or to other having principal auctoritie in the governance of the Bien publique of that Dominion.

Furste, after the kings cordial recommendations, & deliveraunce of his letters Credentials, the kings said Secretary shal say, That the kings highnes, calling to his remembraunce thauncient amities & perfite intelligence, that hath bene established, & perseverauntly contynued, as wel betwixt the kings most noble progenitours, & that Dominion of *Venice*, as also betwixt his highnes & theym for the tyme of his noble reigne, not oonely tendering & advauncyng al their causes & matiers, redounding to their honours & fuerties, as his awne propers; & entertaingnyng al & singler their Oratours, merchaunts, & subgiетts, reaforting to his realme with honour, favour & al courtaisie; but also for the singler zeale & benevolent affection, that his grace hath borne, & berithe to the said Dominion, willing them as his right dere frendes to be participaunt of al commodities & benefits, that mought ensue unto theym of, & by the treaties, confederations & conventions of peax, amitie & intelligence heretofore passed & concluded, betwixt his grace, & any other outward prince or princefs, hath alwayes expressely comprehended theym in al & singler such treaties. Which comprehension they, as right noble & provident personages, have not oonely accepted thankfully, shewing unto the kings subgiетts, reaforting to their Dominions, al humanitie & gentilnes, but also sundry tymes sent their autentique letters under their seal of lede, contaygnyng thacceptation of the said comprehension: & specially now of late upon the treaties concluded at *London*, betwixt the kings highness, themperour & the *French* king, as princes contrahents. Which amitie his grace trusted shuld have bene permanent, & perdurable, remembring the corroboration therof by treaties of aliaunce, & also mutuel entervieu with profite, acqueyntaunce, & familiar



milier communication betwixt theym, over and about the corporal oother, seals, and subscriptions, made & passed on bootie parties.

But how dishonorably the said *Frenshe* king hath ordered & demeaned hymself, aswel to the kings highnes his Reame, countreis, dominions & subgietts; to themperour, being oon of the principal contrahents in the said treatie, & to diverse others, comprehended therein, in violating the same, the king thought right expedient to intimate & notifie unto the said *Venicians*, as to his right dere frendes; to the intent, that his inconstant, disloyal & dishonourable demeanure, being to theym perfectly knowen, they may ordre theym self unto hym, as wel according to tharticle of thair comprehension, conteygned in the said treatie of *London*, & by thair letters patents accepted, as to take special regard how they joyne theym selfs with that prince, which not being contented with his awne Limits, contynually deviseth & studieth, how to disturb the peax of *Christendome*: for his private profit encroching upon the dominions of the mooste part of al Christen princes, wherin their parte lyeth depely, if the said *Frenshe* king mought establishe his dominions, auctoritie & puyssaunce in *Italie*.

And furste, Whereas amonges other articles conteygned in the said Treatie, it is provided, that in caas any of the principal Contrahents shuld be invaded or disturbed by thoder, the Prince not making invasion being required by the partie invaded, was & is bound to declare hymself enemye, & to geve an assistance ayenist the invasour: Wherupon themperour, pretending hymself not oonly to be invaded by the *Frenshe* kings capitains & armye in his reame of *Naverre*, but also disturbed in his possessions, dominions & countreis by *Robert De la Merche*, & others, by the said *Frenshe* kings procuring, ayding & assisting with men & money, hath diverse & many tymes required the kings highnes to declare hymself enemye unto the said *Frenshe* king, & to give ayde & assistance to hym ayenist the said *Frenshe* king: Howbeit the kings highnes bering singler zeale as wel to the establishing of good peax in *Christendome*, as to the continuance of mutuel amitie & amicable intelligence betwixt hym & the said *Frenshe* king, rather practised the wayes & meanes to reduce themperour & hym to concorde & unitie, then by his declaration, or geving assistance, to norishe & continue werre & hostilitie. Wherupon his grace sent the mooste Reverend fader in god, the Legate Cardinal of *Torke*, as his lieutenant to *Calais*, not oonly to here the contraversies & questions with other grieffs & differences, depending in variaunce betwixt themperour & the said *Frenshe* king, but also amicably to compounde the same by summe covenable peax, treatie or abstinence of werre.

And albeit many things were alledged on themperours partie at the dyet at *Calais*, proving the invasion to procede of the *Frenshe* king, being justified & approved by sundry instructions & letters signed with his awne hand; which his chauncellor & counsaill there assembled coude not avoyde by any probable grounds; yet the kings grace, folowing continually the waies of peax, willed his said Lieutenant not oonly to forbere his declaration, but also to continue the said dyet, to thintent that by ferther labour, means & mediation summe goode conclusion mought be taken in pacifying the said variaunce. Wherupon the said Legate sundry tymes, after his return to the kings presence, sent his

messengers with letters & instructions to the *Frenshe* kings moder, for bringing the differences to summe goode treux by her charitabe meanes & mediacions. Howbeit though faire & and pleasaunt wordes were geven for the tyme, yet by delaies the matier was alwaies tracked, & put over without any fruteful determination. And in the meane season the *Frenshe* king, contrarye to his oothe & promyse, not oonely sent the Duke of *Albanye* into *Scotlande* in contempt of the king, being supreme Lorde of that lande; which Duke pretendithe hymselff heire apparaunt to the crowne there; whereby the yong king, nepheu to the kings grace was, & is, in extreme daungier of deethe, or deposition; but also to invade the kings Reame, & dishonour the kings suster by separation of her from her lieful houseband, & dampnably to contracte matrimonye with her, wherin there is now vehement presumption by sending therle of *Anguise* her said houseband into *Fraunce*, there to be deteigned prisoner. And yet with this not contented the same *Frenshe* king hath not oonely restrayned the payment of the kings money, to the contentation wherof he is bound by his oothe under the censures of the church, though the same hath bene often demaunded on the kings behalf; but also continually entertaineth the kings rebellious subgiets, *Richard de la Pole*. And over this, albeit the *Frenshe* king graunted his letters of save conduyte under his signe & grete seal, to al & singler the kings subgiets, reasorting to *Burdeux*, or any other part of his dominions, frely & surely to come, remaigne & retorne, with their goods, shippes & merchaundises without arrest, disturbaunce, inquietation, or impechement, yet he not regarding his promise, ne save conduyte, subdainly without declaration or monicion arrested the persons, goods, shippes & merchaundises of the kings said subgiets at *Burdeux* & elifwhere; the like wherof hath not bee harde doon of any Christien prince, & skaunte of an infidele. And over this, his subgietts, by his permission & sufferance, have cruelly & dispitefully spoyled & robbed the kings lieges on the See, under colour of peax & amitie: refusing to make any due restitution, reformation, or redresse for the same.

Upon which causes, groundes & considerations the kings highnes hath not oonely declared hymself enemye to the *Frenshe* king, but also notified unto hym, that from hensfurthe he woll take part with themperour ayenist hym with al his force & power: Declaring also al maner treaties & convencions heretofore passed betwixt his grace, & the said *Frenshe* king void, frustrate & of noon effecte in his defaulte.

By the premisses it is open & manifest, how disloially the said *Frenshe* king hath violated his oothe, treaties, conventions, save conduytes, & promises to the kings highnes: by reason wherof his grace was, & is enforced not oonely to declare hymselff enemye unto hym, as aboue; but also in joynnyng with themperour, to do unto the same *Frenshe* king, his landes, dominions, and subgietts, al the annoyfaunce, dammage & prejudice with his strength and puissaunce, that he can. Inasmoche therfore as the said *Venecians* have hitherto taken parte with the said *Frenshe* king, in geving to hym aide & assistance ayenist themperours armye in *Italie*, the kings grace thought right expedient, as a faithful frende, to geve advertisement unto theym, that enmitie standing betwixt the kings highnes, & the same *Frenshe* king, they shuld & owe, not oonely forbere to geve ayde & assistance unto the same *Frenshe* king; but



but also upon Requisition, to theym made, on the king & themperours parties, to declare theym selffs enemies unto hym, according to tharticle of the treatie by theym accepted & approved. Which letters of Requisition the kings highnes now sendithe to his said Secretary, to be delivered unto the Duke & Senate, or thoder governours; advertiseing the same his Secretary, that themperour at this tyme sendith also his semblable letters of Requisition to be delivered by his Ambassador, thinking right expedient, that they boothe - - - - - togeders shulde jointly deliver the said letters of Requisition to the same *Venicians*, not oonely declaring unto theym the hoole circumstance of al the said *Frenshe* kings variaunte demeanure, according to the premisses, with theeffecte of such matiers, as be comprised in the kings letters of Requisition; but also requiring theym to absteigne & forbere to ayde, favour & assist the said *Frenshe* king; & according to the said Article to declare theymselffs enemyes unto hym. Which thing of good congruence they cannot refuse to doo, if they intende & purpose to lyve in peax & amitie with the king & themperour. For remembring the *Frenshe* king to be enemye, & in hostilitie to & with theym boothe, if the *Venicians* shulde incline to his partie by geving ayde & assistance unto hym, they expressely by thair acts shulde declare theymselffs ayenist the said king & emperour. And if they shal say, that they woll remaigne neutrall without geving assistance or making declaration to the oon partie or thoder, than it may be answered, that they observe not the purporte of tharticle, which is to declare theymselff enemye to the invasour after the letters of Requisition. For it is not to be doubted, but if they had bene invaded by the *Frensh* king, or any other, they would furthwith have required aide & assistance of the kings highnes & themperour ayenist such invasion, according to tharticle; which coude not have bene denyed unto theym. Wherefore if they in caas semblable, being required, shuld refuse to declare theymselffs enemies to the *Frensh* king, & to forbere to geve ayde & assistance ayenist him, in this caas they may not loke hereafter to have any succours of the king or themperour by vertue of the Treatie of *London*, or any other like comprehension, which by such acts they expressely violate & renounce.

And thus finally they must of necessity either declare theymselffs ayenist the *Frenshe* king, or else expressely renounce the benefit of their comprehension. And not oonely be reputed as infractours of their promises in that behalf, but also fal consequently in enmitie with the Poope, the king, themperour, & al their Confederates & alies: which mought be daungerous unto theym, as of their grete wisedomes they can right wel ponder & consider. Whereas declaring theym self enemyes to the *Frenshe* king, according to tharticle by theym approved & accepted, & contynuyng in amitie with the Poope, the king & the Emperour, it shal not ly in the powers of any other to annoy them.

The said Secretary shal also say, that noo amitie or good intelligence can contynue betwixt the king, themperour & theym, if they accomplish not the purporte of the said Requisition. And seing the *Frenshe* men now to be expelled out of *Italie*, there is no cause why they shulde make difficultie therin, & of their retorne again they nede not fere; Considering how they shal be occupied aswel on thisside, as on the frontiers of *Spaigne*, by puisaunt armies, as wel of the kings highnes, as  
of

of themperours. Wherefore it is most expedient for theym to incline to the king & themperours partie, in avoyding the daungier of hostilitie, which may ensue unto theym by this refusal, wherby their state mought be put in daungier.

The premisses considered, it may be said, that it is more than necessarye, that the said *Venicians*, not oonely declare theym selff as above, but also take & conclude with diligence summe perfite peax & amitie with themperour; considering that the treux betwixt themperour & theym shal with in brief tyme expire: & that it is pretended & alledged by the said Emperour, that they on their parte have violate & broken the said treux. Wherin the kings highnes is agreable to be a mediator after his best maner, for their honour & utilite: endeavouring hymself to mitigate thextreme & excessive demaunds of themperour, if any such shal fortune to be. Which thing wolde bee spedily advaunced by sending large & ample commissions, with sufficient instructions to their Ambassadors, resident aswel with the king, as with themperor. For the delaying & tracking of this matier may do moche harne, & prejudice fundry wifes.

And in caas any motion, by way of complainte, or doliaunce, shal be made unto you by the said *Venecians*, for discharging or exonerating their galeis with their goods & merchaundises, within the kings realme, thinking injurie to be done unto theym, considering, that the same galeis came hider under promise & assurance, as they affirme; the kings said Secretary shal say, That themperour at his arrival into the kings Reame, perceiving the said galeis to be right mete & commodious to be rigged & prepared for his more assured conveyaunce into *Spaigne*, made especial request, & instance unto the kings highnes for the discharging, preparing & rigging of the same galeis for the said purpose. And al beit the kings grace remembring the goode amitie & intelligence hiderto contynued betwixt the kings highnes, & the said *Venicians*, was right loothe so to do, yet his grace being credibly advertised fundry wifes, that the *Frenshe* king was not oonely determined to intercepte & take the said galeis, with al the goodes & merchaundises in the same, but also to prepair & use theym in the werres ayenist the king & the said Emperour, was summewhat moved to put theym in suertie, in avoyding such incoveniences; especially for that themperour was surely advertised, that the said *Venitians* had of new inforced & furnished their armies in *Italie*, to ayde & assist the *Frenshe* king for thattempting of such things in *Italie*, as be from him recovered to the use of the Duke of *Mylayn* & others by themperours army. For which cause the king thought right expedient to restrayne the same galeis unto such tyme as his grace mought be advertised, how they wold ordre theymselff in the declaration ayenist the *Frenshe* king according to the requisition now to theym made, as wel by the kings highnes, as themperour joyntly. Which if they folowe in declaring theymselff ayenist *Fraunce*, then shal the amitie & good intelligence betwixt the king & theym stande in good strenth & vigour: wheras in refusing so to do, & contynuyng in taking the *Frenshe* kings partie, they not oonely shal renounce the benefit of their comprehension, but also expressly by their acts declare theymselffs enemies unto the kings highnes, & the said Emperour. And in that caas, how the king hath cause to entreate their subgiets,



subgiets, galeis & goods within his Ream, they of their wifdomes can best confidre.

The faid Secretary fhall alfo fay, that albeit the kings grace mynded to use the faid galeis for the purpofes before touched for a brief tyme, which fhulde not have bene gretely to their prejudice, yet the Patrones & others, that have the rule and governaunce of the faid galeys, fo inhumanely & ungoodly demeaned theymselff, by excessive demaundes, with exclamations & other contumelious words, that the king, being otherwife purveyed, thought moore expedient to forbere the use of theym, than to be in their daungiers. The premisses confidered, the faid galeis be reft rayned here, til fuch tyme as the kinges grace fhall be advertifed from you, what the faid *Venicians* fhall intend to do, as wel in thaccomplishment of the recognition, now by the king, & themperour joyntly made, as in declaring theymselff enemies to the faid *Frenshe* king according to tharticle of comprehension. Which thing if they refufe to do, & take the *Frenshe* kings partie, the king and themperour have fufficient caufe to take theym as enemyes, like as they intend to do accordingly.

In confideration of the premisses, neceffary it is that ye with al diligence poffible, not oonely endeavour your selff to have aunfwer of theym, in al & fingler the premisses, & to know their refolute myndes in every poynt of thefe instructions, wherby they muft of neceffity be inforced either to declare themselff for the king & the Emperor, in which caas the amitie fhall endure, & the galeis with the goods & merchaundizes be in furetie; or els in taking the *Frenshe* Kinges partie, to be in hoftilitie, & their subgiets, galeis & goods in daungier. And fo may ye shew unto theym.

Finally, the Kings faid Secretary, after he fhall have advertifed the Kings Highnes of fuch aunfwer, as fhall be made unto him by the faid *Venicians*, fhall remaigne & make his abode at *Venice*, til he fhall be advertifed of the Kings pleasure in that behalf.

#### N U M B. XIV.

*The Bishop of Bath & Sir Anthony Brown to the Cardinal, from Paris: Concerning the Cardinals Embassie to the French King, & meeting him at Amiens.*

**A**fter our most humblyl recommendation: It may lyke your Grace to understond, that the fyrst day of *Julye* we receyvyd your Grace is lettres off the xxvii off the last monythe: & immediatlye we roode to the Coorte; which lyithe styl at Saynet *Denyse*. And at our fyrst commyng thether we sent your Grace is letter to the King by *Robartet*. Who shewed vs that he thowght that we coud not conveyentlye speke with the kyng that day. After dyner, we spake with my Ladye, & declaryd unto hyr your Grace is pleasure concernyng your setting forwards. Wherin she answeyrd vs, that in no wyse the kyng  
hyr

MSS.  
D. G. H. Eq.

hyr sonne wyl, that your Grace shal passe the cite of *Amyas*. She saythe, that the kyng her sonne, as she trustythe, is past al jopardye off this fevyr; & shal not fayll to meet with your Grace at *Amyas*, wher God willyng, & none other impediment chanceying, he wilbe by the latter end off this monythe. We showid hyr how glade your Grace was to take payns, & to travayll your bodye, rather than the kyng her sonne shold put his parson in any danger, or put off his necessarye busines. She hartilye thankid your Grace for your good will, & said, she trustyd, that ther shold be no soche danger. As touching the tyme, by cause we conjecturyd by soche journaies as we recounned meet for your Grace to make, that it wold be nyghe the end of *Julye* by foor your Grace coud wel arriff at *Amyas*, we made no more stickyng therin, knowyng ryght well, that for a day or twayn, more or lesse, they will not styke heer to advance themselfe, as they shal see the progresse of your Grace is jorneye.

As touchyng the Requisition to be made joyntlye by the kinges & the *French* Orators, off the Emperor in *Spain*, for the redress of soche injuries & owtragies, as detestablye hath been shewyd and done to the Pope, & the See Apostolique, she lykythe that Overture very well; & said, that the denyall theroff, & the accumulation of that matter, with other, shal justify the intymation of warre, that shall ensue, by fore God & man: & willyd *Robartet* to resort unto us for instructions therin, of that that mowght welbe wrytyn to their Ambassadors in *Spain* for that purpose; & we for his Instruction have showyd him what your Grace hath wryten to the kinges highnes Ambassadors in *Spain*: & he saythe that the same shalbe wrytyn to the kyng his Masters. My Lady spake also verye fore words, saying, That Christen princes coud not of their honor soffyr ther Head, Cristis Vicar, to be kept in servitude & captivite: And, That ther coud be no cause, wherfore a Prynce myght of his own aucthorite put a Pope to his rawnson, or kepe him in captivite: Finally, That Prynces shold withdraw their obedience from a Pope being in captivite: with many soche wordes, which we said shold be good matter to devise and treat upon at your Grace is comyng hither.

As touchyng the confirmation of the last Treaty concluded by *Monf. de Tarbe* (a), she said, that our demand was reasonable: & that we shold reasort unto the Chancellor therfore: who shold depeache it out off hand.

At our return unto *Paris*, we went unto the Chancellor: who is answer was, that it shold be done; but he wold spek fyrst with the Kyng. Which shold be as this day, & so speed it, & send it us.

My Lady also shewyd us, that *Monf. de Lotrek* (b) is departyd, & right wel trymmyd and furnisheed off al thynges, that be necessary for his feat. As for tydings of *Italy*, heer is nothyng renuyd, but that the

(a) He was lately Ambassador from the *French* King into *England*. By whom a Match was agreed upon between the Kings daughter, the Lady *Mary*, & K. *Francis*, or his son the Duke of *Orleans*.

(b) He was a famed Soldier, & General of the Army in *Italy* against the Emperor.



Chancellor of *Spayn* (a) is past thorowe *Piemont* on his jorney to *Rome* wards. Thus the Almighty God preserve your Grace. From *Paris*, the ii day of *Julye*.

Your Grace is faythful Servants,

Reverendissimo in Christo Patri  
Thomæ Ebor. Archiepiscopo,  
Cardinali, &c.

Jo: Bathoniens.  
Anthone Browne.

# N U M B. XV.

William Archbishop of Canterbury to Cardinal Wolsey; In  
behalf of his Jurisdiction of the Prerogative Court, which the  
Cardinals Officers assumed.

PLEAsyth it your Grace to understond, that I am informyd by the <sup>CLeopatra,</sup>  
friends of *Jane Roper*, wiff & executrice to her late husbond <sup>F. 2. Fol. 210</sup>  
*John Roper*, that she is called to appear afore certain of your Graces  
Commissaries in your Chappel at *Yorkplace*; for to take upon her as  
Executrice, or els to refuse, or to be repellyd as none Executrice, &  
the Wyl of the said *John Roper* to be taken as no Wyl, nor she to be  
taken as Executrice. So it is as I am informyd, that this Testamentary  
cause was callyd afore such Commissaries as were deputed to examine  
soche Testamentary causes, as concernyd the *Prerogative*. Wher by your  
Graces Commissaries & mine, the party thynketh that she might have  
had indifferent justice. And now by special labour and sinister meanys  
to be callyd before other Commissaries of the *Prerogative*, she, & some  
other of her Counsel, writyth to me, that she is otherwys orderyd then  
according to good justice.

It is written to mee also, that in case your Grace should call al Testa-  
mentary causes to special Commissaries, that finally the Jurisdiction of  
the *Prerogative* should be extinctyd: And also al Testamentary causes  
shal only depend upon your Graces pleasure, & no mannys Wil, to take  
any effect, but as it shal please your Grace.

I take God to my Judge, I write none otherwyse unto your Grace,  
then others have written or spoken to my face. Her frynds saith also,  
that she desireth nothing, but to be admitted as Executrice to her said  
husbond. And in case there be any thing to be reformyd in the Will  
of the said *John Roper*, she is therwith contented as the Law & good  
Conscience shal require.

I would your Grace knew what rumor & obloquy is both in these  
partys, & also in *London*, that no Testaments can take effect otherwise  
then your Grace is content. And it hath openly be shewyd me by di-  
vers men, that it is a great trouble, vexation & inquetyng to be callyd  
afore your Graces Commissaries & mine: & also to be callyd afore your

(a) Going in Embassy from the Emperor to the Pope.

Graces special Commissaries in your said Chappel, or elsewhere at your Graces pleasure. And many faith, that it is a great oversight in me, that I would make soche a composition with your Grace, which should turn so many men to trouble and vexation. I take God to my Judge, I write none otherwise unto your Grace, then it hath been shewyd to my face, or else written unto me by letters. For I find your G. so Loving to me & to mine, that I do hide nothing from your G.

Finally, I beseech your G. as hartily as I can, that it may please you, that this matter may be deferryd tyl after *Easter*: at which tyme I shal wait upon your G. & I doubt not that by meanys of your G. and my waiting on your G. al inconvenience in this behalf may be eschued, & the partys more shortly releved, then by the proceß of the Law. I am, & alway shal be glad, that your G. use al thyng at your pleasure: but I am sure your G. wul do nothyng contrary to the Composition sealed with your G<sup>s</sup> seal, and subscribed with your G<sup>s</sup> hand concerning the Prerogative, which my Church tyme out of mind hath be in possession of. I write plainly to your G. for I know right well your G. wyl be best content with truth & plain dealyng, or else I would not be so bold to write unto your G. in this maner, as God knowyth, who ever preserve your G. From *Charing*, the xxiii<sup>th</sup> day of *February*.

At your Graces Commandement,

*Will<sup>m</sup> Cantuar.*

## N U M B. XVI.

*Another letter from the said Archbishop to the said Cardinal, of the same Import.*

*Cleopatra,  
F. 2. Fol. 175.*

**P**Leasyth it your good G. to understond, I am informyd that your G. intendyth to interrupt me in the use of the *Prerogative*, in the which my Predecessors & I, in the right of my Church of *Canterbury*, hath been possessed by privilege, custome & prescription, tyme out of mind. And for the interruption of the same, your G. is myndyd, as I am informyd, to depute *Dr. Alan*. Which if your G. should so do, confydering that not only al mine Officers of my Courts of the *Arches* & the *Audience*, but also the Commissaries of my Dioces of *Kent*, & I my self, not only in matters of Suite of Instance of partys, but also in cases of correction, depending before me & them, be contynually inhibityd by your Officers; I should have nothyng left for me & my Officers to do: but should be as a shadow & image of an Archbishop and Legate, voyd of authority and jurisdiction. Which would be to me perpetual reproch, & to my Church a perpetual prejudice.

Wherefore, in as moche as I trust verily in your great goodnes, that your G. would not be so extreme against me & the right of my church before namyd, I beseech your G. the premisses consideryd, to deferr & respect



respect this matter, tyl I may have communication in thys behalf with your G. when it shal please you at your leisure. And your pleasure known, I wilbe ready to give attendance on your G. Beseechyng you also to give credence to my Chapellane Mayster *Wellis* this Berer, in soche matters he wil shew your G. on my bealf. At my Manor of *Croydon*, the xvij<sup>th</sup> day of *March*.

At your Graces Commandement,

*Will<sup>m</sup> Cantuar.*

N U M B. XVII.

The Confession of *John Tyball* a *Lollard*; Charged with Heresy.

*Confessio Johannis Tyball de Bumstede ad Turrim, facta & recognita per eundem Johannem coram Reverendo in Christo patre Dno. Cuthberto London. Episcopo, in Capella infra palacium London. xxviij die mensis Aprilis, Anno Dni. Mill<sup>o</sup> quingen<sup>mo</sup>. xxviij. Quam postea signavit.*

**E**Xamyned, he saithe, that abowght vij or viij yeres past, he had certayne Bookes of the iiij Evangelistes in *Englishe*, of one holie *John*, & certayne Epistoles of *Peter & Paule*; which he brent the same day at night, as he saithe, that Sir *Richard Fox* [a Priest] was tached. And so in continuans of tyme, by reading of the said Bookes, and specially by a Chapter of *Poule* which he wrot to the *Corynthios*, which he doth not now remember, fel into those Errors & Herysies. That sum tyme he thowght, that in the blessed Sacrament of thaulter is not the very Body of Christe, but Bred & Wine, and done for a Remembraunce of Christes Passion. And he thowght & belevyd, that a Prieste had no power to Consecrate the Body of Christe.

Also, he confesseth, that he hath saide, affirmed & belevyd, that every Prieste & Bishop ought to have a Wiff, upon the Chapitour of *Poule*, where he saithe theis Wordes, *Every Bisshop ouwgt to be husbond of one Wif, & to bryng forth the Childern.*

Also, he saithe, that he hathe sayd, affirmyd & belevyd, that yt was as good for a man to Confesse himself alone to God, or els to any other Layman, as to a Prieste, upon the Saiyng of Saynt *James*, where he saithe, *Shew your synnes one to another.* Which Error he shewid & tawght *Robert Faire* of *Bumstede* abowght a twelve monethe past.

Also he saithe, that he hathe thowght, that Pristhode was not necessary. For he thowght that every Layman myght mynister the Sacramentes of the Church, as well as any Priste.

Also, he confesseithe, that Pilgremages to Images were not profitable; & that men shold not worshippe or knele to Images in the Church;

nor set up Candles or Lights before them : for they be but Stockes & Stones.

Also he saythe, that he hath sumtyme doubted, whether the Pope or Bysshopp had Power to graunt Pardon. For sumtyme he thought, that they had Power, & sumetyme he thoughte the contrarie, becaus they had so myche mony for it. And he sayd, he thoughte, that yt were better, that their Myters, Crosses, Ringes & other precious Stones shuld be gyven to poore & nedy pepull, then so to were them ; according to the Saiynge of Poule, where he saythe, *Were ye no gold, silver nor perlls, ne precious stones.*

Also, he saythe, that Sayntes, as *Peter*, *Poule* and other, be in Hevyn : but as for other Soules of good men, which departithe this world, he thinkithe, that they go not to Hevyn before the general Resurrection ; but be in some place of Joye and plesure, except they be helpid to Hevyn by good Prayer. And the Sowles of Synners & yvell Doers go to Purgatory ; and there remayne tyll they be delyveryd by Prayers.

Sir Richard  
Fox.

Also, he saythe, that abowght a twelve moneth agon he did reason & dispute with Sir Richard Fox, that ther was no Purgatory ; & did hold the same for a season. Howbeit he sayth, he thought that there was a Purgatory ordayned.

Also, he hath sayd & affirmed, that *Fasting* was not profitable for a Man ; so that he did abstaine himself from Synne.

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Also, he saythe, that he thoughte, That the Water of the See, & other Renmyng Water to be of as moche power, and vertue as the *Holy Water* : movyd by theis reason, that when Criste made the worlde, & the water and other thynges, he *bleffyd* them. Which Blessing he thought to be sufficient. And so lykewise, he thoughte, that the Blessing of Criste to be sufficient for Brede, & [for] al other Ceremonies of the Church.

Ebb alias  
Hacker.

Furthermore he saythe, that by the space of iiij yeres past, old Father Hacker, alias Ebb, resorted to this Respondentes House, & dyd commyn together of al the forsayd Articles. Also he saythe, that afterward he fell in hand with Sir William Stryngar, and Sir Arthur, Parishe Pristes of Bumstede ; to brynge them into the Herysies & Errours afore sayd ; and reasonyd uppon Scripture, diverse tymes with them for the same Intent. For he thoughte, that yf he might bring a Priste once into his Learning & Heresies, he were fuer and strong enowghe. Howbeit he saythe, for al his labour and reasoning with them he did perseve, that they went abowght to deceive him. And therefore he cast them upp.

Jo. Smyth.

Also, he saythe, that by the space of iij yeres past John Smyth of Bumstede did likewise resort often to this Respondentes Company ; & this Respondent to hym : which did commyn of the Sacramentes of thaulter, & of other Articles before reherfed.

Furthermore, he saythe, that abowght ij yeres agon he companyed with Sir Richard Fox Curate of Bumstede, and shewid hym al his Bookys that he had : That is to say, the New Testamente in *Englishe*, the Gospel of Matthew and Mark in *Englishe* : which he had of John Pykas of Colchefer : And a Book expoundyng the *Pater noster*, the *Ave Maria*, & the *Credo* ; certain of Powles Epistoles in *Englishe*, after thold Translation ;



station ; the iiij Evangelists in *Englishe*. The which iiij Evangelists & *Powles* Epistles he brent, as he sayd before ; & the Residew he cannot tell wher they be ; except Sir *Richard Fox*, *John Hilles*, or *John Chapman*, Servantes to *Christofer Ravyn* of *Wytham*, have them. And so in Proesse of tyme by reasonyng of thynges, contayned in the sayd Bookes & disputing & instructyng, he browght Sir *Richard Fox* to his Lernyng & Opynyons.

Also, he saythe, that afterwards, that Sir *Richard Fox* was infected with his Errors & Herefyes, this Respondent, Sir *Rich. Fox*, & *John Smyth*, this last yere went to *Colchester*-ward : and the first night lay at Mother *Beckwythe* : And the morrow after dyner, at *William Beckwythe* : which were both of kynde to this Respondent. And thither came old *Crifmas* of *Bockyng* ; and another Woman with him. And where there were any comunicacyon of any Articles in the sayd Places, or where the sayd Mother *Beckwith*, *William Beckwith* or old *Crifmas* be of the same Secte, he cannot tell. And afterward they went to *Colchester* ; & souped at *John Pykas* Hous. Wheras they iiij communyd together of many & diverse Articles, which he doth not now remember. And at the same nyght lay at *Thomas Mathew*. Where as *William Pykas* *W. Pykas.* in ther Chambre before this Respondent, *John Smythe*, & Sir *Rich. Fox*, *J. Smyth.* did reherse by hart a Disputation made, betwixt a Clerke & a Frear.

Furthermore, he saythe, that in Somer last, when he was first in *Johnson's* House in *Boxstede*, the sayd Sir *Rich. Fox* did openlye rede in a Booke, called *The Wicket*, which he had ther as he belevythe, before this Respondent, *John Smythe*, *Johnson* & his Wif, sometye gyving hering to yt, as he rembrethe. Which Book the sayd Sir *Richard* had to *Bumstede* with him. And afterward, that they red in the same Book. A Question was movyd by *Johnson*, or his Wyf, as he remembred, of the Father, the Sou & the Holie Gost. The Question he cannot tell, ne of the Answer made therunto by Sir *Rich. Fox*. And he saithe, that he belevythe, that the sayd *Johnson* and his Wif be of the same Lernyng & Sect. And *Johnson* is taken for a lernyd man among them. Also, he saithe, that *John Pykas*, *William Pykas*, *John Gyrling*, *Joh. Gyrling.* *John Bradeley*, be of the same Sect and Lernyng. And as for *Thomas Mathwes* Wif he cannot tell. *Joh. Bradley.*

Item, he saithe, that a yere past, or more, he resorted ons to *Alice Gardiner*, his Godmother, to her owne House. Which *Alice* asked this Respondent, whether he wold go to *Ipiswicke* with her. And this Respondent sayd, Nay, Nay. If you have any wast Money, give yt to poore pepull : & tarye at home : for it shal not skylle to go on Pilgremages to *Ipiswicke*. For there ys Money enowghe. To the which Answer Sche did not greatly speke ayenst, nor gretly holde withal, as he saythe. *Alice Gardiner.*

Also, he saythe, that abowght a iiij yeres past, he communyd with *Thomas Parker* of the Gospellys in *Englishe*, in the said *Thomas Parkers* House. And otherwyse he cannot tell.

Also he saythe, *Thomas Hilles* Taylour, *John Chapman*, *John Wyggan* of *Wytham*, *Robert Fayre*, and *John Smythe* of *Bumstede*, hath commyned with this Respondent in al the forsayd Articles ; & be of the same Sect and Lernyng.

Further-

Furthermore, he saythe, that at *Mychaelmaffe* last past was twelve  
 Freer Barons. monethe this Respondent & *Thomas Hilles* came to *London* to Frear  
*Barons*, then being at the *Freers Augustines* in *London*, to buy a New  
 Testament in *Englishe*, as he saythe. And they found the sayd Freer  
*Barons* in his Chamber; wheras there was a Merchant man, reading in  
 a Boke, & ij or iij more present. And when they came in, the Frear  
 demawnded them, from whence they cam. And they said, From *Bum-*  
*stede*; and so forth in communication they desyred the sayd Freer *Barons*  
 that thy myght be aquaynted with hym; because they had herd that  
 he was a good man; and bycause they wold have his Cownsel in the  
 New Testament, which they desyred to have of hym. And he  
 faithe, that the sayd Frear *Barons* did perseve very well, that *Thomas*  
*Hilles* & this Respondent were infected with Opinions, bycause  
 they wold have the New Testament. And then farther they shewyed  
 the sayd Frear, that one *Sir Richard Fox* Curate of *Bumstede*, by ther  
 means, was wel entred in ther Lernyng; & sayd, that they thowghte  
 to gett hym hole in shorte space. Wherfore they desyryd the sayd  
 Frear *Barons* to make a Letter to hym, that he wold continew in that  
 he had begon. Which Frear did promyse so to wryte to hym a Letter  
 at Afternoone, & to gete them a New Testament. And then after that  
 Communication, the sayd *Thomas Hilles* & this Respondent shewyd the  
 Frear *Barons* of certayne old Bookes that they had: as of iij Evange-  
 listes, and certayne Epistles of *Peter & Poule* in *Englishe*. Which  
 Bookes the sayd Frear dyd litle regard, and made a twyte of it, &  
 sayd, A poynt for them, for they be not to be regarded toward the new  
 printed Testament in *Englishe*. For it is of more cleyner *Englishe*.  
 And then the sayd Frear *Barons* delyverid to them the sayd New Testa-  
 ment in *Englishe*: for which they payd iij s. ij d. And desyred them,  
 that they wold kepe yt close. For he wolde be loth that it shold be  
 knowen, as he now remembreth. And after the delyverance of the  
 sayd New Testament to them, the sayd Frear *Barons* dyd lyken the  
 New Testament in *Latyn* to a Cymball tynkklyng, & Brasse sowndyng.  
 But what farther Expolytion he made uppon it, he cannot tell.  
 And then at Afternone they sett the sayd Letter of the sayd Frear;  
 whiche he wrote to *Sir Richard*; & red that openly before them: but  
 he doth not now remember, what was in the same. And so departed  
 from hym; and did never since speke with hym, or write to hym,  
 as he faithe.

Also, he faithe, that abowght a half year agoe, he delyverid the  
 sayd New Testament to Frear *Gardynner*: which he never had ageyne.

Farthermore he faith, that *Elene Tyball* his Mother, and *Alice Tyball*  
 his Wif, be gyltie in al the foresaid Articles: Except his Wif is not gyltie  
 in the Sacrament of thaulter: which both he tawght & instructed.

Item, he faith, that about V yere agon he was Confessid of one Frear  
 Medow, beyng a Grey Frear of *Colchestre*, and ther professed, & borne  
 in *Essex*. Which Frear, after he herd his Confession, desyred the Re-  
 spondent to help hym owt of his Religion. And so at last the sayd  
 Frear came home to the Respondents House, in a Secular man his Ray-  
 ment, whose Hed this Respondent dyd then shave: & kept him in his  
 House by the space of iij Days, or ther about: & then departed from  
 hym, & went to *Amersham*. And synce this Respondent hath herd  
 say,

Frear Medow  
 in Apostasia  
 exisient.



say, that he is married to a Mayden of *Colchestre*. Whose Servant or Dowghter she is, he cannot tell.

Also, he saith, that he hath communed with *Edmund Tyball*, and shewid hym his Lernyng often tymes.

|  
The Mark of *John Tyball*.

*Abjuratio istius sequitur in fol. prox. sequent.*

### N U M B. XVIII.

#### *The Abjuration of Thomas Bowgas, before Tunstal Bishop of London.*

I N the Name of God, Amen. I *Thomas Bowgas* of the Parishes of <sup>MSS. Foxij.</sup> *Saynt Leonards* of the Towne of *Colchestre*, of the Diocesse & <sup>Regist. Cuthb.</sup> Jurisdiction of *London*, Fuller : Before yow, Right Reverent Father in God, Lord *Cuthbert* Byshop of *London*, my Ordinary, Confessyng & knowlegyng the true, Catholycke, & Apostolique Faith of holy Church ; Intend by the Grace of God, hereafter ever to persever & abyde in the true Doctrine of the same : And do detest & abjure al maner of Heresies, contrary to the same : And most especially those Heresies & Articles followyng : wheruppon I am now detected, vehemently suspected and convicted. That is to say,

That a man shuld have no neede to go on Pilgremage to Saynt *Thomas* of *Canterbury*, or to owr Lady of *Grace*. Also, that there is no other Church of God, but man his Conscience. Also, that I had as leve be buried in my own House as in the Church. Also, that I wold that owr Lady of *Grace* were in my Bakehouse. Also, that when it was demaunded of me, whether it was evyll or wel done, to sett a Taper before the Sepulchre ; I awnswered and said, It was nothing, but to sett a Candell before the Devyll, for vayne glory of the Worlde, as I & many other Foolis doth. Also, that if I had the Crucifix, the Image of our Lady, and other Saynts, and Crosses set by the Way, in a Ship, I wold drowne them every one in the See.

And in these Articles, and al other, I here expresly consent unto our Mother, the holy Church ; & to the true Doctrine of the same. And do knowledge, that whosoever hereafter doth hold or affirme any of thies Articles, or eny other Heresies, contrary to the Determination of holy Church, is worthy to be excluded from the Communion of the same.

And in case hereafter I do speke, hold, or affirme any of thies foresaid Heresies, Errors & Opinions, or other, contrary to the Determination of holy Church, which by the Grace of God I intend never to do, I submytt my self unto the Correction of my Ordinary, accordyng to the holy Canons. And for thies my Trespases & Offences, I desire  
you

you of Penance. : Which I promyse by thies holy Evangelies, here by me bodyly touched, truly to do, observe & fullfyl. In Wittenes whereof to this my present Abiuration, I have subscrybed my Name, & set the Signe of the Crosse.

Be me Thomas Boges off Colchester.



*Quarto die mensis Maij, Anno Dni. Mill<sup>o</sup> quingenti<sup>mo</sup> xxvii<sup>o</sup>. in Capella infra Manerium Reverendi Patris Norwicen. Epi. juxta Char-  
ryng Crosse, London. Coram Reverendo in Christo Patre & Dno. Dno. Cuthberto Permissione Divina London. Epo. judicialiter, & pro Tri-  
bunali seden. comparuit præfatus Thomas Bowgas. Quem Dns. sepe ex-  
hortatus est & admonuit, quatenus se submittat, & errores suos recognoscat.  
Et tunc dictus Thomas Bowgas se tandem submitfit, & asseruit se contentum  
esse abiurare Hereses & Opiniones suas ; & ad unitatem Ecclesie redire,  
& se submittere. Et deinde legit presentem Abiurationem superscriptam,  
tactis per eum sacrosanctis Dei Evangelijs, prout continetur in eadem.  
quam postea manu suâ subscripsit, & signo Crucis signavit. Quo facto  
dictus Reverendus Pater absolvit dictum Thomam Bowgas à Sententia Ex-  
communicationis, quam premissorum pretextu incurrerat, in forma Juris,  
prout in scedulam ad tunc per dictum Reverendum Patrem lecta : Ac in  
Fol. Cxvi<sup>o</sup> inserta continetur. Et eidem ad sancta Dei Evangelia jurato  
injunxit sub pena Relapsi, quod die Dominico, x<sup>o</sup> viz. die mensis Maij prox.  
ibid. ante Crucem nudus Caput, in processione in Ecclesia Paroch. Sancti  
Leonardi apud Hitham juxta Colcestriam, ubi Parochianus existit,  
portans fasciculum Lignorum in humero suo. Et functa Processione audiet  
altam Missam genibus flexis super gradibus Chori Sacerd. celebrantem, à  
principio usq; ad finem ejusdem ; & tunc recedat.*

*Et injunxit eidem, quod non gerat aliquam maliciam sive odium contra  
Testes in hac parte productos ; aut eosdem molestet, seu perturbet quoquo  
modo. Et quod certificet de Penitentia per eum peracta, personaliter, vel  
per Literas Curati sui, infra xv dies extunc prox. sequent. Et deinde  
interrogatus per dictum Reverendum, dixit se velle subire Penitentiam sibi  
injunctam. Presentibus tunc ibid., Venerabili viro Mr<sup>o</sup> Galfrido Wharton  
Cancellario, Willo. Layton Regrario principali, Dno. Thoma Chambre  
Capellano ; necnon Mag. Skelton, Marmaduco Tunstal, Generosis ; &  
Georgio Bedyll, Thoma Pilkington, Thoma Dowman, Antonio Tunstal,  
Nicho. Tunstal, Willo. Westwray, & Humfrido Odyngfalis, Literatis,  
Testibus, Et cet.*



## N U M B. XIX.

*The Abjuration of William Bocher, before Cuthbert  
Bishop of London.*

**I**N the Name of God, Amen. I *William Bocher* of the Parish of *Steeple Bumsted*, of the Diocesse & Jurisdiction of *London*, Plowwright, before the Right Reverend Father in God, Lord *Cuthbert* Bishop of *London*, my Ordinary, opynly Confesse, That I have belevyd, that in the blessed Sacrament of thaulter is not the very Body of Christ, but done for a Remembrance of Cristes Passion. Also, that *Pardons* cannot profit, ne help a man. Also, that a man shal have no nede to go Pilgremage.

MSS. Foz.  
ubi supra.

Wherefore I do now professe & knowledge, that in the Blessed Sacrament of the Aulter is the very Body of Criste in Form of Bred. And farthermore in that, & al other, do consent to our Moder, the holy & Catholyck Church. Intendyng hereafter for evermore fastly to abyde in the Faith of the same. And do detest & abiure thies foresayd Heresy in special : And al other in general.

And in case hereafter I shal hold, affirme, or beleve any of thies Heresies, or other, contrary to the Determination of our Moder, the Holy Church afore sayd, I do submitt my self to the Correction of the holy Canons : And do promyse unto Almyghty God, our Moder the holy Church, and you my said Ordinary, & swere by thies holy Evangelies, here by me bodyly touched, that I hereafter shal not hyde, or kepe close any Heresies, or dampnable Opinions, nor ther Auctors, in tyme to come, nor be conversant, or familiar wyttyngly with any Person, or Persons suspect of Heresie. But when that I shal know any such Person or Persons, I shal truly detest them with ther Heresies & Opinions to ther Ordinaries, assone as I conveniently may. Submyttyng me most mykely to our Moder holy Church, & you my said Ordinary : And desire Absolution & Penance for thies my Offences ; which I promyse to do, observe & fulfill. In witnes wherof to this my present Abiuration, I have set to the Sign of the Crosse.



*Undecimo die mensis Maij, Anno Dni. Mill<sup>o</sup> quingenti<sup>mo</sup> xxviii<sup>o</sup> in Capella infra Manerium Reverendi Patris Norwicen. Epi. juxta Charyng Crosse, London. Coram Reverendo in Christo Patre, & Dno. Dno. Cuthberto, permissione Divina, London - - - - -*

*Nota, quod iste oritur ex stirpe vitiata : Quia avus patris sui erat ob heresim concrematus, ut dicitur.*

## NUMB. XX.

## The Confession of Robert Hemsted.

*Undecimo die mensis Maij, Anno Dni. Mill<sup>o</sup>. quingenti<sup>mo</sup>.  
xxviii<sup>o</sup> Coram Reverendo in Christo Patre, & Duo. Dno.  
Cuthberto, Permissione Divina, London. Epo. judicia-  
liter sedent. in Capella infra Manerium Reverendi Patris  
Norwic. Epi. juxta Charyng Crosse, London. Compa-  
ruit Robertus Hemstede parochie de Bumstede ad Turrim,  
London. Dioc. de heretica Pravitare suspectus & detectus.  
Et submitit se correctioni dicti Reverendi Patris : & asseruit  
se plenè & fideliter respondisse Articulis eid. objectis, juxta  
tenorem Responsionum sequen. Quas coram eo presente lectas  
recognovit. Et deinde legit Abiurationem.*

MSS. Fox.  
Ubi supra.

**H**EE confessith, that in Somer last past, Sir Richard Fox, John Tyball, John Smyth, & Frere Topley, came to this Respondent's House; & caused hym to go with them to a Grene, called *Hersled Grene*. And there they told this Respondent of many Thyngs, which he doth not now remember. And Frear Topley sayd to this Respondent, if he did not beleve as they did teche, he was no true Christen man.

Also, he saithe, at *Lent* last, he was confessid of the sayd Sir Rich. Fox, Curat of *Bumstede*. And when the said Sir Richard had herde this Respondentes Confession, he askyd hym, how he did beleve in the Sacrament of thaulter : And then this Respondent awnswered, and said as other men doth, That in the blessed Sacrament of thaulter is the very Body of Criste. To whom the said Sir Richard said, Nay, Thou must not do so. For that is not the best way ; but beleve thou in the Father, the Son, & the Holy Ghost, & not in the Sacrament of thaulter. And then this Respondent said to the forenamyd Sir Richard, I fear me ye go about to bryng me in the takyng, that the men of *Colchester* be in. To whom the said Sir Richard awnswered, What, man, art thou afrayde ? Be not aserd. For those serve a better Maister, then ever thou diddest. And so at last, by the Motion & Techyng of the said Sir Richard ; & because he was Prift, this Respondent thought, & belevyd, that in the Blessed Sacrament of thaulter is not the very Body of Criste.

Also he confessith, that by the space of this iij yerès last, or thereabout, this Respondent hath thowght, that *Pardons* are of no Effect, ne cannot profect.

*Interrogatus, an novit aliquos ejusd. Secte, dicit, quod non, nisi Johannem Tyball, Johannem Smith, & Frem. Thomam Topley, ac Dnum. Ric. Fox.*



## N U M B. XXI.

## The Confession of Thomas Hemsted.

*Undecimo die Mensis Maij MDXXXVIII. in Capella infra Manerium Reverendi Patris Norwicen. &c. Ut supra.*

**H**E confessith, that abowght a yere & half past, this Respondents wif tawght hym, the *Paternoster*, *Ave Maria*, & *Credo*, in *Englishe*. Which sche lernyd of Gilbert Shipwright, being ded; & counceled hym, that he shold kepe it close. And in a while after he was chosen Church Warden of *Bumstede* with *John Tyball*. And then used the Company moch of *Sir Richard Fox*, & the said *Tyball*. And when the sayd *Sir Richard* and *Tyball* had percevid that his Wyf had tawght hym the *Paternoster*, *Ave Maria*, & the *Credo*, they did call this Respondent *Brother in Crist*, & A knowne man. And so by the space of a yere, or more, last past, he have ben conversant & famylyar, & usyd ther Company, & have herd ther Lectures, Redyngs & Techyngs; & hath at no tyme disclofed them, nor ther Counsell.

MSS. Fox.  
Ubi supra.

Also, he confessith, that abowght *Schroftyde* last, *Thomas Hilles* tawght & shewyd this Respondent, that *Pardons* were nowght, and not profitable for a man. The which this Respondent faithe, that sumtyme he thought & belevyd, that it was trew.

Also, that abowght *Fastyngham* last, *Sir Richard Fox* shewid this Respondent, that in the Blessid Sacrament of thaulter is not the very Body of Criste; but doon for a Remembraunce of Cristis Passion. Which Sayinges he thought & belevyd to bee trew, by the techyng & schewyng of the sayd *Sir Richard*. And since that tyme hath continued in the sayd Error and Herefie.

Also, that gooyng on Pilgremages were of no Effect; & that a man shold have no nede to go on Pilgremagis.

Also he saith, that all thies Persons followyng be of the same Sect & Lernyng; & have herd the Lectures, Redynges and Techynges of *Sir Richard Fox*, *John Tyball*, *Frear Gardyner*, and other of the same Sect: And have had Communications with them, & be taken & reputed, as *Known Persons*, that is to say, they be infected & gyltie of al ther Errors & Articles.

*Edmond Tyball. Uxor ejus.*

*Johan Bocher, Widow.*

*Uxor Georgij Preston.*

*Johanna Hemsted, Uxor  
hujus Respondentis.*

*Johannes, filius ejus naturalis.*

*Robertus Faire. Laici de  
Bumstede.*

*Johannes Wyggen*

*Thomas Topley*

*Willielmus Gardyner*

*Johannes Chapman*

*Thomas Hilles*

*Willielmus Browne*

*Johannes Craneford*

} *Fres. Ordinis Au-*  
} *gustinen. de*  
} *Clara, Lond.*

} *de Wytham.*

} *de Bumstede.*

## NUM B. XXII.

*The Confession of Robert Necton, that bought, and sold  
New Testaments in English.*MSS. Fox.  
Ubi supra.

**H**E bowght at sondry tymes of Mr. *Fyshe* dwellyng by the *Whight Frears* in *London*, many of the New Testaments in *English*; that is to say, now V. & now X. And sometyme mo, & sometyme less, to the Nombre of XX or XXX, in the gret Volume. The which New Testaments the said Mr. *Fyshe* had of one *Harmond*, an *English* man, beyng beyond See. But how many he had this Respondent cannot tell. And this Respondent saith, that about a yere & half agon he fell in a quaintaunce with Vicar *Constantyne* here in *London*. Which shewed this Respondent first, that the said Mr. *Fyshe* had New Testaments to sell; & caused this Respondent to by some of the said New Testaments of Mr. *Fyshe*. And the said Mr. *Fyshe*, at the desire & Instance of Vicar *Constantine*, browghte the said New Testaments home to this Respondents House. And before that Vicar *Constantine* caused this Respondent to by some of the said New Testaments, he had none, nor no other Books, except the Chapters of *Matthew*:

Constantine.

And moreover, this Respondent saith, that about the same tyme he sold fyve of the said New Testaments to Sir *William Furbofshore* Synging man, in *Stowmarket* in *Suffolk*, for VII or VIII Grotes a pece. Also, Two of the same New Testaments in *Bury St. Edmonds*: that is to say, to *Raynold Wodelesse* one; and *Thomas Horfan* another, for the same price.

Pycknam Wade,  
Norwic. Dioc.

Also, he saith, that about Cristmas last, he sold one New Testament to a Prioste; whose Name he cannot tell, dwellyng at *Pycknam Wade* in *Northfolke*; & two Latin Books, the one *Oeconomica Christiana*; & the other *Unio Dissidentium*. Also, one Testament to *William Gibson* Merchaunt man, of the Parish of *S. Margaret Patens*.

Also, Vicar *Constantyne* at dyvers tymes had of this Respondent about a XV or XVI of the New Testaments of the biggest. And this Respondent saith, that the sayd Vicar *Constantyne* dyvers tymes bowght of him certayne of the sayd New Testaments: & this Respondent lykewise, of hym. Also, he sold Sir *Richard Bayfell* two New Testaments unbound, about Cristmas last; for the which he payd iijs. iiijd.

Farthermore, he saith, that he hath sold V. or VI. of the said N. Testaments to diverse Persons of the Cite of *London*: whose Namys, or dwellyng Places, he doth not remember.

Moreover, he saith, that since Easter last, he bowght of *Geffray Usher* of Saynct *Antonyes*, with whom he hath byn aqueynted by the space of a yere, or therabout (by reason he was Mr. *Forman*, the Person of *Hony Lane* his Servant, & for that this Respondent did moche resort to the said Persons Sermons) XVIII N. Testaments in *English* of the final Volume, & XXVI Books, al of one sort, called *Oeconomica Christiana* in Latin; & two other Books in Latin, called *Unio dissidentium*. For which he payed hym XL sh. Of the which *Oeconomica Christiana* Vicar *Constantyne* had XIII at one tyme.

And



And of which N. Testaments since Easter this Respondent caryed XV of them, and thother XXIII *Oeconomica Christiana*, to *Lynne*, to sell. Which he wold have sold to a young man, callid *William* - - - - Merchant man, dwellyng by one Mr. *Burde* of the same Towne. Which young man wold not medle with them, because they were prohibite. And so this Respondent left the said Books at *Lynne* with the said *William*, untill his Retornynge thider ayen. And so the said Bookes do remayne ther still, as yet. And two of the said N. Testaments he hath in his own Custodie, with another of the great Volume. Also, another Testament of the smal Volume he sold since *Easter* to young *Elderton*, Merchant man, of Saynt *Mary Hill* Parishe.

Howbeit he saith, that he knew not that any of thies Bookes were of *Luthers* Sect.

To the XVIII<sup>th</sup>, That he hath byn a *Receptor*, he saith, that he twice or thryese hath byn in *Thomas Matthews* House of *Colchestre*. Wheras he hath red diverse tymes in the N. Testament in *English*, before the said *Thomas Matthew*, his Wif, *William Dykes*, & other Servantes ther. And there, & then have herd old Father *Hacker* speke of Prophecies; and have had Communications of diverse Articles; which he doth not now remember.

To the XIX<sup>th</sup>, so begynnyng, *That he went about to by a great Nombre of N. Testaments*, he saith, that about Cristmas last, there came a *Duche* man, beyng now in the *Flete*, which wold have sold this Respondent ij or iij Hundreth of the said N. Testaments in *English*: Which this Respondent did not by; but sent him to Mr. *Fyshe* to by them: and said to the *Duche* man, Look what Mr. *Fyshe* doth, I wil do the same. But whether Mr. *Fyshe* bowght any of them, he cannot tell: For the which iij Hundreth he shold have paid XVI l. V sh. after IX d. a pece.

To the XX Article, *That he is inframed*; he saith, that since Easter last, he was at *Norwiche* at his Brothers House, wher as one had complayned of this Respondent to my Lord of *Norwiche*, because he had a N. Testament. Wherfor his Brother counceled this Respondent to send or delyver his said N. Testament; & said to him, If he wold not delyver it, my Lord of *Norwiche* wold send him to my Lord of *London*, his Ordinary. And so afterwards he sent it to *London* by the Caryer.

To the XXI. Article, so begynnyng, *That contrary to the Prohibition, he hath kept the N. Testament*, he Confessith, that after he had Knowledge of the Condemnation of the said N. Testament, by the space of a yere, or more, he hath had in his Custodie, kept, & studyed the same Testament, & have red it thoroughly many tymes. And also have red in it as wel within the Citie & Diocefs of *London*, as within the Citie & Dioceffe of *Norwiche*. And not onely red it to himself, but redd & tawght it to diverse other.

To the XXII. he awnsweryth & denyeth, that he had *Wycliefs Wycket* or the *Apocalips* at any tyme.

Per me *Robert Nefton*.

N U M B.

## NUMB. XXIII.

*Sir Gregory de Cassalis, Dr. Gardiner, & Dr. Fox, the Kings Ambassadors with the Pope, to Cardinal Wolsey.*

*Foxij MSS.*

**P**Leasith it your Grace to understand, that appointed to repaire unto the Popes Holynes for our first audyence upon Munday last past at after dynner; After accesse to his presence in to his privy bed chamber, fyndyng hym accompanied with the Cardynall *De Radulphis*, after reverence & ceremonies accustomed, We delyvered the Kings highnes & your Graces letters unto him, with most humble & lowly recommendations on the Kings & your Graces behaulf. And to shew unto your Grace the circumstances of his holynes behavior unto us, incontinently as he had redd the said letters, his holynes shewed unto us theeffect & contynue of them in veray compendious & wel couched words; *Et continuata oratione*, without suffering us to speak, began to repete the kings grete benefits towards him & the See Apostolique; & especially in the time of his captivitie; & how moche he & the See was & is obstringed & bound to your Grace, by whos procurement, sollicitation & mediation, such things hath been alwayes set forth, as might conferre unto the same. Adding therunto of what mind & intention, as wel in *Minoribus*, as also synnes his erection to this dignitie, his holynes hath been, & is, to do al thing that might be to the good satisfaction & contentment of the kings highnes, and now specially in this cawse, towching so neer the quyetnes & tranquillitie of the kings conscience, with the welth & commoditie of that realme: And many such words spoken, as we might judge, as those which proceeded sincerely from the bottom & roote of his hart & mynde: Willing us fynally, without any circumstance of words, famylyarly to entre with him into communication of the essential points of our charge. Wherin he wold geve such resolution without tract or delay, as we could reasonably desire, & as might be agreeable with law & equite, for justification of his doing, & mayntenance of his, & the Kings honour hereafter.

At this point his holynes making a pawse, I *Steven Gardiner* said,  
 “ That it was wel known & perswaded to the kings Highnes & your  
 “ Gr. of the gret zeal, love, & affection that his holynes bearith to-  
 “ wards them both, & the wealth of that realm of *England*, wherof  
 “ now of late the kings Highnes & your Gr. hath had advertisement,  
 “ as wel by sondry the letters of *Sir Gregory de Cassalis*, as also the  
 “ reaport & relation of Maister Secretary †, & more amply by the  
 “ mouth of the Prothonotary *Gambara*. Who not only exhibited un-  
 “ to the Kings highnes a Commission, & Dispensation passed by your  
 “ Holynes in the Kings gret matter, but also added therunto, as of  
 “ special credence from your holines, that if the same wer in any point  
 “ thought insufficient, or that by thadvice of lerned men any other  
 “ thing could be devysed to be added therunto, with all such re-  
 “ scripts, breves, & bullys as might conduce to the effectual defini-  
 “ tion & determination of the matter, your holines wold therein with-  
 “ out

† Dr. Knight.



“ out delay or difficultie, interpone the uttermost of your authorite ;  
 “ as in the favour of him, who hath, by his manifold merits, deserved  
 “ to perceyve & take al benefits & graces of the See Apostolique, as  
 “ may stand & be agreeable to equite & justice. Wherefore, albeit the  
 “ said Commission & Dispensation be in some material points altered  
 “ from the mynute & forme by the Kings highnes required & desired,  
 “ & by reason therof cannot fully serve for the acheving of the kings  
 “ desire & intent : Yet forasmuch as in exhibiting the same, it was  
 “ added, as afore, by the said Prothonotary *Gambara*, & also confirm-  
 “ ed by Sir *Gregories* letters, that if the said Commission & Dispensa-  
 “ tion were not thought sufficient, al defawls shold be supplied &  
 “ resourmed, & the same newly to be graunted accordingly. Which is  
 “ a manifest argument, & evident token of your holines sincere proceeding  
 “ herin. The kings highnes gevetli unto your Holines no lesse thanks,  
 “ then if the same had been passed in most available fourm & maner.”

And herupon inferred the cawse of our comyng towching first the Popes particular matters, & shewyng the Kings mynd & intention : Declaring also what answer we had in the *French* court : Added therunto your Graces labours, travayl, & payn in fashionyng & setting forth these things, for satisfaction & contentation of his Holines, with the conservation & mayntenance of the See Apostolique ; & rights of the same. And from declaration of the particularities of that matier, extending at length the good & fast mind & intention of the kings highnes *Adhære Sanctitati suæ in prosperis & adversis*, now by these good demonstrations on his holynes behaulf depelyer rooted & confirmed, descended from that to the Kings matier, according to our Instructions, shewed the Kings request & desire : Omitting here to write unto your Gr. the maner, forme, & ordre of the words, forasmuche as the same is not to be commytted to wryting, but in cyfre, as we think in *presenti rerum statu*. And spending the day half with the Pope, & thother half with the Cardinal *Sanctorum quatuor*, oonles we should too long diffre sendyng of our letters, we cannot commyt the same to wryting.

The Popes holynes, when he harde at good length what was said, noting diligently the particularites, First, as concerning his own matiers he said, the Kings highnes & your Gr. doth therein as his trust & expectation was, in whom *Omniem spem suam semper reposuit* ; & hath hitherto found al things *expectationi cumulatifsimè respondisse*. And where according to the instructions it was towched, that albeit such promise were now made, yet his holynes must be content to dissemble, & kepe the same secrete, tyl al things were in *Italy* componed & pacified. His Holines said formally these words, “ That according to his Duty, he  
 “ is, & hath been moche more studious of the common wealth of *Chry-*  
 “ *stendom*, then his own particular affaires, myndyng evermore so to  
 “ confidre & regard them, as therby be not empeched or hindred the  
 “ state & condition of the common cause. Wherefore geving most  
 “ hartie thanks to the kings highnes & your said Gr., his Holynes  
 “ said, he wold follow your advise & counsail therein.” And so passing over that mater without further inquisition, as though that wer not the thing he had so much to hart, as the furtherance & setting forth of the Kings cause, he began to answer to that. And where as according  
 to

to instructions it was declared, how your Gr. being advertised, that his Ho. somewhat stayed in expedition of the kings desire, for that it was shewed him, that mater was set forth without your Gr. consent or knowledge; Wherefore your Gr. willed us, after Protestation made on your Gr. behaulf of your sincerite in that matier, to shew & open your mynde, as wel concernyng the merits of the cause, as also the qualities of the Gentlewoman: Hereunto his Ho. made answer, " That  
 " neither such protestation neded unto him, who inwardly knowith  
 " your Gr. qualities, ne he can think in the kings H. who hitherto  
 " above al other things hath esteemed his honor, any undue affection  
 " in a matier of so high importance. The perillys & jeopardies wherof  
 " towards God no man can better discusse & judg, than his Majestie.  
 " Whose opinion, mynde & sentence he wold soner lean unto, then  
 " any other lerned mannys. Saying, that the Kings highnes reasons  
 " must nedes be of gret efficacie, strength & sufficiencie, wherby this  
 " matier might be ruled & ordred, Considering his excellent Wisdom,  
 " profound lerning, & mature judgment. Al which, he doubteth nor,  
 " have concurred to the setting forth of this matier: Desiring therefore  
 " to see & read the kings labour & study in this mater.

And as touching that was said, that your Gr. should not have been made privy therunto, he said, " Although it was so reaported unto  
 " him, yet he never stedfastly beleved it, ne could utterly persuade  
 " unto himself, that any thing shold be set forth of so high consequence  
 " without your Gr. advice & counsail; Whose high wisdom, policie  
 " & dexterite he wel knowith to have moche furthered the kings H.  
 " & the affaires of al other princes, to what part soever the same have  
 " inclyned: Not doubting but the kings H. like as he hitherto hath  
 " doon, so he doth & wil do from henceforth, perceiving these gret  
 " gifts, vertues & qualities in your Gr., to use the same in al his  
 " doyngs: & in consideration of them no less esteeme your Gr. then  
 " the having of an heyre to succede him in his realm. These were the Popes formal words, as nere as we could note the same. Wherunto his Ho. added, " That such reaport, although as is afore reherfed, it  
 " sank not depely in his mynde, Yet, to say the trewth, it stayed him,  
 " & made him doubt in the mater, with desire to be ascertained of the  
 " truth in that behaulf; as he is now very glad to hear the same re-  
 " ported so largely by our Mouths. Concluding finally, that for alte-  
 " ration of the Commission, & passing it in other form, he wold regard  
 " nothing, but the kings honour, & of the See Apostolique. Which  
 " two were so conjoynd in this cause, as that towcheth the oon must  
 " nedes towch & perteyn to thother. Saying farthermore that herin  
 " his Ho. wold use no tract ne delay, but be content to take paynes  
 " from Day to Day, & only entende to the expedition of this cause:  
 " Appointing us to repare again the next day. At which tyme he  
 " wold with us read the Kings boke: & so informed of the reasons,  
 " consult with us & the Cardinal *Sanctorum quatuor*, how & in what  
 " form the Commission should pass. Which for that tyme being nere  
 " night, we thought sufficient answer concernyng that matier.

And forasmuch as your Gr. by letters sent by *Thaddéus*, willed us at our comyng to the Pope, in openyng our Charge to the same concerning the mediation of peace between Princes, & how the Kings H.



is wel content his Ho. send Legates to the Kings H., Themperor & the French King, of componyng the peace, shold by some good occasion infer mater, wherupon the Popes Ho. might be induced, as of himself, to set forth an Overture to the Fr. King of abstinence on that side the Mounteynes for this purpose ; after his Ho. by way of famylyar intertenement had shewed us of the cruelty of the *Spanyards* at *Rome*, & what destruction of howses they made there, trusting to have found treasure hyden : Passing from that communication to the present state of *Italy*, and therupon inferring *ambiguum exitum belli*, the Popes Ho. also sumwhat mystrusting lest the *Spanyards* wold *detrectare pugnam*, & divide themself in Townes and Fortresses, to delaye & delude Mounfr. *de Lautreks* Purpose : Trusting in putting over battail, to wery their Enemyes, & charge gretely the Confederates in the mean season : Which was a thing gretly to be feared : We said, God forbid it shold so be : And that upon trust & hope this Wer shold shortly be at a point, it is capitulate between the Kings H. & the French King to make actual Werre in *Flaundes* ; & how for that purpose gret preparations was & is made in *England*, with trust that the French King wil, as the Treaties purporte, send a gret puissance thither. Wherefore if the Werre shold stil continue here, & thenemies not exterminate bfore that time ; Peradventure, *Divisa virtus minus valeret*.

Wherefore we said unto his Ho. that your Gr. pondering this mater, & as a devout membre of the Chirch, tendering the quyetnes of these parties, to thintent your Ho. lyving out of fear & daunger of these cruel people, might intend to the reparation and restitution of the See Apostolique, have by your letters willed us to say unto his Ho. the same to be spoken in such wise, as it shold neither come to the French Kings, ne the Kings H. knowledge, (who entendyth in the most earnest maner to press Themperor in al parties) that if for the purpose bfore specysfyed his Ho., by his Legate, wold set forth an overture of an abstinence on that side the Mountaynes, as of himself, your Gr. wold gladly furdre the same. Hereunto his Ho. gave no direct answer ; but said, it was a matier worthy to be dreamed & slept on. And his Ho. said he wold so do. And so passing from this communication to such newes as wer then come from the Army, we departed for that night.

I Sir Gregory think, that it hath been perswaded to the Pope, as I know many here to be of the opinion, that there is no way to delyver *Italy* of War, but to commence it in some other place. Which, as I have at diverse other tymes said unto the Popes Ho. seemeth to procede of them that do not wel confidre, ne pondre the circumstances, the state of the world, what charge this army is at here to the French king, & how hard it wilbe for the French king to furnish his nombre capitulate with the kings H. which cannot find mony to kepe at al tymes just payes for this army, wherunto concurrerth the help of other Confederates.

Thus departing for that night from the Popes Ho, we intended to have repared that night to the Cardinal *Sanctorum quatuor*, but that it was too late. The Cardinal *Anconitane* & the Cardinal *de Ravenna* be not here. But we have sent their Letters unto them, trusting they wil the sooner repare hither, & afore their tyme appoynted : Which is to return within this fortnight.

The next day at afternoon we went, as was appointed, to the Popes Ho. & exhibited unto him the Kings Boke. Which his Ho. incontinently began to rede : & standing a while, & after sitting upon a forme covered with a pece of an old coverlet, not worth xx d. holding the Boke, redd over the pistel bfore, & the latter part of the booke towching the Law, without suffering any of us to help him therin. Noting evermore the reasons, as oon succeeded another, & objecting that which his Ho. saw afterward answered. Which doon, his Ho. gretly commended the boke, & said he wold for a day kepe it with him, to thintent he might by himself at good leysure rede, as wel the first part, as also the second part again. And forasmoche as the pistle was directed to your Gr. & the other Prelates, his Ho. demaunded for thanfwer made therunto, as the Kings H. requieth in thend of his Epistel. We said, that noon answer was made in writing ; but of what sort the answer was, his Ho. might perceyve by your Gr. Letters : & such words as we had spoken unto him on your Gr. behaulf. And so seemyng to be right wel content therwith, his Ho. demaunded, whether the Kings H. had at any tyme broken this mater to the Quene, or not. We said, Yes, and that she shewed her self content to stand to the judgment of the Church.

From this question, his Ho. descended to the maner of proceeding of this mater, & how the same requyred celerite : and therupon called in doubt, whether your Gr. shold be refused as suspecte. For that answering to the Kings Epistole in his boke, & declaring your mynde therupon, & so in maner geving sentence before hand, your Gr. cannot be called indifferent hereafter. We said, That in this mater wer two things to be considered. First, the Law, if the Fact be true. And Second, to know whether the Fact be true, or no. Your Gr. sentence hath passed you openly but only on the oon side ; Which is, that the Fact being true, the Law shold by such reasons, as be alleged, seme to enclyne to that part. Which lettith not but that his Ho. may yet commyt unto your Gr. indifferent knowlege of the Fact, sending a Commission Decretal *in eventum Veritatis facti allegati*, Defining the Law. Herewith his Ho. semed satisfysed. Unto whom it was said, That for avoiding al such Lets, it was devised there, that a clause shold be put in the Commission, *Remota recusatione & Appellatione*. Wherunto his Ho. assented.

Finally, Concerning the Commission, it was then too late to read it. And his Ho. willing us to leave it there with him, said, he wold in the morning read it bi himself, & afterward send it to the Cardinal *Sanctorum quatuor* ; mynding with al celerite to do as moche to the Kings contentation & pleasure, with satisfaction of your Gr. request, as he might possibly do. We evermore did inculcate what speede & celerite this thing requyred, & what daunger it was to the realme to have this mater hang in suspense. His Ho. confessed the same : & therupon began to reckon what divers Tytles might be pretended by the King of Scottes & other ; & graunted, that without an Heyre male with provision to be made, by the consent of the State, for his succession, & that shal be doon herein to be established in such fashion, as nothing may hereafter be objected therunto, that Realm were like to come to dissolution. Which he doubteth not but that the Kings H. & your Gr. hath wel foreseen & considered. Thus without answer to that his Ho. said he wold slepe on for setting forth an Abstinence, we departed



departed for that night, appointed to resort unto his Ho. on the morrow.

That night we went to the Cardinal *Sanctorum quatuor*, & after delyvery of the kings & your Gr. letters, with most hartly recommendations on the kings & your Gr. behaulf, with like thanks for the gret paines & labors he had susteyned in avauncing & setting forth the kings gret matier, Declaring therby the inward zeal & affection that he hath, to do pleasure & gratitude to the Kings H., who is a Prince of such liberalite & munificence, as wil confidre & regard such kindnes abundantly, to the good contentation & satisfaction of such is do any thing for him. Wherfor in as much, as *in testimonium acceptæ gratitudinis*, the kings H. had geven us commaundement sumwhat to offer unto him in his Gr. name; It shold be displeasaut to his Gr. to understand, that the said Cardinal hath refused to take the two thousand crownes offred by Mr. Secretary, & Mr. *Gregory*: Which his H. thought verly he had accepted & taken. This was spoken by thadvyce of me Sir *Gregory*. Forasmoch as I could in noo wise cawse the said Cardinal to take oon peny by noo means. And so rewarding his Secretary with thirty crownes, I kepe the rest in my hands to be offred him again. Hereunto the Cardinal said, That he was, & so wold be reputed, & taken, the kings true servant, to do any thing that lay in his power, not sparing any labour, travayl or payne to do thing acceptable to the Kings H., unto whom oonly the See Apostolique, & membres of the same, may wel accoumpt themself obliged & bound, to honor his Gr., to pretermyt no office, or observance, wherin might be administred unto him gratuite or pleasure. Wherfore he said, that al he hath doon, & can do, for the kings H. he thinkith it moch less then his duty. And reherfed the kings manifold benefits exhibited to the See Apostolique: To take wer for the Churches cawse; to cease from werr at the Popes desire: & specially the procuring of the Popes delyverance; & particularly al that the kings H. hath doon for the church, as came to his remembrance in sundry Popes dayes, extending the same with marvelous good words. And finally said, for these considerations he wold shew himself as diligent in expedition of this the kings mater to his good contentation, as moch as might be maintained with law & equite, with al celerite accordingly. And from such good words entred into the particularities of the mater. In communication wherof we shewed him, what labors, paynes & studies the king had taken: & summarily, shewed him the ordre of the boke, & after what sort every thing was handled. It pleased him very wel. And as to the Form of the Commission, he reherfed his old opinion. Wherunto we said, answer was made there by thadvyce of sundry lerned men, who thought, that the Form desired by the Kings H. is conformable to such as be in the Decretals; & reherfed by hart the chapitre *Veniens*, in the Title *De Sponsalibus*. Which is in such like form, as the K. H. desireth. Incontinently as he heard that, falling from his old opinion, he said, that in dede such a Commission might be graunted by thoffice of *Contradicta*: wherof I Sir *Gregory* have writen to your Gr. We asked him the fashion & maner of that office, & passing the Commission he said, that it shold pass under lead, so as the Popes Ho. might allege, if he list, ignoraunce therin, as passed by his Officers. We said, that passing after

that maner, the said Commission might be, by an Inhibition, impetrate on like fashion, frustrate & lettied. He said, that good hede sholde be had therunto. By which words of the Cardinal *Sanctorum quatuor*, we perceave, that oonly fear of victory of the *Spanyards* lettith this cause. And they al fear lest peradventure *Victrix exercitus Hispanus* wold upon this mater make a quarel.

Which our conjecture we se somewhat confirmed by the Popes words, at our comyng to his presence on *Wednesday*. At which tyme demanding of his Ho. whether he had red the Commission, & how the same liked him. His Ho. said, It seemed unto him after the tenor of that was first sent : & neither approving, ne improving, said, he had sent it to the Cardinal *Sanctorum quatuor*, & taried to hear his opinion. Who being then diseased required us to come again on the morrow. At which tyme we shold together consult upon that mater. That mater thus stayed by the disease of the Cardinal *Sanctorum quatuor*, we desired his Ho. to devise what Cardinal shold be most convenyent to be sent as Legate in that mater, to procede jointly or severally with your Gr. who might have, a good pretence for componyng peace betwen Princes. Which is a thing very necessary, as we had before shewed to his Ho. Hereat his Ho. somewhat stayed, & wold not expressely graunt, that he wold take upon him *Provinciam Mediatoris pacis*. And whan we repeted unto his Ho. the relation of *Gambara*, of such letters as themperor shuld have sent unto the Popes Ho. for that matier, his Ho. fayntely said, That soche lettres he had. Howbeit his Ho. nothing earnestly spake in that matier. We enforced that, as moche as we could ; & said, we thought Cardinal *Campegius* shuld be a very meet personage to be sent into *England* : Who might, being there joyntely with your Gr. procede in this matier. His Ho. said, that this the kings matier, being thus divulged, it shuld be noted of al men, that whatsoever other cause were pretended, it shuld be verily thought the very chief cause shuld be for this purpose. We then adding, that in Cardinal *Campegius*, noted somewhat to favour themperors causes, & to be indifferent, shuld be judged no such thing : replied no further, to thintent we might the better disciphre the very let & stykking : & for avoiding & removing therof lay such ordinances, as your Gr. in your Instructions, hath prepared for us.

After this we toke occasion to induce his Ho. to set forth thAbstinence, & by mutual reasoning to know of what opinion his Ho. was concerning the same ; not namyng it an Abstinence, but a converting of the Princes powers totally to the exterminion of the Emperors army, before doing any thing in *Flaunders*. His Ho. said, he thought good, that *Bellum* were *reipsa* executed here, & *solo nomine* in *Flawnders*. And al things to be so ordered as they in *Flaunders* should be in continu-expectation, lest being secure, they shuld, for avoydyng the werr, cause a new army to be sent into *Lombardy*. We said, that it is not to be thought, howsoever things procede here, that they here in the *Low country* wyl spend any treasure for helping themperor in any part, but oonly in defence of their own country. And wheras his Ho. thought good, that al the Princes powers converted *reipsa* to the maintenance of this army, for the pacifying of *Italy* ; it shuld be expedient *Bellum geri nomine* & *fama* in *Flandria* ; We thought, that such threats &

*Fama*



*Fama belli*, without any effect ensuyng, shold moch encourage the *Flemmings*, and them of the *Low countreyes*, & cause them to think the default to be in the Princes puissances. Which opinion emprinted, thenemyes might gretly hyndre the common affaires. Wherefore we thought good, that if *omnis vis belli* shuld be converted hither, it were expedient that by some good policie an Abstinence were set forth on that syde the mountaynes. Hereunto we had noo direct answer : but so departed from his Ho. leaving that mater to be delyvered of by his Ho. tyl our next repaire unto the same. Which shal be this day, being the morrow after our *Lady day* at thre of the clock at after noon : At which tyme the Cardinal *Sanctorum quatuor* hath also promysed to be there.

At our repaire unto the Popes Ho. as was appointed, there we found with him the Cardynal *Sanctorum quatuor*, and standing in another angle of the chamber the Cardynal *Ursinus*, the Cardinal *Cesarinus*, & the Cardinal *De Cæsis*. And as soon as we wer entred his bedchambre, his Ho. withdrew himself into a lytel studie, which his Ho. useth for his sleeping chambre; & there caused stoles to be brought : & setting himself with his back to the wal, wylled the Cardinal *Sanctorum*, & us to sit round about him : & then called for oon *Jacobus Symonet*, Dean of the Rote, a man of good gravite, & as it semed substantial lerned. When we were thus placed, the Cardinal *Sanctorum quatuor* began to purpose the Consultation, & cawse of our metyng, & there shewed in effect such reasons as he had written into *England*. And after him spake the said Dean, with a preface, that it was a matier wherin he had not moch studied, ne turned his bokes. Nevertheles as semed to him for that tyme, he thought the Cardinal *Sanctorum quatuor* said very wel. When they had both spoken, the Popes Ho. willed me, *Steven Gardynier*, to speke what I thought good in defence of the Commission. And so I dyd to ther good satisfaction. And finally the matyer was so opened & declared by us, as the Popes Ho. right wel perceyved, & could not but allow, the kings desire & his mynde therein.

And finally, the mater was reduced to this point, that such Commission, althowe in old tyme it hath passed, & is not descrepant from justice; yet it is now *novum & insolitum*. And the Emperour might take occasion against the Pope to say, that to his injury his Ho. doth an act *extra modum nuper consuetum, & communem stilum curia a temporibus editorum Decretalium observatum*. Howbeit we brought his Ho. by persuasions from this Allegation. And oonly rested to know the opinions of Lerned men, whether the particular cawses expressed in the Commission may be justified to be sufficient for a Divorse, or not. And therupon willed the said *Symonet* to loke his boke, & to have conference with us. We were reasoning to & fro bfore the Popes Ho. above fowre houres. In which conference we have plainly opened unto his Ho. the cawses, why the Commission is desired in that Form, & what is meant thereby : furnishing it with such reasons as were not removed, ne taken away, but *solo timore*. Inasmoch as the Popes Ho. to declare his good mynd towards the kings H. said. that he had so moch confidence in the K. H. conscience, as he wold ground his therupon, & doth perswade unto himself, that to be true & just which so apperith unto the kings conscience, & wold upon that ground privily pass any thing

thing he might do by his auctoryte. But in this case, which shal come to the knowlege of the world, he said he must so do, as the See Apostolique be not slandered thereby. And forasmoch as in hymself his Ho. knowlegith no such profound lerning as were sufficient to discuss this matier, he thought therfore of duty he could no les do, then to counsaile other therupon, such as be about him here. Who might hereafter justify his doings, whatsoever shuld be alleged on ther partie. Wherein he doubted not, but the Emperor wold cause diverse Universities to write. And therupon to me, Sir Gregory, his Ho. shewed a lettre, sent secretly from a Gentleman, being in the Emperors Court: Mentioning, what answer was made by the said Emperor to the Intimation made on the kings behaulf, containing this matier of divorce. Which addith some fear to the Popes Ho. being of his own nature *Timidior quam oportet*. And besides that, the doubtful end of the werr in *Naples*, which by such tydingis as came at our being with his Ho., mentioning, how the *Spanyards* intend to divide & distribute the Army into holds there to abyde grace in space, is not like, as they think, to be ended before *Michaelmas*.

Neverthesles whatsoever we can devise in the kingis matier to be doon in such sort, as the Pope might allege any excuse for hymself sumwhat to cloke his doying herein, we think he wil make no stikking therat. For as towching allegation of the kingis merits & deserts, it was no nede for us to speke any thing, the same being in the most ample wise reherfed to the Popes Ho. by the Cardinal *Sanctorum quatuor* in our presence, with confession on al parties, that in the kingis cause nothing were to be omitted, that might be doon, agreable to justice, & stile of the Court. To morrow in the morning the said *Symonet* Dean of the *Rote*, in whom the Popes Ho. puttith his confidence, shal by appointment repaire to us, for examination of the justice of the matier. Which doon, & perswaded to him, as we trust it shalbe, we have good hope, that we shall sumwhat remove the Popes Ho. from the respect of the Stile, & *moris novi ab editis Decretalibus observati*.

This day in the morning, being the xxvij day of *March*, arryved the Prothonotary *Gambara*. And as yet we hear no word from *Staphileus*. But they say, he wil be here within these three or four dayes. Al this day from seven of the clock in the morning to dyner tyme, & after dyner, til it was night, the said *Symonet* Dean of the *Rote* hath been with us, & herde what could be said concerning the Law upon the causes alleged & expressed in the Commission, he takyng upon him the contrary part, & objecting as much as he could. And albeit he wold not expressly confes our purpofs, fearing that then there were no remedy, but that the Commission in the Form desired shulde pass, from reasoning, he descended to perswade us rather to take a general Commission, in as ample form & maner as we could devise, with promise of Ratification, then to stik upon this Form, being new, & out of course. And if we wold be so contented, he would not doubt but we shuld be sped to morrow. And so began to make his reckening, that within three months, sentence myght be gyven there, & remytted hither to be confirmed, with many good words, how gladly he wold set forth the kings cause, & how moch he, & the whole court be bound to do the same: Taking therupon occasion to speke of the kings benefits to the

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See Apostolique, & what a minister your Gr. hath been in setting forth the same. Assuring your Gr. that generally here al men that speke with us do the semblable, expressely confessing, that through the help of the K. H. & your Gr. sollicitation, they have obtained the lytel libertie they have, & your favours sayling shuld not enjoy the same. Fynally, the said *Symonetta* perceyving, that by no means he could persuade us to be content with such a Commission, as is agreable to the second degree your Gr. hath prescribed us, departed from us for that night.

On the morrow we went to the Cardinal *De Monte*, & delyvered him the kingis lettres, with recommendations on his Hieghnes, & your Gr. behalf. Who receyving the said lettres, joyfully said, It was moch to his comfurth after these calamities to receyve letters from that Prince, who hath oonly focoured & releved them out of the same: moch extolling the kingis merits, & your Graces, towards the See Apostolique & them; shewed what reioyce it was to them to rede your Gr. lettres written unto them, when they were *in vinculis*, conteyning words full of life & hope: Adding therunto, that if every oone of ther College had with such good hart regarded that calamitie, as your Gr. did, it had been moch lesf & soner redubbed. He is a man of good courage, & spake it hartily. Finally, he said what he might do in furthering the kingis matier, which we shewed unto him at length, it was his duty to do it, as a member of the See Apostolique, so gretly obliged & bound unto the kinges H. in the most effectual manner to do the same. And that we shuld wel perceyve & know, he wold be as diligent therin, as thowe it were his own.

The Popes Ho. on Passion Sunday at after dyner counsailed upon this matier with the Cardinalls *De Monte* & *Sanctorum quatuor*, & the said *Simonetta*, appointing us to come to his prefence about three of the clock: & so we did. Finding his Ho. in his litill sleping chambre, accompanied with the Cardinals, *Sanctorum quatuor* & *De Monte*, being ther also the said *Simonetta*. His Ho. commaunded us al to sit down, he hymself sytting as it were *In medio semicirculi*; & willed me, *Stephen Gardyner*, to ask, what we desired. Which I then did, adding such circumstances to the Petition, as I thought convenient: Desiring in effect a Commission after such Form, as was alredy exhibited to his Ho. on the kingis behaulf. Wherunto the Popes Ho. made answer at good length, Protesting first his good mynd towards the K. H. & how moch he ought of duty to do to his Highnes good satisfaction, with plentie of good words. And secundarily, shewing what he had doon therin, forasmoch as his lerning is insufficient in this behaulf. Hereunto I, *Steven Gardyner*, replyed, That in this matier were two Articles; chief & principal: Oon, whether his Ho. wold pass the said Commission: Another, whether, if he would, he might. For the first part, *Ad captandam benevolentiam*, I said, that besides such demonstrations as have been made heretofore, we fennes our cummyng have seen *Evidentissima argumenta*, & may be *Testes locupletissimi* to the K. H. & your Gr. of his Ho. propence will in this matier, to accomplish our desire. For the second part, Whether his Ho. might, I said, that I trusted by the kingis boke for the justice of the matier, it wel appered, & also by such offre, as the Cardynal *Sanctorum quatuor*, & *Simonetta*, being  
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learned men, have offered unto us in that behaulf: saying, that the sentence ones gyven shuld be confirmed by his Ho. Which promise, if it be to be trusted unto, is a playn confession, that our cause is good; or else it ought not to be confirmed. Wherefore betwen our desire & ther offere is onely difference of tyme, So as that which is promised to be done after the sentence, we require it to be in effect done bifore. Which was necessarie to be obtained in avoyding such chaunces, as might let obtaining of the Confirmation: As death of the Pope, or other adverse success, not now thought.

So as this matier is brought to this point, that as the oonly stile & maner lettith the graunting of the kingis purpose: Which I said the K. H. wold take very straungly, & wold think his manifold benefits il employed, if in the maner & forme of obteigning justice there shal no more respect be had of his person, & weight of his cause, then *promiscua plebis*; ne obteyn more here, after so grete charges, costs & delay of tyme, then his H. might have obtained at home. Not dowing but his Majesty, understanding hereof, wold use *Domestico remedio apud suos*, without ventilating his cause, where he perceiveth it is handeled, loked on & herde, as thow there were alredy in mennes harts enrooted *prejudicata opinio*, that al things were colored, & *nullis nixa radicibus justitiæ & veritatis*. When I had thus spoken with many moo words sounding to that purpose, every man loked on other, & so stayed. At the last *Simonet* thinking that the matier towched him nere; inasmoche as by graunting, & offering confirmation of the sentence, he shuld seme to approve the justnes of this cause; beganne to make & shew a difference bitwen confirming the sentence after it was gyven, & making this Decretal Commission. And so entred again into reasonyng of the causes.

The Popes Ho. harde with very good wil disputation in that matier. The Cardinals *De Monte* & *Sanctorum quatuor* al this while were only Auditours; the Card. *Sanctorum quatuor* knowledging, that besides the stile, of the Court & usage therof, he hath noo sight in the law: & the Card. *De Monte* alleging that as yet he hath not loked his boke in this matier. But they both desired us to be content with a Commission, conteyning no special causes, with promyse of confirmation: Which shuld serve the kingis purpose. And therin shuld be no difficulty made. We said, that our petition therin was by thadvise of many learned men, prescribed at home, & gyven us by Instructions, which we might not transgres. The Popes Ho. said, that al that which with his honour he might do, he wold do it gladly without tract or difficultie. We said, that that which was not honourable for his Ho. to graunt, was not honorable to be desired on the kingis behaulf. So as in this matier, if honour shuld be towched, it shuld be touched in them both. But it is not to be supposed, that the kingis H., who, hitherto hath had such respect of his honour, conserved & defended the same above al other Princes, wold now, in conducing this matier to effect, do any thing that shuld steyne or blemish the same: Or that your Gr. who hath such consideration both to the kingis Honour, as his subget, & to the See Apostolique, as membre of the same, wold be Counsaillour or ministre in any thing, that shuld be dishonorable to both, or either of them.

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The Popes Ho. perceyving, that our words were somewhat playner then they had been, & that by degrees we began to speke more earnestly then we had doon, & that we alleged alwayes for a ground nothing to be let or stop in graunting the said Commission, but only the stile & maner of late in every common cause used; which seing we touched very moch, his Ho. said, that schortely to resolve this matier, he is now fixed & determined, in satisfying the Kingis desires, to set apart al stile & common course of the Court, which could be no law to him, ne bynde his Ho. to follow the same in so gret a cause as this is, & to such a Prince, who hath deserved so many benefits of the See Apostolique: Extending his auctorite therin, & speking as it were against *Sanctorum quatuor*, who is altogether *Defensor stili curie Romane, non prioris & antiquissimi, sed posterioris & novissimi*, used from the tyme of his practise. Finally, the Popes Ho. said, if in the law these causes may be ground just & sufficient to mayntein a sentence of Divorce, he will make such a Commission, any stile or use to the contrary notwithstanding. Adding therunto, that if thEmperor should grudge therat, he cared not therfore, & having matier to defend *justitiam causarum*, he wold by Breve signify to thEmperor & the world, that, *in modo administranda justitia*, he of duty ought to shew al favour & grace to the K. H. for his manifold merits; & so he wold. Wherefore his Ho. said, he wold hear what the Card. *de Monte*, & the Card. *Anconitane*, unto whom he writeth in post, wil say in these matiers; & hering ther judgments, he wold shortely satisfy our requests & desires. And then devise with us upon sending of a Cardinal, & who shuld be most mete for that purpose.

We desired his Ho. that it wold please hym schortely to resolve hymself therin, to thintent we might depech our Post, whom we have taried these six dayes past, & intend not to depech hym, til we shal have some certain resolution, to signifie unto your Gr. His Ho. said, that no man desired more spedy expedition, then he hymself; Knowing of what moment and importance the matier is.

After these Disputations, continuing by the space of three houres, we did arise, and so did the Popes Ho. ministring unto us familiar communication, & enquiring of the Bishops of *England*, & ther gret age, as the Bishops of *Winchestre*, *Norwich*, & my Lord of *Canterbury* & other. Wherupon telling his Ho. a mery tale of the Bishop of *Norwich* his good herte, & how being about fourscore yere old, he wold have a chambre devised nere the ground without any staires, to ly in twenty yeres hence, wheu he knew wel he shuld be somewhat feeble; toke occasion to make overture unto his Holynes of taking away the first frutes, telling it as a motion made by the said Bishop to the K. H. & your Gr. without shewing the Popes Ho. that for obtaining therof we had any instructions therin. His Ho., for pastime, liked wel to hear therof, & began to enquire of the particularities, How & what maner those frutes might be redeemed. Wee then shewed the K. H. & your Gr. devise. Which liked his Ho. very wel, and so did it the Cardinals ther present. Wherefore having that opportunitie, and mynding to diminish such particular sutes, to thintent al cummyng *in cumulo* shuld not seme moch, said, that we had a Commission from the K. H. & your Gr. to obteigne commission with sufficient auctorite

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for the doing therof. His Ho. said, It were a good dede, & he wold gladly concurr to the perfiting therof. Which words being spoken to the Card. *Sanctorum quatuor*, & in the presence of *Simonetta* oon of the Referendaries, be a ful expedition in that matier.

The Popes Ho., althow it was night, having plesure in communication of this realm, introduced of himself communication of your Gr. College, & began to tell the Cardinalls *de Monte & Sanctorum quatuor*, what a meritorious act your Gr. had begonne in that Realm, & enquired of us, how the Building proceded, & what we thought they would cost or they were finished; of the nombre of Scholars, common Reders, & al other particularities. Which we then declared at grete length, to the grete rejoyce & pleasure of the Popes Ho. & the Cardinals, as they said, to hear. And moch it pleased them to understond, that your Gr. hath taken such ordre in letting the Fermes, as no man shal have them but such as wil dwel upon them, and mainteyne hospitalitie: thinking, that the same is not onely good & expedient for example to be followed, & observed of other, but also gretly meritorious towards God, wel justifying & mayntening the commutation & alteration of those religious places, wherof only did arise *scandalum religionis*. Thus entred in this Communication, we immixt such things & reasons as might serve to facilitate the obtaining of that is here to be graunted for the said College. And without opening any special requests, we said in general, that if his Ho. continued his good mynd towards the finishing & perfiting of that College, as his Ho. hath to the beginning and commencement, your Gr. had so dysposed al things there, as it shuld schortely be brought to the desired perfittnes, althow the same is & shalbe to your Gr. inestimable charge. Which shuld be a perpetual memory as wel for his Ho., as for your Gr. His Ho. said, he gladly would do al things he might by his auctoritie do. And at this point we departed from his Ho. for that night.

At another tyme in communication, we toke occasion to cause his Ho. to shew his mind to the Card. *Sanctorum quatuor* for Degradation of Prests, accompting that matier, and for the first fruits of *Normich*, sped *obiter, aliud agendo*. The making & conceiving wherof, we ne do, canne, ne shal intend unto such tyme as we expedite the Kinges matier, according to your Gr. commandment in that behault.

As touching that your Gr. willed us to advertise you, how long the Proceß should contynue, in case the Kingis matier shuld be examined & discussed here; We have by al means possible endeavored our self to know, without geving any cause to them here of conjecture that we wold have it brought hither. And to shew your Gr. playnly, first we perceyve, that they would not gladly have it here, as the state of the world is now, the *Cesarians* not yet purged out of these parties. For al the stop, difficulty and delay in this matier, procedeth only of Fear. Which, considering ther late calamite, & the incertainty of the Werr in *Naples*, semeth to be such as might *cadere in constantem virum*. We find in every man as gret desire to further the Kingis matier as we can wish, as far as we can gather of ther words, fashion & maner. And in that they assent not to our requests, we can impute it to no other thing, but onely fear, that if there were any thing doon *novum & gratiosum*, agaynst the Emperors purpose, it shuld be, *materia nova captivitatis*; if the *Spanyards* may



may have any comfort in *Naples*, wherof they be mervelous uncertayn. And althow newes dayly come of the *Spaniards* adversity, yet they fear & are glad to retheyne, & not to abandon themperors part, the Popes Ho. having with them a *Nuntius* to entertheyne them; by him to be advertised of al success. As for length of the procefs here, where every lerned man shal have delay to say his mynde, they cannot tel, ne wee can get any direct answer therein of them, not willing to be noted any thing to medle openly agaynst themperor, or that which he taketh so to stomack, as they know by the answer to thintimation he dooth this matier.

When we speke of celerite to be used in expedition, they devise how spede may be made there; & so the sentence to be remitted hither, to be confirmed. Other answer we can get none. So as al that hath been hitherto spoken by them, that the K. H. shuld first marye, & such other devices, as we may gather here, were set forth oonly for that intent, that whatsoever they did, they wold not be noted of counsaill in the beginning of the matier, or to be privy to any spicialty therof in the Commencement. For which cause we are the more earnest in pressing them to graunt the Commission after the first Device, mentioning the specialties of the cause. Which set apart & not required, we are sure to obtaine the second degree of our Instructions in the most ample wise, & with gret thanks to take it. Howbeit we do not yet relent, but stik stil to have the Commission after the first Form; grownding our self upon such reasons, as the Popes Ho. wel perceyveth, & right wel alloweth. Nevertheles the case being chaunged as it is synnes our departure, by reason of such publication therof, as themperor hath made in his answer to the Intimation. Wel considering how the procefs might be after the best deduced & handelyd, without gyving themperor occasion, & his Adherents to brute abroad, slaundering the Kings inatier, that without extraordinary remedies the K. H. could not attayne his purpose, We verily think in our opinyon, that the Commission obteyned after the secound degree shal serve to very good purpose, to ground the procefs upon, & to be that which shalbe openly exhibited & shewed: Being also that which they wold gladly geve us here, with promise to confirm the Sentence incontynently; *Supplentes omnes defectus tam Juris quam facti*, with al spede & expedition possible. Wherunto according to our Instructions we shal condescend oonly in such case, as we perceyve letts to be in obtaining the first. Which notwithstanding any words spoken unto us by the Popes Ho. we think we shal not obtien to be used & shewed openly, as we require it.

Wherfore inasmoch as we perceyve the let of graunting therof to be Fear, which being so imminent & lately felt, we be in dispaire to take away, either by words of comfort, or other like, as your Gr. can of your high Wildome confidre to be *verisimile*, according to such communication, as your Gr. had unto us the Friday at night before our departing in your chambre at *Yorkes* place. Pondering also that the effect of the Commission after the first Form is onely, *Ut constet de iudicio ecclesie* in those articles, for the discharge of them, that shal procede therein, we have devised, that being without hope of obtaining the Commission absolutely in the first Form, we shal desire the

Popes Ho. to pas it secretly to remayn with the K. H. for justification of his matier, in *Exentum*, that the confirmation by some chaunce cannot be obteyned, the same to be kept secret, & to be shewen to no man, but only the kingis Counsaillours; & to geve us, as is promised, a generall Commission for a Legate, as our Instructions purporteth. Which first Commission to be kept secret, yf we can obteyne, as we perceyve some likliwode we shal; the said Commission in the first Form, shewed to such as have been of contrary opinion, shal, & must, satisfie them, & be *Regula* to them, that shal be Judges, how to procede; seing *Rescriptum Pontificis* determining the case. And the second Commission to be that wherupon the jurisdiction shal be grawned, to make proces in that matier. The said first Commission obteyned in secret maner, having noon other use, but to be seen ther privily, shalbe *Calculus & suffragium Pontificis* in the law, & also *Pignus suae voluntatis, & auctoritatis*, that the sentence be geven conformably therunto, shal be confirmed.

In this Device we digress not from our Instructions. Forasmoch as it is not, ne shal be, set forth unto such tyme, as by our Instructions we shuld take the general Commission, being in despair of the first & special Commission. At which tyme if we can attayne the first to be kept privy for the purpose before specified, & *ex abundanti*, having so moch more to be used at your pleasure or refused, we think we shal not offend the K. H. & your Grace.

The matiers being at this poynt, & so long tyme passed synnes our arryval here, we thought best hereupon to depech my Lord of *Rochfords* Prest, without tarying of any other resolution, whether we shal obteign the Commission afre this first Form, or not. Which yf we can attrayne, we wil be most glad; yf not, we shal see what we can do for obteigning that to be kept secret: Wherin we have summe hope: And being in despair therof, shal, according to our Instructions, cumme to the second degree, to have the General Commission. Which we be sure of, & have promise already made unto us, as we have bfore wrien unto your Gr. From day to day we have ever been in good hope to have sent sum resolution of attayning the Commission in the first Form, & have been in contynual Disputations every day; Trusting to have had such answer as we desired. Wherupon we differred the depechs of this Post: doing also the same to move & sterre the Popes Ho. with the more spede to regard our cause *tacitè*, by not sending away our Post; signifying unto him that we were nothing satisfied with what we herde his Ho. say unto us, althow he promised us a Commission general, agreeable to the second degree of our Instructions.

The Prothonotary *Gambara* resortith unto us, & soliciteth the kingis matier very effectually, aswel to the Popes Ho. as also other. The Bishop *Staphileus* is not yet come, but they said he wil be here within these two days. The Popes Ho. is not yet resolved what Cardinal he wil send, & wold, that he might, send noon. Nevertheless he saith, he wil appoint oon such as that be agreeable to the kingis desire. The Cardinal *Campegius* is at Rome. *De cujus voluntate non dubitatur*. For the Popes Ho. said, the said Cardinal wrote unto hym to geve faith to the kingis H. writings & reasons in this matier. It is onely feared in hym, *ne in itinere laboret podagra; Cui morbo mirum in modum obnoxius est:*



*est* : after such sort as he is gretly extenuate therewith, when it cummith. Of whom his Ho. wil resolve hymself, we cannot yet tell. The certainte wherof I, *Edward Fox*, shal bring with me with the said Commission.

As towching the sending of Legates to the Princes, and setting forth an Abstynence, as your Gr. wrot unto us by your Lettres, we cann have noon other answer of the Popes Ho. then we have now written unto your Gr. His Ho. is *Cunctator maximus*. Which qualitie hath contrary success in his Ho. to that it had in *Fabio Maximo* ; *Qui rem Romanam cunctando restituit*. In the kings cause his Ho. hath taken very gret paines ; & we think at this houre seeth as far in it, Why & Wherefore the Commission is desired in the first Form, as any other of his assistance ; & as we thinke moch better. So as whatsoever his Ho. shal do therin, he shal never allege *surreptionem*, *obreptionem*, *fucum* or *ignorantiam*.

May it please your Gr. to signifie your pleasure by letters to the Mayster of the Rolls, how & in what wise We, *Steven Gardynner*, & *Edward Fox*, or, either of us, retorning by *Fraunce*, shal use our self, in reparing to the *French* court : & how we shal answer the *French* king, in case he be desirous to know what spede is had here in the kingis matier.

We send unto your Gr. herein inclosed Abstracts of such letters, as hath been sent to the Popes Ho. by his *Nuncius* resident with Mounf. *De Lautreke*, contayning news of his proceeding in *Naples*. It is very certain, that the *Spanyards* have refused batel, & conveyed themself out of ther Camp neerer unto *Naples* in the night, from the place where they were encamped within haulf a mile of tharmy of Mounf. *De Lautreck*. In hurtes doon & taken on cyther partie, there is many tymes tydings repugnant ; & the Imperialls in writing retayne ther courage, that they have lost in fighting. It is also of certainte, which we think hath come to your Gr. knowlege, that the Citizens in *Rome* dayly fle such *Spanyards* as they can have knowlege of : not oonly such as were fougliers, but also such as before dwelt in *Rome*, & in the direption lost ther substance. So as *nullus natione Hispanus ulla ex parte tutus veniret Romam* : As other things occurith here worthy advertisement, we shal not faile to signify the same unto your Gr. Praying Almighty God long to preserve your Gr. in good helth & prosperitie, with moch encrease of honour & felicitie. From *Orviet*, the last day of *March*.

*Postscripta*, As we were fynyshing these letters, I, Sir *Gregory*, was sent for to the Popes Ho. Who, forasmoch as he hath nq better resolution from the *Fr.* King concerning the restitution of *Ravenna* & *Cervia*, verily perswading hymself, that the *Venecians*, were not that they had sum comfort of the *Fr.* king, wold not have differred contrary to ther promyse made to the K. H. & your Gr., the restitution of the said Cities, so long as they have doon ; Thinking therfore that the letters sent from the K. H. & your Gr. in that matier shal nothing prevaile ; saith, he is in total desperation, & perceyveth hymself deluded of al parties. And synnes he cannot hope of remedy at ther hands, that call themself friends, he shall be necessitate to geve hymself

hymself to them that be noted enemies; & sooner to suffice *ruinam totius Italiae*, then his Ho. & the Church *sic ludibrio exponi ab istis*, meaning the *Venecians*. *De quibus tam bene meritus est*. The Popes Ho. thinketh not, that any thing is doon by the Fr. king herin for any ill mynd he berith to his Ho. *Sed ex nimio affectu in Venetos*, more esteeming them then is convenient. Who so litil regarded so many promises, made by the Oratours to the K. H., the Fr. King, your Gr. & my Lady, in such a matier, as without manifest injury cannot be differred a day. His Ho. is the more perplexed and troubled, for that *Ariminum* delyvered unto hym by Mounf. *De Lautreck*, is now taken again by hym, that had occupate it before, & was put out by Mounf. *De Lautreke*. Which geveth cause of suspition unto hym, & clerly discomfurthereth hym in his mynd & opynyōn. Wherefore yf your Gr. by good ways & means doo not with the Fr. King & *Venecians* so ordre his matier, as effect may ensue, his Ho. is so far fallen in his own conceite, as it shal not ly in any mans power here by his counsaile to uphold hym, but that he shal precipitate hymself into his enemies dedition, to the total ruine of al *Italie*, & hindrance of the common affaires.

## N U M B. XXIV.

*Dr. Gardiner, Dr. Fox, & Sir Gregory de Cassalis, the Kings Ambassadors, unto the Cardinall. From Orviet.*

Foxij MSS.

PLeasith yt your Gr. to undrestand, that after depech of my Lord of *Rochfords* Prest, who departed hens the first day of April, I, with Maister *Fox* & Sir *Gregory*, repared that day to the Popes Ho. Shewing vnto the same, how upon comfurth of such words as his Ho. had spoken unto us, & such good inclination, as we perceyved in the same, to do al things, that might be to the kingis good contentation & your Gr. We had depeched our Post with letters signifying his Ho. good mynd, & that we loked for short expedition, to the satisfaction of the K. H. & your Gr. The specialties wherof to be sent by Mr. *Fox*, who, whatsoever answer shal be geven, must retorne shortely. Wherefore I desired his Ho. to resolve hymself without delay or difficultie, saying, *That bis dat qui cito dat : Et aliud dare videtur, qui cito negat*. His Ho. said, that this matier consisted in the knowlege of the law, wherof he is ignorant, & must nedys therfore depend upon the resolution of them, which be lerned in that facultie, whom he hath counsailed, & cannot as yet get any certain answer of them, althow his Ho. hath, & contynually doth desire them with spede to condescend to oon opinion, or other, & to shew ther sentence in these Articles, Whether in ther opinions the causes wherupon the the Matrimony shold be declared nought, & the Dispensation void, be sufficient in the law, or not. Which doon he wold reject al stiles & ceremonies, & wold do all things, not contrary to justice.

I said,



I said, that as for the knowlege of the justnes of the cause, I verily trusted his Ho. wold geve credence to the kingis bokes, & your Gr. relation of the opinion of lerned men in those parties. His Ho. said, that the thing being such as shold come *in iudicium Orbis*, he wold so do; & doubtith not, but that the K. H. & your Gr. se very good matier & substantial, why the said Matrimony shold be dissolved. Nevertheless hereafter *re deducta in ora omnium*, it shold be said, *Quod quamquam ut bonus Vir serenissimo Regi, de cuius conscientia non dubitat; & your Gr. relation, whom his Ho. knoweth wel wil not, for any respect, aberrare a vero, fidem habuerit: Tamen non ut bonus Pontifex & Judex communis, qui de alienis factis cognoscens, non ipsos eosdem adhibere debeat consultores.* He said, it is both true, wherof he is both sory & ashamyd, & also notory, that his Ho. hath no lerning in the law. Which, when the Commission cam *in publicum*, as it must nedys do, by reason a copy therof shal be geven to the Quene, & so consequently to themperor hands, shold argue hym either manifestly *Temerarium*, to the flaunder of the Church, doying it without counsaile of other, or else *nimis credulum Judicem*, to be perswaded by the parties sayings only, without hering any thing replied on the other side. And added therunto, that they of the Court here, being lerned men in the law, whose counsaile the Popes heretofore have most commonly adhibite & followed, wold hereafter most sonnes study to reprove & confute that which is, or shal be, done: & thow the same were wel doon, to the passing wherof hath not be required ther judgment & advise. Wherefore yf he colde have the opinion of them here, he wold make no further tract: Saying, that of the truth of the matier he was perswaded by the kingis & your Gr. relation.

And as towching the publishing of the same after this maner, & calling it Truth *alijs*, with decree to be geven therupon by his auctoritie, as the Commission purporteth, he wold gladly do it, having any comfurth of these men so to do. Who yf they say ther opinions therin, it shal evermore studye from hensfurth for the defence therof, & justifie his doying in this behaulf.

Hereunto I said, that it shuld be somewhat alien & discrepant from the expectation of the K. H. & your Gr., to undrestonde by our lettres this answer. Which conferred with such wordis, as have been spoken in divers communications bifore, semeth evidently to declare these wayes & means be to excogitate to colour the denyal of the Kingis purpose. Which shal be *duplici nomine ingratum*. First, *Ob negatam tam justam petitionem*. Secondly, *Ob moram & dilationem*. Of which two may arise such suspition, as your Gr. wold be loth shuld enter into the kingis brest. And thus began to repete such words of comforte as the Popes Ho. had spoken unto us at sondry tymes, which we have reported unto your Gr. by our former letters. And wher his Ho. puttith so moche doubt of mens sayings & judgments, having regard & respect what mennys opinions shalbe of hym, for geving credence to the parties, I said, that in a matier of truth, as this is, having so evident & manyfest reasons for confirmation therof, al such scruples were removed. And it shuld not be considered, Who said it, but what was said, *Et veritatis luce proferente sese, veluti ad solis conspectum nebulas, obscuras istas calumnias evanescere.* Wherefore inasmoch as the Kings matier there

there is affirmed to be just, & that they here only doubt, without determining the same to be unjust; with that also, that his Ho., as he pretested, geverth privately credence to the Kingis reasons, & your Gr. relation & judgment, it shalbe thought of yt self sufficient matier & justifiable. So as his Ho. not so taking it, & doing therafire, no words to be spoken of his mouth so earnestly & effectually, as may be able to counterpeise his dede; but that the same shal *ad suspicionem minus sinceræ mentis colligendam præponderare*. Desiring his holines therefore, that he wold have good respect therunto: & *prætervolantem occasionem sistere & retinere*: Maynteyning your labour & study in reteining the K. H. devotion towards the See Apostolique; & not putting things in such condition, as they shuld not be recoverable by no means hereafter: Saying, Now is the tyme, in which doying that of duty & justice he ought to do, his Ho. might adquire an inestimable treasure of the kingis good mynd for recovery of the aucthorite of the See Apostolique, with mayntenance of the same. His Ho. said, he wold do the best he could. And forasmoch it was shewed him, that Bishop *Staphileus* was within a dayes journey, he wold tary his cummyng, & hear what he wold say, & so without other resolution departed for that tyme.

The same night arryved *Staphileus*. And on the morrow we repared to his lodging, shewing unto hym al we had done, & in what point the matier stode: Declaring unto him also, what our petition was, & in what forme the Commission was devysed, with commandment by Instructions in no wise to digress from the same: Desiring hym finally according to the K. H. & your Gr. expectation, he wold, as moch as he possibly might, set forth the same. He said, First, that he was very fory, that he could not cumme soner, as he desired: & now cummen he wold not faile to do the best he could. Nevertheles where I said, that the Commission shold be directed to your Gr. alone, or joyntly to you & another Legate, he said, That was not in his Instructions, but expressely the contrary; Referring hymself not to his writing; but to words spoken, as he said, by the K. H. at the *More* that evenyng he was there with the K. H. & your Gr. At which tyme, as he said, the K. H. said, that the Quene might & wold refuse your Gr. And therefore it shuld be wel done your Gr. medled not as Judge in the matier. From this opinion we could not bring hym a good while; tyl at the last he said, he wolde conform hymself to our Instructions. This was theeffect of our communication with hym for that tyme.

And because the said *Staphileus* is here; as the *Fr.* kings Oratour, for declaration of such charge as he had, to be shewed from the *Fr.* king, he repared to the Popes Ho. twyes without us; Advertising your Gr. that I, Sir *Gregory* being with the Popes Ho. secretly in the Evening next following, his Ho. shewed *sub secreto*, al that the said *Staphileus* had said unto him concerning the Kings matier: Which was in effect, that he thought the cause good. And the Popes Ho. mervayling *De Forma Commissionis*, the said *Staphile* shuld answer, that he was never privy therunto, but was only instructed, that a general Commission shuld be geven to a Legat to be sent hens: & that the K. H. wold your Gr. shuld not be Judge, by reason the Quene might refuse



refuse your Gr. as suspect. When *Staphileus* had spoken with the Popes Ho. he thence repared unto us, & shewed us how moch he had moved the Popes Ho. in our matier, & that we shuld by his means have schort expedition, with such like words: Nevertheles rownding us in the ear, he said, It was not to be stikked at for obtaining of the Commission Decretal: inasmoch as by a General Commission the king might have his purpose, the sentence to be geven there schortely, & so afterward to be confirmed here: Saying, that by his dexteritie he wold in such wise handel the matier, as the Pope at his sute shold schortly graunt therunto. We dissembling knowlege of any thing by hym spoken to the Popes Ho. said, We had without hym obtained graunt of such Commission, with secret promise of confirmation: & had ordered the matier in such sort, as it was on their part offered us; & we by them desired to take it. Howbeit forasmoch as by our Instructions we might not accept it, we therefore do stil persist in requiring the first: Wherin we desired his help & furtherance. He said, he wold do the best he could.

The Friday before Palmes Sondag, the Popes Ho. appoynted *Solennem confessum* of the Cardinals *De Monte*, & *Sanctorum quatuor*, *Staphileus*, & the Dean of the *Rote*, to dispute & reason upon the Kings matier. Al which tyme we convened in the Popes litill chambre, being then present at the same Disputation an Auditor of the *Rote* called *Paulus*, & the Prothonotary *Gambara*. After every man was placed, the Bishop *Staphileus* had a long Oration, conteyning his whole boke, & the reasons of the same. Which lasted two houres. When he had spoken the Cardinal *Sanctorum quatuor* began, & somewhat contraried *Staphileus*: Repeting summarily what he had said, & inferring such reasons, as semed to make the contrary. Wherunto *Staphileus* answered. *Etiā incaluerat Disputatio*. After they had reasoned a good whyle, I desyred of the Popes Ho. I might be herd to say somewhat to such reasons as the Card. *Sanctorum quatuor* had spoken. Which were very frivolous, & semed to be *quæsitā studio, ne deesset quod contradiceretur*. His Ho. willed me to speke: & so I did reply to the Card. *Sanctorum quatuor*. Who then remitted his Reasons to the Dean of the *Rote*, from whom he had them. And so the Dean of the *Rote* & I examined certain of those Reasons, & tryed of what strength they were so playnly, as the Popes Ho. wel perceyved it, & how they weyed.

And forasmoch as after long Altercation I perceyved, that they had no substantial reasons; yet, saying, They doubted, wold not *cedere*; but when they were brought to a stay, evermore for a Solution desired us to be content with a Commission in a General forme, & after sentence gyven the same to be confirmed here. I, *habita præfatione*, desired the Popes Ho. the Cardynalls & thoder lerned men there, to note & pondre such words as I shold say of duty & observance towards the See Apostolique; necessarily to be considered, & regarded for conservation of the auctoritie of the same: which were these. That inasmoch as now the kingis matier hath ben by them herde & debated, to know the justice of the same, onles there be another resolution taken then I perceyve they intend to make, hereupon shal be gathered a marvelous opinion of your Ho. this College, & the auctoritie of this See. For the kingis H. & Nobles of that Realm, who shal be made privy.

hereunto, shal nedvs think, that either Sanctitas Vestra, hij reverendissimi Domini & doctissimi viri certum in hac causa respondere aut nolunt, aut non possunt. Si nolunt, inquier, nec dignantur erranti monstrari Viam, cujus curam a Deo commissam habent; atq; adeo tanto Principi, tam bene merito: deniq; quod ultro & gratis facere debeant, non faciunt, tot beneficijs provocati. O! simul & ingratissimum hominum genus, & muneris sui negligentissimum. Imo, qui simplices esse debeant sicut columba, apertog; pectore, pleni omni dolo & versutia & dissimulatione. Verbis omnia pollicentur, reipsa nihil praestant. Itaq; siquid ista moveant animos vestros, iterum atq; iterum petimus, efflagitamúsq;, ut si causa Serenissimi Regis nostri iusta vobis videatur, & bona fiat, quod pollicitum est nobis, ut talis judicetur. Sin mala videatur & iniqua, efficiat quantum potestis, ut ne is Princeps, quem tantum Patronum consistemini, in ea re versetur diutius, aut longius progrediatur. In qua ex animi vestri iudicio aut honor aut animae salus periclitetur. Nolite deesse ei vestris consilijs; qui vobis semper adfuit tum consilio, tum ope, tum auctoritate. Neq; enim postulamus aliud a Vobis quam iustitiam, quam ita amplexatur & colit Serenissimus Rex noster, ut quicquid sinistre suspicentur alij, illam omnino sive pro matrimonio, sive contra matrimonium, steterit, id quod & vobis & Orbi testatissimum vult sua Majestas, animo libentissimo sit sequuturus. Quod si Regia Majestas, & Nobiles alij de voluntate vestra persuasi, an certum respondere possitis dubitabunt, quod necesse est faciant, quum aut nolle vos, aut non posse sit certissimum, animos sane durior subibit de hac sede cogitatio; Clavem Viz. Scientiae abstulisse Deum, atq; adeo explosa haectenus quorundam sententia incipiet non displicere, digna esse quae mandentur flammis, Pontificia jura, quae ipsi etiam Pontifici & suis sunt incertissima. Tristissimum quidem & durissimum est id opinari aliquos, non posse vos nodum hujus causae explicare, quem ex rationibus serenissimi Regis cernitis dissolutum. Gravius vero illud est, si cum potestis, non vultis, quum sententia vestra, quaecunq; sit, modo certa sit, favorem ejus Principis promereatur, qui jam olim de vobis, quod non diffitemini, summa quaq; & plusquam omnia, promeritus sit.

These were my words, to thintent I might cause them openly to assent to us, & extorquere illam simulatam haestationem, & affectatam dubitationem, Having no good colour of maintenance. Nevertheless we afterward perceyved such appoyntment was taken, that they shold alwayes doubt: so, as to my words thus spoken no man answered. But as is accustomed amongst frends, to move them to an indifferent way by compromise; so they desired us to take a mean way, & to be content with a general Commission. When I perceyved they sung ever that song, & could by no means be brought from it, I said unto the Popes Ho. playnely, That by this covert dealing, & motions made to the general Commission, I could perceyve no other thing ment, but that every man wold hereafter pretend ignorance in the matier, & wold kepe themself at libertie to resolve ther doubt for his parte hereafter, that shal have the better hand. Et si Caesar vicerit, then they might with their honesties lean to hym. Howbeit I desired his Ho. to pondre wel this matier. For albeit bifore the cause was in al circumstances disclosed & openyd unto them, such pretence wold have had some liklihood, yet now al the matier declared & ventilate, & ther sentence in hanc aut illam partem required, they persuading us to take a general Commission,



Commission, with promise that the sentence to be geven *Contra matrimonium*, shalbe confirmed; *Quod verbis vel nolunt, vel non audent, vel quacunq; ratione non faciant, reipsa fatentur, Viz. causam videri ipsis bonam & justam, aut se famæ suæ prodigos, propriæq; salutis immemores ostendunt, ut causæ quam putant malam, in judicio tentando velint esse autores.*

These words were patiently herd of al parties, but nothing answered to them directly. And so the day being then spent, the Popes Ho. did arise. Unto whom we said secretly, that his Ho. might wel confide, to what part justice enclined: & that these men can shew no matier substantial, to impugne, that the kingis H. had writen. His Ho. said, that he was not lerned, & to say truth, Albeit it were a Saying in the Law, that *Pontifex habet omnia jura in scrinio pectoris*, yet God never gave unto hym the key to open *illud scrinium*. Howbeit his Ho. said, he wold after our departure know the opinions of the Cardinals & Auditours to what poynte we shuld rest. And so his Ho. did: & shewed unto me, Sir Gregory, afterward, that they wold advyse hym in no wyse to graunte the Commission after the first forme.

On the morrow we retourned unto the Popes Ho. & spake roundly unto hym, as our Instructions purporteth: & to that poynt, the Kingis H. wold do it without hym. His Ho. said, he wold it were doon; & to the other words, nothing but sighed & wyped his yees, saying, that in a mater, *in qua vertitur jus tertij*, he could do nothing without the counsaile of them, & wysshed that yt were in his power to geve the K. H. somewhat depending oonly of his own particular hurt or damage, without touching any other mans right, with such like words, nothing founding to the furtherance: but found our self in utter desperation. Wherefore we saw no remedy but to reasort to the second degree. Which was afterward set forth by me, Sir Gregory. Who, as it was agreed, speking famylyarly with the Popes Ho. said, as of my self, that I wold know of my Collegues, Whether they wil be content to take a General Commission, soo his Ho. pass in secret maner the Decretal Commission; the same not to come *in publicum*, but in case your Ho. do not confirme the sentence; & ells to be kept secret. Wherunto his Ho. answered, that yt were wel doon to move us of yt: & he hymself wold in the mean tyme confide that matier.

Upon Palme Sondag we went again to the Popes Ho. & had Communication of these Commissions: And as concerning the passing of the Commission Decretal in secret maner, his Ho. said he had resolved himself *Hoc dilemmate: Si justè fieri potest, debet fieri publicè, si non posset fieri justè, dedecore maximo foret, & interim agitarer conscientiam, fecisse secretè.* To that I said, *Quia justum est, ideo deberet fieri publicè; sed quia metus Cæsaris facit, ne fiat publicè, fiat sine metu secretè.* Which if his Ho. wold do, we have some hope that your Gr. by your dexterite shal so handle that, as the same shal be taken in good part of the K. H., & do as good stede for entreteining his Gr. benevolent & good mynd towards this See, as though the said Commission were passed to be shewed *publicè*. Hereunto we could get no answer: but so departed. Assuring your Gr. that the Popes Ho. althowe he perceyveth better & sooner al that is spoken, than any other, yet to geve an answer, Ye or na, *nunquam vidi tam tardum.*

The same night after we were departed from the Pope, we sent for *Simonetta* Dean of the *Rote*, like as we did sondry tymes biforn: forasmoch as he had no lodging, where we might repaire unto hym: And when he came unto us, first we gave hym thanks for his Labours, taken in this matier, & said, Albeit they were not so fruytful as we looked for, yet men pay *pro cultura agri, etiam si segetem non ferat*. And so shuld the K. H. for his labours & paines. Upon which words & such like, we entered communication of the Kingis matier. And brevely, to shew unto your Gr. the effect of that conference. Forasmoch as heretofore the same *Simonetta* at sondry tymes had moch extolled the kingis goodnes & benefits towards this See, & that therefore he accounted hymself obliged to do al he possibly might for the K. H. we desired hym, that setting apart *personam Consultoris induendo personam boni amici, qui causam amici ducit suam*, he wold shew us his opynion in the kingis matier: Saying, That synnes we were at a poynt, not to styck any further in the first Commission, he neded not to fear, but might speke *Liberè* his mynd & opynion.

Hereunto he made answer, That the fact which is alledged, with the circumstance proved there, the causes were in his opynion gret & iust. We said, we wold signify his opynion to the K. H. & your Gr. And although that part is had there *pro comperto*, yet his opynion shold wel confirme that perswasion: Saying, we had no other matier unto hym, but to know his mynde afore, & geve hym thanks. Then we familiarly asked hym, Why he did not say soo to the Popes Ho.? Hereunto he could geve no direct answer; but said, it was better to kepe the common course, thenne to have such a Commission, as we desired. And so put off communication of that matier. These words the said *Simonetta* had with Master Fox & me, *Steven Gardyner*; & afterwards before me, Sir *Gregory*, & us together, affirmed the same.

Thus he departing from us, I, *Steven Gardyner*, intended to the devising of a general Commission for a Legate, with such clauses as be conteyned in our Instructions, as your Gr. shal perceave by the minute which Master Fox bringeth with him, with annotations in the margin, conteyning the considerations of every clause. Hitherto in our first letters, & these, we have in our wrytings doon as they do, *Qui dum comedunt, presentem cibi saporem probant, quem in concoctione molesta improbare coguntur. Haëtenus verba optima & dulcissima*, & specially for graunting the General Commission, which in execution when it cummyth to the poynt, we fynd *effectum amara*. Hertofore yt was said unto us the Commission shuld be of our devising, now when we had made yt, *Omnes inierunt consilium, ut caperent, sermone & verbis optimis struant calumnias, & sincerissimo sensu scripta pervertant*: as I shal brevely note, & Mr. Fox can more amply shew unto your Gr.

First, we shewed the Commyssion by us devised to *Simonett*, as the Popes Ho. appoynted us to do. For in these causes his Ho. wold of hymself do nothing, for any thing we could do. *Simonett*, when he had red the Commission, he sayd, he thought the matier was good, saving in the latter end. But he said, it was *nimis facunda & ornata*. We said, that *salvâ rerum substantiâ*, we regarded not the words. The next day we went to the Cardynal *Sanctorum quatuor*, who, by relation of the said *Simonett*, had hard of our Commission & the tenor thereof.

And



And therefore shewing us what he undrestode of our Commission by *Simonett*, answering, as he had herd it red, that it could not be graunted; & said, That the syck man shewing his disease to the Physician, doth not hymself proportion the medycyne, but takith it after the Physicians discretion. Hereunto I said, that the Sicknes & the Physician be many tymes of such qualities, as the sick mans advice may moch help the Physician: Specially when the sick man knoweth his own disease, & hath any lerning or knowlege in physick. Which concurr in this case: The disease also being of such sort as the same is curable many ways: and so red unto hym the Commission by us devised. The Card. *Sanctorum quatuor* saying, that the beginnyng pleased hym not, retorned to read unto us that he had sent by Mr. Secretary, & after a lytil alteration upon both Commissions said, that yt was orderyd by the Popes Ho. that we shuld go to the Card. *De Monte*. And so we did, assembling there, for that purpose the Cardynal *Sanctorum quatuor*, *Simonett*, & *Gambara*. Where estones we red the Commission: Which doon, without any disputation, they desired us to depart: Saying, that they wold apart consult upon certain Articles, & not alter very many thyngs, but do so as we shuld have cause to be contented. We desyred them to determyne ther pleasures schortly: for Mr. Fox must nedes depart, & Ester approached, & *Dies ceremoniales*, when nothing could be expedite. They said, they wold send for us agayn that night. At that afternoon & the next day, tyl yt was night, we could not by any means possible know what they had doon: And so went now to the Pope, from the Pope to them: & fynally sent for *Simonett*, & desyred hym to shew what was doon. He said, that he was sworn he shold shew nothing.

Upon Tysday after Palme Sunday about two howres bfore night, we went to the Popes Ho. who then shewed a minute of a Commission by them reformed & subscribed with their hands. Wherin when we saw the additions, detractions & corrections, I began to lay to the Popes charge his promise made concerning this Commission, & shewed what doubbleness might be noted in this dealing: & that his Ho. having mynde to delude & delay us, had chosen these men as Instruments, with as fore words as we could devise. Saying, that first, his Ho. protested he wold regard no stile, so justice wold bear the cause. And now we passed Disputation of justice, we fynd the same difficultie in the stile. His Ho. said, he must nedys use other mennys counsaills; & such other words. Howbeit fynally condescended to this poynt, that yf *Simonett* wold say, the Minute after our devyng was nothing contrary to justice, we shuld have yt: & his Ho. wold fulfil his promyse in the stile. Hereupon *Simonetta* was sent for, but he wold nothing answer directly, or resolutely, *Absentibus Cardinalibus & illis inconsultis*; & it was then two howres within night. There we fel in reasoning with *Simonett*, & *incalescente disputatione* trusting by importunitie to have obteyned our purpose, taryed with the Popes Ho. five houres within night. Which after counting of the clock there, was oon of the clock after midnight. At which tyme we departed with noon other resolution, but that the day following bfore dyner we shuld have a certain answer, wherunto to rest.

That

That day following, which was Wedensday, two howres bifore dyner tyme, & byfore the Popes Ho. had herd his Mafs, we repared to his prefence ; Bringing with us bokes of the Law for iufifying fuch places of our Commiffion, as they had noted, & added fomewhat unto them, *pertinens ad fuggillationem, tum honoris futurorum Iudicum, tum etiam fidei noftræ*, being at that tyme with the Popes Ho. the Cardynalls *De Monte & Sanctorum quatuor*, & alfo *Simonetta*. And fo entred a new Difputation. In which, *Libro iudice*, it was fhewed unto the Popes Ho. *Quæ calumniabantur & quæ, optimè pofta, fine ratione corrigebant*. At laft they began *amicè* to loke upon, & rede with us the Commiffion, & to correct it by confent : faving in certain points, as more playnly apperith in the corrections : & fo departed from the Popes Ho. for that tyme, beyng then two of the clock at Afternone, with promyfe that agaynft night we fhuld have the Minute clerly fynyfhed to our good contentment.

The fame evening we reparyd again to the Popes Holynes. And then fynding our Minute altred from that was agreed on before, beganne a new difputation with *Simonett*, the Cardinals being abfent. And at the laft we differed but in two words in the whole Commiffion ; as the fign-univerfal, *Omnem* to be added to *posteritatem* ; & the word *Nolente*, to the claufe *Nolente aut impedito* : Herunto *Simonetta* wold nothing answer without thadvyfe of the Cardinalls. Wherefore the night being then far pafte, the Popes Ho. willed hym & *Gambara* to go to the Cardinalls howfes, to ask them their opinions upon thefe words : & fo they did. The Cardinals fent word, that they were making collation, & on the morrow wold loke their bokes therein.

Here began a new Tragedy. We complayned that we were deluded & fkornd, & told the Popes Ho., This is not the way to enterteyn the favour of Prynces, *Et vinum confpurcat infufa aqua*. Hereupon I declared evidently & manifefly unto his Ho., That thefe men have nothing doon in correcting the Commiffion, of lerning, but only of ignorance & fufpicion, *Putantes sub omni verbo latere fcorpionem* : Far difcrepant to their former words unto us. Howbeit we take al this as doon by his Ho. commandment, *Qui oculos habet, & non videt*. And yf his Ho. be not in this matier *obnoxius delicto*, yet as the Law fayeth, *Qui opera utatur talium hominum*, he is *Obnoxius ex quafi delicto* ; & muft bere the blame of ther doyngs. And herupon I began, as in the kinges name & your Gr., *expoſtulare cum Gambara*, to procure this contumely, & to put the K. H. & your Gr. by good words in comfort to fend Orators, & when they be here, Firſt, to go about *Inebriare bonis verbis, & dulcibus Sirenum vocibus incantare*. Seconde, *Conari circumvenire per fuos* ; Meanyng that they had moved *Staphileus* to be content with a generall Commiffion. Thirdly, As men make Hawks to the fiſt, *Pretendere pugno carnem, & inbiantes & fequentes ſemper ludificare*.

*Gambara* for his defence ſaid, that he ſpake no words of comforth to the K. H. ne your Gr., but ſuch as he had in commiffion to ſay. I then, *converſo ſermone ad Papam*, ſayd, that his Ho. handelyd the K. H. as thowe he had been the moſt ingrate man, & of mean fort, that could be mynding in his requests [to have ſo little regard] \* to requyte the ſame. The Popes Ho. ſayd nothing, but ſighed & wyped his

\* The ſenſe here ſomewhat imperfekt, unleſs with ſome ſuch ſupply of words.



his eyes : & therupon *Staphileus* turning hymself to us said, That he toke yt as goddes wyll, that we shuld come after hym, or ells the difficultie hereof shuld not have been beleved. I sayd, I thought it *goddys wil* indede, to thintent relation made by us of what condition men be here towards them, *Qui optima promeruerunt*, the favour of that Prynce, who now only favorith them, shold be withdrawn, & taken away : *Ut inclinata jam sedes Apostolica tota corrueret, communi consensu atq; applausu omnium*. At these words the Popes Ho. casting his armes abroad, bad us put in the words we varied for : & therwith walked up & down the chamber : Casting now & then his armes abroad, we standing in a great silence. And within a whyle his Ho., *compositis affectibus*, said unto us, That he was very fory he could not satisfie the K. H. desire of hymself, without the Counsaile of other. I answered, that I was as fory to see his Ho. had not so moch confidence in the K. H. & your Gr. as was supposed, he had had. Thus we departed for that time, being an howre past midnight.

The divers tempests passed over, as Mr. Fox can more particularly shew unto your Gr., after the Commissions were writen & sealed, we reasorted estones to the Popes Ho., & being with hym the foresaid Cardinals, al things were convened & spoken after a frendly & loving maner on ther part, with reherfal of the kingis benefits & your Gr. merits, & how glad they wold be this matier were brought to conclusion after the kingis desire. We alwayes answered, we thought this Commission shuld not satisfie the K. H. & your Gr. Nevertheles we being *infima membra ecclesie* wold, *Salva fide*, make such relation, & temper it so, as might further the acceptation of this Commission. They desired us so to do, & to omyt & forget such altercations as had chanced. Fynally, his Ho. desired us to say & write to the K. H. & your Gr. that *rebus stantibus ut nunc sunt*, the sending of this Commission is a declaration agaynst themperor, & that he commitith hymself to your protection.

As yet the Popes Ho. hath not required the Kinges Pollicitation : & I do not offre it, abyding answer from your Gr. to such lettres, as we wrot from *Paris* to your Gr. concerning the same ; And tyl I shal understand, how this Commission contentith your Gr. being in my judgement as good as can be devised. And althow it be not in al poyntes so open as I wold have had it, & did conceyve the same, yet in effect it hath al can be desired, except the clauses of *Confirmation* & *Revocation*. Which of what moment they be I have written my opynyon to your Gr., & noted, in *margin* of the Commissions by them graunted, & asked by us, the considerations of every clause & word material.

Here is no Cardinal, besides *Campegius*, mete in al qualities *Obire hanc Legationem*, but that age or sum other circumstance, expressed particularly by the lettres of me, Sir Gregory, to your Gr. hertofore, [are impediments.] Wherefore he sayling, there is no hope of any other. And to know his mynd, I *Steven Gardyner* repare now to *Rome*.

The Commissions in *omnem eventum*, be directed unto your Gr. & the said *Campegius*, to your Gr. alone *adjuncto*, &c. Which Commissions althow they be not written in so fresh hand as they by our mynd

mynd shuld have; yet they be to be taken in good part, being here so few writers; & noon that can skil, but one, who hath written these Commissions & Dispensations twyes, & at the last skaped with *Sine aliqua menda in notabili loco*.

As towching the sending of letters to the Quene, inasmoche as the Commission Decretal doth not pass, the same letters cannot conteyne al specialtie of the mater. But in our judgment the Popes Ho. hath devysed a good way, to send a Frier with a Breve of credence, & so to shew her what he thinkith. Wherin I besech your Gr. I may shortly know your pleasure, & also for deliverance of the kingis Pollicitation, with your Gr. mynd also, whether we shal now geve any rewards to them that have taken paynes, as *Symonetta* & other, the Commission passed in this Form; with knowlege of your Gr. pleasure also for my return, in case Cardinal *Campegius* cannot by reason of disease shortly cumme.

We have moved the Popes Ho. as towching the Canonization of *K. Henry* the vijth. Who answerith, that he is very wel content to make schort proces therin; but the matiers must be examyned here, requyryng a nombre of Cardinalls therat, with other ceremonies: Which cannot be doon there. Wherefore yf my Lord of *Canturbury* & my Lord of *Winchester*, who have examyned the matier in *partibus*, do send the proces hither, as thier commission requyred, the sentence of Canonization shal shortly pass here. As concerning pardon to be graunted to *Wyndesore* Colleage we can do nothing, abiding certainte from your Gr. of the name of that Colleage, & how it is incorporate, *Ne quid in ea re erretur*.

I spake to the Popes Ho. in *genere* for the matiers of your Gr. Colleage: Saying, that writing to your Gr. I wold nedys speke somewhat therof. His Ho. bad me write, that al things shold pass, which I could resonably desyre. Al other specialties *Mr. Fox* shal declare them unto your Grace. For which cause I omitt to write, being by reason of crying, speking, chafing & writing, ill distempered: Trust that your Gr. wil have consideration therof, & accept this rude letter in good part, writen by night, & both minute of letters with my own hand: Praying almighty god long to preserve your good Grace. At Orviet, the Monday in Ester weke.

#### N. U. M. B. XXV.

Dr. Gardiner & Sir Gregory de Cassalis Ambassadors with the Pope; To Cardinal Wolsey.

*Foxij MSS.*

**P**Leasith it your Gr. to understand, that the Popes Ho. understanding, that the Emperor hath, in answer to the kingis Intimation, made mention of the kingis matier, taking the same to stomack & herte, sayth, that by graunting this Commission, Denyal of Inhibitions, which shal be requyred with the confirmation of the sentence, which must be passed by hym, he thynkith verily, that the Emperor shal take yt more dyspleasantly, thenne yf his Ho. had declared hymself



self specially : Considering the General being advertised of our sute hereof, hath freshly made sute to the contrary. By reason wherof his Ho. findeth hymself in a marvelous perplexitie & confusion among them of the liege, putting his only hope in the K. H. & your Gr. *in quorum verbo laxat rete*. For the *Venecians*, *Florentynes*, & the Duke of *Ferrare*, *convenerunt in unum*, as it is said, *novo fœdere inito, & super vestem suam miserunt sortem*. The *Fr.* King differreth either to doo, or promyse any thing : & his Ho. advertised out of *Fraunce*, how the *Fr. K.* nothing effectually spekieth in his just cause, is in total desperation of attayning any thing at his hand, onles it be at the instant request of the K. H. & your Gr. persuasions & reasons : For his Ho. sayth, he knoweth wel, that yf the *Fr. K.* had earnestly ment, that the *Venecians* shold restore the Cities of *Ravenna* & *Servia*, & had in such sort pressed the *Venecians* so to do, the said Cities had been restored long or this tyme : Like as certain of the Seignory of *Venice* have signyfyed to his Ho., Advertiseing hym, that the grete Maister hath taken the conducting of that matier with the *Fr. K.* thinking hym to be only the Let, that other resolution is not taken in the *Fr.* Court.

The Popes Ho. wyllled us also to advertise your Gr. that the *Fr. K.* dayly callith upon hym to declare hymself. On thoder side Mounfr. *de Lautrek* sendeth hym word, that yf his Ho. do not declare hymself, he wil take hym as enemy. Amonges al which requests nothing certain is proponed unto hym, upon what conditions he shold declare hymself ; but wold, that *Sub spiritu charitatis* oon their partie his Ho. defrauded of his cities, he shold entre the same Lege, *quasi pactis servatis*, the same cities neither restored indede, nor promyse made of their Restitution. His Ho. thinketh, that of good equitye, yf they think he ought, as a confederate of the Leyge, declare hymself, they shold at the lest offre hym promyse & make hym sure, to have that is his own, when he hath so doon. But therof he can hear no word ; ne any thing is towched, wherunto his Ho. shuld trust : Saying, that in this confusion thingis shal procede, unles your Gr. after your accustomed dexteritie, enterprise the direction therof with the *Fr. K.* & his Counsaill : Appoynting by Capitulation what the Popes Ho. shal do, & what the same shal trust unto therfore. For where it is dayly requyred, that upon declaration made, his Ho. shuld procede to the deprivation of themperor, as wel of his Empire, as also the realm of *Naples*, his Ho. thinketh, that *Ista non sunt præcipitanda*, but *maxima providentia transgenda*, as wel *in modo rei*, as also *in re*.

First, *in modo rei*, his Ho. is of opinion, that procefs made of Deprivation after hostilitie declared shuld not have *tantum ponderis*, as yf the same were doon by hym, interponing hymself as *Mediatorem pacis* ; & upon that ground fynding themperor obstinate to make procefs of Deprivation. Which shold be justifiable in the law. Wheras else *Facta declaratione ex Liga*, al his procefs might be impugned, *Quasi ab hoste factus* : Wherin he wil be advised by your Grace.

Seconde, *In re & ipso Imperio & Regno Neapolitano*. What shal be doon with them, *Cæsare privato*. For if his Ho. shold *privare Cæsarem* ; & the *Fr. K.* have in mynde, for recovery of his children, to help themperor to them again, either *belli nullus esset finis*, or else his Ho. must *desultoria levitate privare & restituere*, at the pleasure of the *Fr. K.*

K k k

Wherof

Wherof shuld ensue *maximum odium ecclesiæ* ; & *ejus postea auctoritas in ea re vilipenderetur*. Appareret enim non ob *justitiam factum sed gratiam*. And in case the Fr. K. determine to make noon offere of them, yet it were to be foreseen bfore sentence of Deprivation, who were most meet to be chosen ; & that thing concluded, both the Princes to sollicite the same, & the Popes Ho. to concurre therin, *Ut electio talis procuretur* : lest there shal such an other error, as was in the Election : Wherin the Popes Ho. thinketh, that he shal have at his devotion foure of the Electors. Like deliberation is to be had also for the realm of *Naples* : & that the person, to whom the said realm of *Naples* shalbe gyven, be first agreed upon by both Princes. Which things by your Gr. grete wysdom foreseen, maturely digested, & by certain capitulation agreed, & condescended unto by both Princes, there shal be a ground, wherupon to work in so grete a matier : Or else that failing, *Videbitur similis homini, qui ædificavit supra harenam*.

The matiers, althow they be of great importance, yet as hitherto *soli lenitati nituntur*, & *gravitatem consiliorum vestrorum abesse intelligit*. For yf the Fr. K. wold have themperor depryved, it agreeth not with that request, to let the going of the Bishop of *Pischoye*, who as yet can get no faulfe conduit.

His Ho. saieth, that by letters dated the xxx day of the last month, sent from the Cardinal *Salviatis*, Resident in the *French* court is advertised of the commyng of the Vicecounte *De Turena* towards his Ho. from the Court : Having in Commission but only *Verba bona*, such as were geven unto the Prothonotary *Gambara* : & how that the Fr. K. hath sent oon to *Veneyse* for the Popes matier, without any special request to be made unto them, but only in general termes. Which the *Venecians*, onles they have the same effectual words spoken, or writen unto them from the Fr. K. which they have from the K. H. it is to be thought no effect shal ensue. And the matiers of *Italy*, being in such case as they be, & Mounsr. *De Lautrek* so prospering, the Popes Ho. thinketh, that the Fr. K. might, without fear, speke roundely to the *Venecians*, which they wold moch regard. The said Cardinal said also in his letters, that my Lord of *Bath* shewed hym, that he had nothing to speke in the Popes matiers for *Ravenna* & *Cervia*, untill such tyme, as answer were cumme of the kingis letters, sent to *Veneise* : wherunto as yet no answer is made, althow the same were delyvered xij dayes past. And by such letters as I, Sir Gregory, have receyved thens, it is to be juged & thought it shal be contrary to the Popes purpose. The Popes Ho. desyred us to wryte the premisses to your Gr., saying, that for ordering them as your Gr. shal think good for his comfort & relief, *ad vestram prudentiam confugit, tanquam ad sacram aram*.

It hath been writen to the Prothonotary *Gambara*, that Mounsr. *Moret*, at his being in *England*, shold have said unto the K. H. & your Gr. how the said Prothonotary at his being with the Fr. K. shold have moch pressed hym for *Modena* & *Regium*. Which forasmoch as your Gr. requyred hym to the contrary, he wold be loth shold be perswaded unto your Grace : & specially considering the same is not trew. The said Prothonotary desired to write unto your Gr. therof, & to notifie unto the same, that after oon denyal made by the Fr. K. *converso ad alia sermone*, he spake no more therof.

Furthermore,



Furthermore, forasmoch as the Popes Ho. is desirous to have a *Nuncio* resident with the K. H. the same to be such a personage, & of such qualities as might be grate & accepted of his Majestie, & your Gr. his Ho. desireth the same to signifie your Gr. opinion & mynd in that behaulf: so as according therunto he may provide oon accordingly:

This day the Popes Ho. shewed us letters, sent unto the same from *Jeane*, the copie wherof we send unto your Gr. herewith: Willing us to write, that his Ho. thinkith the newes from thens to be of such importance, as onles good order be taken, it is to be feared, lest the Fr. K. shal lose both the devotion of that city, & also such sommes of mony as they have offred, & by good dexteritie might have been induced to pay. Wherof I, Sir Gregory, wrote unto your Gr. by my former letters. Wherefore the Popes Ho. thinkith, that yf your Gr. take paines in componsing that matier, it shal moch help the common cawse: Wheras ells *nova mutatio illius status contra sententiam Regis Gallorum*, might gretely encourage thenemies, like as your Gr. of your wysdome can confidre. Thus having noon other matier of importance to write besides the newes of *Naples*, which Master Fox shal shew your Gr. by mouth, I shal desist from farther molesting your Gr. with my rude writing: Praying Almighty god to preserve your Grace.

## N U M B. XXVI.

*Dr. Fox to Dr. Gardiner; Giving him a relation of his reception at Court, upon his return from his Embassy.*

**M**Ayfter Doctour, In my most hartie maner I commend me unto you: Advertising the same, that the xxvijth day of April, I wrote two lettres unto you: the oon from *Paris*, ascertyning you of myn arryval, & other occurrents there: the other in the felds upon my horse back iiij myles from *Clermonte*; signyfying unto you, how that encountring Mr. *Silvester Darius* in the same place: who thenne was sent from the K. H. & my Lords Gr. ambassador into *Spayne*, I had receyved of the same my Lords Gr. most honorable letters, directed to you, Mr. Gregory, & to me. And unfolding the same according to ther purport, I had estsones closed, sealed & sent them to my L. of *Bath*, to be conveyed unto your hands with al diligence, as my trust is they be long ere this tyme. After which my letters sent unto you, I contynued stil my jorney, & came to *Calais* the xxviij day of April. Wher abyding passage untill the second day of *May*, entred shipp, & arryved that night at *Sandwich* about xj of the clock. The day following, being Sondag, I made al diligence possible towards *Greenwich*, where the King lay, trusting there to have found my Lords Gr. with the K. H. Which undoubtedly I had doon, yf I had founde no less gratitude in the Maior of *Canturbury*, & the Baylyffes of *Rochestre*, & *Gravesend*, then we did in the territory of *Florence*: Albeit his Gr. was departed thens two howres bfore my comming thider, being then fyve of the clock at night. At which my repaire the K. H. being advertised of

the same, commanded me to go unto Maistres *Annes* chamber. Who at that tyme, for that my Lady Princess, & divers others of the Quenes Maydens, were sick of the smal pocks, lay in the gallery in the Tiltyard.

And so admitted unto her presence, after declaration made unto the same in generallie, First, of such expeditions as were obteigned; & sixth of your singular fidelitie, diligence & dexteritie, used not onely in the impetration therof, but also in hastening the commyng of the Legate, with your most hartie & humble commendations: Which she most thankfully receyved, & seemed to take the same most mervailously to harte, rejoyce & comfort: Oft tymes in communication calling me, Mayster *Stevens*, with promise of large recompence for your good acquytal in the premis:

The kingis grace came into the same chambre: after whose entre she departed. And the K. H. calling me apart, first welcomed me home: sixth commaunded, *quam possem brevissimè*, to shew hym what was doon in his cause. To which, after delivery of the Popes lettres, which his Highnes cawsed me to rede, & conteyned nothing but credence: as also of your lettres, which he secretly red to hymself; & also the letters of Bishop *Staphile*, which he red not; I answered, that wheras his highnes had gyven us in commaundment, biforn our departing out of *England*, to obteign a Dispensation & a Commission, according to such tenor & form, as was here devised, we had, following his said Commaundment, & my Lords Gr. instructions, pretermitted nothing, which might in any wise conduce to the furtherance therof. And how that first concerning the Dispensation, We proponyng unto the Popes Ho. the nature of the said Dispensation, how that it touched no poynt, ne pertained *ad jus tertij*, being also of such sort, that yf his Ho. wold graunt unto al princes christned the like therof, it might be to the grete quietnes of Christendom: Many void & frivolous titles, & occasions of debates & variaunces, wont heretofore to be moved upon such ground, as in the said Dispensation were taken away by such relaxation, & grace of the See Apostolique clerly abolished: his Ho. very promptly & facily had condescended unto the graunting therof: & that his Ho. had passed the same without alteration of any sentence or word, & sent the same by me unto his Highnes, desyryng the same thankfully to accept it, like as the same did procedè from the good assured hart, & benevolent mynd of his Ho. alwayes dedicated & consecrated, to do al that may be to the good satisfaction of his Majesty.

Furthermore, Wheras we had made three degrees & kinds of Commission, eche to be obtained in default of thother, although we had so instant & importune sute for the obtaining of the first, called *The Decretal*, as we possibly might, yet forsomoch as after long debating & consultation had upon the same with the Popes Ho. the Cardinals & other lerned men there, we could neither induce them by no perswasion, ne dulce, ne poynante, openly to confes or affirme, that the cause by us alleged, imployed so manifest justnes, that the Popes Ho. might of right wysnes geve out his decree without hering thodre partie, & make a comen lawe to be observed of all the world upon such a Fact, conteining so doubtful justnes & equite: Neither in our opinions & judgments, we could perceave the said Decretal commiission to be



be of such nature, that any process might honorably be made by vertue thereof, ne that it could ever come in *Lucem*, without a great slander to the cause; but that it shuld rather minstre to the adversarie such causes *calumniandi & tergiversandi*, as might mervelously impeche the schort expedition of the same: ne that had any other use, strength or vertue, but one; which was in case the Popes Ho. by death, or captivity prevented, wold not, or did not, confirme the Sentence given by Delegates, that then it mighr serve *ad Confirmationem*: Ye in consideration therof had devysed another degree, & fashon of Commission, conteyning al poynts of the said Decretal, save two; *Viz. Sententiam Pontificis de jure*, with promyse of Confirmation, & no Revocation. Which Commission, being, not only in our judgments, but also in the Popes, the Cardinals, & al other the lerned men there, of such sufficiencie, honorable sort, accustomed justnes & uprightnes, as nothing could be devised or requyred to be added therunto; & might stand either with the honor of the See Apostolique, or his Majestie, & the final determination of his cause, his Ho. had passed also right gladly, & had sent the same unto his Majestie, desyring hym with no less gratitude to accept it, then it had proceded from his Holines.

And as concerning the two poynts omitted, I shewed his H. although they were not expressed in the Commission, yet his Ho. was right wel contented, & moch propence to satisfie his Ma. therin to the uttermost of his power; & as he might do with justice & equite, under this maner: That is to say, his Ho. wold make unto his H. so faithful & assured promyse under his Seal, as might be requyred, that the sentence ones gyven by the Delegates, he wold most gladly, without respect or delay, confirme the same, & by the same also promyse never to revoke, ne geve inhibition to the contrary of the same Commission.

All which thingis his H. femed to take mervelously thankfully; & made mervellous demonstrations of joy & gladnes, calling in Maistres Anne, & causing me to repete the same thing agayn before her. And so inferred many questions. First what towardnes & benevolence I perceaved the Popes Ho. to be of towards his Majesty. Which I ceased not *verbis extollere*: reherfing how honorably his Ho. enterteyned us, admyrting us into his presence, & geving audience, whensoever we requyred the same. And what paynes his Ho. toke in hering & examining his cause; what words he spake unto us in extolling his benefits towards that See: How moch his Ho. pondered the imminent daungers to this realm, in case the kingis purpose might not take effect: Of what opinion his Ho. privatly was in the justnes of this cause: And so toke occasion to shew his H. how these opynyons were ingenerated & persuaded to the Popes Ho. by relation of my Lords Grace: & that without his letters we shold have obtained nothing there. For that the Popes Ho. shewed us, it was reappointed unto hym long bifore our cummyng, the kingis Grace followed in this matier *privatum aliquem affectum*; & that she was with child, & of no such qualities as shuld be worthie that Majestie. Albeit the contrary herof, so testified & declared by my Lords Grace, was of such waight & importaunce in the Popes brest & opinion, that afterwards his Ho. leaned to justice, & shewed hymself mervelous prone & glad to satisfie his requests so far as equite wold support & defend the same.



Sith he asked me what Consultation was made by us with the learned men of that Court. Wherunto I answered, Mentioning the Disputations & *diuturnos congressus*, which we had solemnly before the Pope, & privatly in Mr. Gregory his howse. Wherin I ceased not to declare your learning & vehemencie used : & also Mr. Gregory his diligence & aucthoritie. *De quibus malo aliorum prædicatione constet tibi, quam meis verbis. Certe sic mihi visus est affectus Rex erga te, ut sperem fore, quum nos omnes amici tui felicissime collocatam hanc operam tuam gloriabimur.* Fynally, his H. demaunded of me what provision was made for Recusation & Appellation? I answered, There was inserted in the Commission words, wherby the same was taken away so far as the Law wold suffre, & might be expressed by words ; as these, *Omni Appellatione & Recusatione remotis, & citra omnem personæ aut jurisdictionis gradum.* Which words declaring unto hym, he seemed somewhat to be satisfied : albeit he said in that matier he wold my Lords Gr. judgement : & so commaunded me to go to his Gr. that night, & to shew hym the premisses.

Before I could come to *Duresme place*, wheras my Lords Gr. lieth now, (the Hal of *York place*, with other edifices there, being now in building, my Lords Gr. intending most sumptuously & gorgeously to re-paire & furnish the same,) it was past ten of the clock at night. And although my Lords Gr. was then in his bed, yet understanding of my cummyng, it pleased his Gr. to admitt me unto his presence. To whom declaring as bifore, & therto more specially how moch difficulty we found there in the passing of the Commission obtained : & how that by no wayes we could impetrate the Decretall, his Gr. seemed mervellously perplexed, thinking this Commission to be of no better value then that was sent by *Gambara*. And after moch communication, he commaunded me to depart for that night, & to leave behind me the said Commission, with the Popes & your lettres, & your *Rationes justificatorias Commissionis expeditæ*. Which after his Gr. had red in the morning, & his high wysdom well considered, & ponderyd the same ; Calling unto hym the Monday at afternone Maister Doctour *Bell*, & me to rede the same before hym, & in the presence of my Lord of *Rochford*, his Gr. opinion was moch confirmed, & was utterly persuaded, *Astipulantibus etiam illis*, the said Commission to be such as could be noon better excogitated or devised ; & that the Decretal Commission was not to be shewed in *publicum* : & that ther might have been *Recusatio & Appellatio*, as wel yf Procefs had been made by it, as by this, with many other reasons, which he of his innate & excellent wysdome most quickly invented, to the justification of your doing in this matier ; with moch prayse & lawd geving unto you for the same.

And so departing for that night, his Gr. appoynted the morrow to have had Dr. *Wolman* & Dr. *Benet* with other, to consult with them upon the said Commission : Commanding me to go on the morow unto the K. H. & reaport his Gr. said opinion in the premisses : & furthermore, what new Expedition his Gr. proposed to make unto you, to the hole & perfit consummation of the kingis desires. Which by me declared unto his H. & hieghly approving the same, he remitted me again unto my Lord his Gr. that night. At which my commyng, his Gr. had not spoken with the said Doctours, his Gr. being so occupied & detained



teined al that day in commen matters of the Realm, with other of the kinges Counsaill, that he could not attend therunto. Nevertheles on the morow, being Weddeneday at Afternone, they al assembled before hym. And fynally, as it was reaported afterward unto me, being then absent, & by my Lords commaundment sent that morning to *Grenewich*, they al agreed to my Lords former opinion, eche man for his part extolling your wysdom, dexterity, & right excellent good conducting of this cause.

Albeit after my retorning from *Grenewich*, that afternoon my Lords Gr. calling Mr. *Peter* & me, & instructing of such form of answer as his Gr. entended to make to the Popes lettres, & other, his Gr. also commaunded me to write unto you, under this tenor: Although the K. H. & his Gr. also, considering your approved wysdom & knowlege in the Lawes, & thereto great paynes & labours used & susteigned by you in the impetration of the said Commission & Dispensation; with that the same hath proceded from the Popes Ho., & other his Assessors there, purely, sincerely, without corruption or affection, other thenne to justice: And the same is here thought of al men to be so vailable & sufficient, as can be required, accept & take the said Commission & Dispensation so thankfully, & themself so satisfied with the same, that they repute & think themself not only singularly obstringed & bound to the Popes Ho. & the same of no gret urgent necessitie to be *amplius urgenda & sollicitanda*, for any more ample Commission, or farther validation therof; *Sed etiam passim ac palam depradicent admiranturq; virtutes tuas, nec cessant in hanc vocem prorumpere, O! non astimandum thesaurum, Margaritamq; regni nostri*; to the comfort & rejoyce of us your pore frends here.

Yet my Lords Gr. as of hymself, by his hiegh wysdom, perpending & pondering the exoneration of his own conscience; & sith the consent, & concord, opinion & sentence of other the Prelates here: & fynally, the chaunces of mortalite, & such other as may of likelyhod fortune in this cause, to the total ruine & subversion of the same; Willeth & desireth you estsones to sollicite & move the Popes Ho. & to experiment with the same, al kindys of persuations you possibly by your wysdom & rhetorick can devyse & excogitate, to graunt the Commission Decretal in most secret fashon & maner, to be sent hither unto his Gr. for these causes. First, His Gr. considereth, how this Decree & Sentence ones geven by the Popes Ho. & *judicio ecclesie*, might & ought to be unto his conscience *Amussis & norma*, not onely to direct, instruct, & form the same, how to procede in this matier, especially in defining & determining the Law upon those poyntes, whose justice is not yet so manifest, but by tergiversation of the Adversary may peradventure be estsones called into controversie: but also might be alwayes unto hym a sure & inexpugnable defence agaynst al detractours, & such as hereafter maliciously shold attempt the violation of the said Sentence & Decree. To whom it might alwayes be answered, His Gr. judgment was agreable & conform to that was gyven by the Church, & that his Gr. hath not varied from that was promulgated & enacted by authoritie of the same. Another cause is, for that having such Commission Decretal, his Gr. doubteth not, but by mean therof, he shal facily induce al other, which ye know to be of thadversaries part  
here;



here, to be of oon conformitie in sentence, & to concurr with his Gr. in the same opinion, judgment & decree. Which yf his Gr. might attayne, like as he thinketh the same shuld inestimably conduce, not only to the justification, but also to the honorable & perpetual establishing of the said cawse: his Gr. having alwayes wherewith he may *justissime obstruere ora calumniantium, & temere dissentientium*: So without the said Commission Decretal his Gr. fearith he can by no other means perswade them, *ut in eandem sententiam conspirent*, they being *tam pertinaciter addictis illi sententiae tuenda quam semel susceperunt*.

Farthermore, my Lords Gr. advertising & noting *varios humanae vitae casus, quibus vita mortalium multis nominibus obnoxia est*, thinketh to enter first, *Pelagus illud judiciorum*, openly to ventilate & examyn the same cawse, to labour & endeavour by al means possible to bring it to perfit determination, end & conclusion: & yet al those his doings, to hang upon *sola voluntate Pontificis, Scil. si velit confirmare*. Whole *Voluntas* may be *infnitis modis* letted, yea & *prorsus* alienated from that towardnes & benevolence, which he is of now towards the kingis Hieghnes, he could not *subtersugere notam summae temeritatis, & nihil aliud quam frustra nitendo odium quarere videretur*: Like as of your Wysdom ye have oft tymes hertofore considered & waied the premisses, & also openly declared the same there unto the Popes Ho. so habundantly, & with such energie, *ut ego tam multis non aliud videar facere, quam Sus Minervam, & bene memorem temere monere*.

Fynally, it is specially to be noted & regarded, & the same by your good dexteritie to be perswaded unto the Popes Ho. how moch it might conduce to the weal & restauration of that See, my Lords Gr. to be of such authoritie, favor, credit, & estimation with the K. H. & so by stedfast, & indissoluble amite colligate unto the same; that whatsoever his Gr. shuld advyse, exhorte & counsail, his H. shuld be by the same facily condescended unto the good accomplishment therof. And by what means may that be so perfectly attained, the K. H. being so desirous of good succes in this his Cawse, as & yf the Popes Ho. of his paterne goodnes & benignitie, shuld now only at the contemplation of my Lords Gr. & upon the singular confidence which he hath collocate in his hiegh wysdom, conscience & devotion toward that See, graunt this Commission Decretal, to the perfect & consummate end & decision of the said cawse?

Wherefore & in consideration of the premisses, his Gr. willeth & desireth you, that sith his Gr. intendeth never to make procefs by vertue therof, ne that it shal at any tyme be published, or shewed to any person in the world: wherby may arise any the lest flaunder, oblique dammage, or prejudice to the See Apostolique, or to the Popes person, with that also his Gr. entendeth nothing but by shewing therof to the K. H., to acquire such authorite & favour of the same, as might turn to the singular avauncement, inestimable benefite, & perpetual wealth of that See. Of which thing his Gr. willith also you make faith & promise *in animam suam*, under most sacred oth & obtestation unto his Holynes: Ye by your accostomed dexterite & wysdom yet eftsones move the Popes Ho. to pass the said Decretall: Using, for obteigning therof, al goodly & dulce wayes you can devyse, without concitating hym by any scharp words of discomfort. And in case  
after



after iij or iiij congreges ye see no liklihode, but rather be in ful dispaire, to relent & cesse your suit, without any farther molesting in that behaulf: & so retorne home with diligence, leaving that sute to be prosecuted by Mr. *Gregorie*, & other the Kings Agents & frends there.

These things by you thus proponed & set forth, & taking such effect as can be obtained there, his Gr. farthermore desireth you, that forasmoch as the *Juris consulti* here *nihil aliud fere habeant in ore*, but, The Quene may recuse, The Quene may appeal, ye wold therefore make a Consultation with the best lerned men in that Court, whether she may doo so, or no. And in case she do either of them, thanne of what effect, value or strength it is, & how moch it may let the Proceſs in the cawse. And whether that notwithstanding, the Legates may procede: And fynally, what remedy is to be used in remission of the Appeal, & confirmation of the Sentence *per Superiorem judicem*. And whether the Appeal hanging, the parties may *redire ad nova vota* before Confirmation, or any other like scruple, & doubt, which you know, may aryse in this matier. And the Sentence of the said lerned men, to bring home with you subscribed & signed with their hands.

His Gr. also, discussing, & right wel approving *Rationes illas justificatorias Commissionis expeditæ*, by you there devysed, & sent hither by me: Which also you shal receyve agayn here enclosed, *nè forte illarum exemplar perierit tibi*, desireth you to cause the same to be red & examined by the said lerned men: they to add & augment the same by reasons & auctoritie: & so by them approved & subscribed as afore, to bring them in like maner with you. These my Lords Gr. requests & pleasures, although by his own letters directed unto you thei be more amply declared, & in far better termes touched, yet sith his commaundement was I shuld commit the same to writing, & by my rude letters advertise you therof, al Thursday following I attended the penning hereof, being for lack of cunnyng & experience in such kind of stile very paynful unto me.

The Friday following, Mr. *Tuke* then having perfected my said Lords Gr. expedition unto you, it pleased his Gr. to cal me to here the reding therof: & so after long communication had, his Gr. willed me to exhibite unto hym the minute of this my letter. Which doon, his Gr. commaunded me to go unto the K. H. to reoport the effect of the said Expeditions, & also to bring unto hym the Copy of the Popes lettres to be writen of his own hand. Which his H. receaving & remitting me again to my Lords Gr. semed to desire nothing so moch as the said expedition to be wel set forth by you, & your retorning with al celeritie.

The Saturday following, my Lord calling Mr. *Bell* & me estsones to his presence, after moch consultation & deliberation had concerning the said expedition, commaunded me to desire you by my lettres in his Gr. name, over & besides the premisses, to make consultation there with *Staphile* & such other, as your wysdom shal think good, for their lerning & discretion, this matier to be communicated unto. First, in case the quenys Grace omitting al such benefit & privilege, which she might pretend to have by the dispensation of *Julius*, & refusing to entre the Disputation of the validite of the same, like as his Gr. is perfectly enformed, by some of her Counsaill, that she wil do, & recurring

only co this allegation, *Quod non fuit cognita ab Arthuro*; whether than, & in case the said allegation shold prove true, the said Bul be not *prorsus* invalidate, by reason there is no mention made in the same *De publica honestate*. For sith the Bul dispensith only *cum affinitate cujusmodi*, yf her allegation shold be true, *nulla intercessit inter contrahentes*, & being necessary the same to be dispensed with, argueth the matrimony to be illegitimate in his Gr. opynion. Wherin his Gr. wold gladly be resolved by your & other lerned mennys judgments there, to be by you enquired; & certificate therof to be made to his Gr. as before.

Moreover, wheras the words of the Commission be such, *ut primum pronuncietur & declaretur validitas aut invaliditas Bullæ: Deinde, ut decernatur Matrimonium illegitimum, aut contra: Postremò, ut feratur sententia Divortij*: his Gr. is in no lytil doubt, the lerned men here not wel dissolving the same, whether his Gr. ought by ordre of the law not to vary *a præscripto Commissionis*: & so to geve thre several sentence in these three casys, or els *una sententia de nullitate matrimonij*: By which *tacitè fertur Sententia de invaliditate Dispensationis, & Altera de Divortio*: his Gr. may wel satisfie his Commission: & for so doynge no sawte or error may be arrested unto hym. In dissolving & explaining these doubts, although his Gr. knowing your approved wysdom & lerning, willeth & intendith to adhere & follow your judgment & opinion so moch as any other mans elsewhere, according to his especial trust & confidence in you; yet to thintent your Sayings might have gretter authoritie & vehemencie with other men, & that somewhat peradventure might be added also by them to the confirmation therof; His Gr. is moch desirous & hertely praieth ye wil adhibite some lerned men *in consilium* in the premisses, to here their phantasies & opinions in the same. So that ye may come home *plenissime & perfectissime instructus*, to discufs & make plaine all things, which in this matier shal have any visage of doubt or ambiguite.

And specially, above al things, forsomoch as his Gr. intendeth in this cawse of so hiegh consequence, wherin dependeth the wealth or ruine of this Realm, the Conservation of his Honour, or els immortal ignomynie & slaunder, the damnation of his Soule, or els everlasting merit, to procede according to due ordre of justice, & to ground & firme his conscience upon so perfect & infallible rule of equite, that before God he may accompte hymself discharged, ne to have doon any thing *Reclamante conscientia*: & having, among other, in his Gr. own opinion, oon specially just & stedfast base & fundation to ground right wysly his conscience therupon, *Viz. Quod Rex ipse nescierit prorsus de impetratione Bullæ*: Wherof he is ascertyned not only by the kingis relation, but also by my Lord of Winchestre: His Gr. willith & desirith you, ye wil under most secret maner, *Et tacitis nominibus, ne videatur, Viz. dubitare de justitia causæ, quam toties deprædicavit*, enquire of *Anconitane*, or els some other of like lerning, Whether the said ground be so justifiable, & of such fort as his Gr. might wel build his conscience upon, without grudge or scruple hereafter.

Thinking here to have fynished these my letters; & the Sunday following going to *Grenewich* with my Lords Gr. who than fully purposed there, & that same day, to have depeched thens unto you  
with



with al such expeditions as his Gr. here sendeth unto you by Mr. Bar-  
 loo ; after the same was redd & declared by my Lords Gr. unto the  
 K. H., being therat present Maister Tuke, Maister Wolman, Maister Bell,  
 & I ; there was by the said Maister Wolman oon other doubt & scruple  
 found & objected, Wherof the King & my Lords Gr. thought it very  
 necessarie to advertise you, to thintent you shal communicate the same  
 with such practitioners & wel lerned men, as ye shal find there : & by  
 the deliberate advyse & counsaile of them, know the perfect resolution  
 & verite therof. The doubt was thus, that forsomoch as by vertue of  
 the said Commission, containing both *Officium nobile* & also *Mercinarium*,  
 the said Legates may, in *cognitione super validitate & invaliditate cu-*  
*juscunq; Bullæ producendæ aut exhibendæ*, use & procede *ex officio no-*  
*bili* : & In *pronuntiando & declarando matrimonium nullum*, they must  
 nedys use *Mercinario*, & cannot geve Sentence, *nisi ab altera parte pe-*  
*tatur*. And moreover, wheras unto this part is added, *Prout animo*  
*conscientiæq; vestra juris ratio persuaserit*, it may wel be thought &  
 doubted, whether by addition of this last clause, the other particles,  
*Viz. Omni Appellatione & Recusatione remota*, & also *citra omnem per-*  
*sonæ aut jurisdictionis gradum*, be restrained ; & lose such vigor &  
 strength, as the words importeth, & might be moch better defended to  
 have, yf the said clause had not been added therunto. The cause of  
 doubtance is this. For sith *Juris ratio* commaundeth & willeth that  
*Omnis Recusatio & omnis item Appellatio justa audienda sit & admitten-*  
*da* : & they in proceeding *ad dissolutionem Matrimonij* must nedys do as  
*Juris ratio persuaserit* ; it semeth plainly, that although in the first  
 processe, *ex officio nobili*, al Recusation & Appellation be taken away by  
 the said clauses, yet in this second processe & cognition, the said Clauses  
 be restrained & altered by thaddition of this Article, *Juris ratio persua-*  
*serit* : & that by reason therof, the Quenys grace may alwayes refuse  
 & appell at her good pleasure & libertie, from whatsoever Decree or  
 Sentence, either interlocutorie, or definitive, she wil : & so protract  
 & deferre the decision of this matier ; & fynally frustrate the kingis  
 expectation, to the utter & extreme peril of al those, that have intro-  
 medled them in this cawse : Unles by your wysdom, wherein is our  
 grete hoipe & trust, ye can so mayntayne & conduce these cawses, that  
 both the justnes of the kingis cawse, & also al delayes or tractes of the  
 tyme, which may be lawfully used by thadversarie in the processe of this  
 cause, be openly & playnly declared & made manifest to the K. H.  
 by your Sentence, confirmed with the opynyons & judgments of other  
 lerned men there.

Wherin you may boldly write & say according to your lerning, the  
 kingis grace being of so perfit mynd & inclination to do nothing in this  
 mater contrary to the accustomed maner & just processe of the law :  
 Being also fully persuaded, that the Quenys Grace, having & using  
 the benefit of Appellation, or other remedy, shal moch avaunce & con-  
 ferr to the honour & surety of his cawse. Which opinion & good  
 conformitie to justice, like as it hath been by my Lords Gr. hiegh  
 wysdom, by lytyl & litil instilled into the kingis brest ; so his Gr.  
 ceaseth not dayly to increase the same by marvelous prudent handling  
 & dexteritie. Insomoch that yesterday to my great mervail, & no less  
 joy & comfort, his Gr. openly, in presence of Mr. Tuke, Mr. Wol-



man, Mr. Bell, & me, made protestation to the kingis H. " That although he was so much bound unto the same, as any Subject might unto his Prince; & by reason thereof his Gr. was at so perfit devotion, faith & loyalty towards his Ma. that he could gladly spend goods, blode & lief in his just causes; Yet sith his Gr. was more obliged to God, & that he was sure he should rendre an account *de Operibus suis* before hym; he wold in this matier rather suffer his hiegh indignation, yea & his body joyntly to be torn on peices, then he wold do any thing in this Cawse otherwise than justice requireth; ne that his H. should loke after other favour to be ministred unto hym in this Cawse, on his Gr. partie, thanne the justnes of the Cawse wold beare. But yf the Bul were sufficient, he wold so pronounce it, & rather suffre *extrema quaq;* than to do the contrary, or els *contra Conscientiam suam*.

*Postscripta.* You shal undrestond, that although the K. H. pleasure be at ful, & in most ample wyse, declared unto you by my Lords Gr. his Instructions; yet his H. having perfit confidence, that his auctoritie is as it ought to be unto you, *Sacrofancta*, & of more waight & moment than any others; to thintent, that you being more specially advertised of his requests & desires by his private letters, should more specially regard, tendre, & study to accomplish the same, to thuttermost of your powers: this Monday his H. sending for me apart, commaunded me to write these letters as from his H. unto you, & to advertise you in the same of two things; which his H. considereth & thinketh above al other things to be set forth by you *cum effectu*. The one is the Commission Decretal to be obteyned according to my Lords Grace instructions now sent. When in using such reasons as is there expressed unto you, in case ye be in dispair of impetrating the same; ye then, Maister *Stephens*, should say unto the Popes Ho. that ye be right sory, & in mervellous perplexitie of mind, how the said denyal of so just & reasonable petition shal be taken, & may work in the kingis brest; & that you be in great fear, knowing the nature & condition of your Prince & Master; lest that his H. interpretating the same, & al that hath been doon hitherto to have proceeded either of vain fear, or of dissembled frendship, & covert deceit, to thintent his Gr. should stil be undre their yoke & bondage; should hereafter alienate his mynd from such devotion & amite, as he berith now to the Popes person. Specially sith his Ho. did never hertofore do any thing in any his private causes, & now deny his first petition: Which he may lawfully graunt; & shalbe assured, that it shal never turn to the prejudice or dammage of his Holynes. Which words spoken by you, Maister *Stephens*, his H. wil is, that ye than cease of further Sute therin: & that ye & Mr. *Gregory* with al craft, wayes & means possible, attempt the obteyning the said Decretal: like as his H. special trust is in you, & as ever you intend to do thing acceptable to his Grace, perswading to your self this to be the thing; the attayning wherof shal so hieghly content his Gr. *ut nihil supra dici aut excogitari possit*.



## N U M B. XXVII.

*A NOTE of such Records concerning the Divorse of K. HENRY VIII. from Quene KATHERYN Dowager ; Remeyning in the Custodie of my Lord Theasorer & Chamberleyns of thexchequer. Found among the MSS. of the L. Treasurer Burghley.*

**I**mprimis Lra. CLEMENTIS Papæ ad Regem, nominando Cardinalem Campegium Legatum suum. Dat 8<sup>o</sup> Julij, 1529.

Articulus additionalis concernens protestationem Regiam.

Pollicitatio Campegij.

Testimonium Notarij Patavin. concern. Determinationem Universitatis Padum. in matrimonio Regis.

Appellatio Regis a Romano Epo. ad futurum Concilium generale.

Sententia Universitatis Bononen. super matrimonium Regis.

Citatio Reginae coram Epo. Ebor. & Cardinal Campegio.

Duæ testificationes Determinationis Patavien. super Matrimonium Regis.

Eboracen. Cleri Assertio super duabus Quæstionibus.

Opinio duorum Doctorum super, &c.

Assertio Prælatorum Provinciæ Cantuar. super, &c.

Processus Thomæ Cardinal Ebor. in causa Regis ante Commissionem a Romano Epo. constitutam.

Dispensatio pro matrimonio Regis HENRICI VII. & ELIZABETHÆ Reginae in quarto genere [gradu] Consanguinitatus, &c.

Determinatio Universitatis Andegavenlis super matrimonium Regis.

Attestationes Dne. Bowrcher.

Articulus additionalis concern. Transcriptum Brevis.

Attestationes quorundam nobilium & aliorum, quæ faciunt ad causam regiam.

Transumptum Francisci Catuli Veneti.

Transumptum Jacobi a Lawfanna.

Sententia definitiva Epi. Cantuar. super, &c.

Copia Determinationis Decani facultatis Theologiæ Universitatis Parisiensis.

Reasons to prove the General Council to be above the Pope.

Causæ impugnantes Matrimonium, &c.

Duodecim literæ testimoniales super scrutinio Registri Brevium.

Transumptum Doctorum & Advocatorum Parisiensium; quod Rex Angliæ non tenetur comparere Romæ.

An Exemplification of certen Wrytings concerning the great Affaires. [Affair]

Testificatio octo Episcoporum Angliæ, quod Regis Conscientia in causa Dougeriæ erat mota ex gravibus causis.

Determinatio Universitatis Aurelian. super, &c.

Concilium Doctorum Parisien. in Decretis pro Causa Regis contra Dispensationem.

Literæ

Literæ Regis ad ad Clementem Papani.

The Oath of *Thomas Lee* Bussnop of *York*, to the King.

Determinatio Theologorum Parisien. super, &c.

Liber impressus *Raphaellis Comensis* super, &c.

Transsumptum Brevis CLEMENTIS.

Literæ GREGORIJ Casselin ad Regem.

The Copie of thinsrument that was graunted & sealed by the College of Divines of *Ferrare*.

A Note of a Brief of Pope JULIUS, making for our Cause.

Transsumptum Capitulorum inter Divinos, &c. cum olim.

A conditional Dispensation for the Kings Majesty, from the Bussnop of *Rome*.

Sententia Facultatis Decretorum Doctorum Parisien.

Decanus & Facultas Theologorum Parisien. in causa Regina.

Revocatio CLEMENTIS Papæ Censurarum contra regem pronulgatarum.

Requisitio Cleri Convocationis Cant.

Sententia Aurelien.

Sententia Universitatis Bituricen. super, &c.

Revocatio Cardinalis Campegij ad Romam.

Duæ literæ Cardinalis Chrysogonij ad Regem.

The Copie of the Kings Letters to the Bussnop of *Rome*.

Sententia Universitatis Theolosium. super, &c.

Requisitio Cleri Convocationis Ebor.

A Transsumpt of the Determination of *Orleance*, that the King ought not to appear at *Rome*.

Rationes probantes Regem non deberi excommunicari causa Divortij.

Sententia Universitatis Patavin. super, &c.

The Sentence of thinvalidity of the Matrimony between the Kings Highness & the Lady *Katheryn Dowgier*, pronounced by my Lord of *Canterbury*.

A Request of the Kings Subjects, that the Cause of the Dowgier should should be determined within the Realm.

In pixide. { Duæ Bullæ concernentes Dispensationem Matrimoniorum inter Arthurum & Katherinam, & Henricum fratrem ejus, & eandem Katherinam.

Item, Bulla facta Cardinali Ebor. ad cognoscendum in causa matrimoniali inter regem Henricum Octavum, & Katherinam Reginam.

Item, A bundle of Letters, Cyphers & other Books & Copies, concerning the managing of the sayd Kings great Matter.



*The Names of al such Parsonages as bene to be Impropried  
unto Cardinal College in the University of Oxford.*

NUMB.

## NUM B. XXIX.

Here follow the Monasteries, layd to the Cardinal College :  
Together with the Counties where each lay, their Founders,  
& Values Spiritual & Temporal : The Spirituals in many  
Places being neer the Value of the Temporalls.

| Monasteries.                                | Counties.               | Founders.                                                       | Values.      |
|---------------------------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|
| <i>Cleopatra,</i><br>E. 4. <b>D</b> Aventre | <i>Northampt.</i>       | The KING.                                                       | 236 7 6      |
| Ravenston                                   | <i>Bucks</i>            |                                                                 | 66 13 4      |
| Tykford                                     | <i>Bucks</i>            |                                                                 | 126 17 0     |
| Fridefwide                                  | <i>Oxford</i>           |                                                                 | 284 8 9      |
| Letlemore                                   | <i>Oxford</i>           |                                                                 | 33 6 8       |
| Liefnes                                     | <i>Kent</i>             |                                                                 | 186 9 0      |
| Tonbridg                                    | <i>Kent</i>             |                                                                 | 169 10 3     |
| Wykes                                       | <i>Suffolk [Essex]</i>  |                                                                 | 92 12 3 ob.  |
| Snape                                       | <i>Suffolk</i>          |                                                                 | 99 1 11 ob.  |
| Sandewel                                    | <i>Bucks [Stafford]</i> | Ld. Dudley & Tho. Stanley<br>of Stafford.                       | 38 8 7       |
| Canwel                                      | <i>Leicestersh.</i>     | Ld. Lizle; & by Fine hath<br>released his Title to the<br>same. | 25 10 3      |
| Poghley                                     | <i>Barks</i>            | Abbes of Amesbury.                                              | 71 11 7      |
| Thobie                                      | <i>Essex</i>            | John Mounteney, Fitz Her-<br>bert & Fermyn.                     | 76 6 10 ob.  |
| Blackamore                                  | <i>Essex</i>            | Earl of Oxford.                                                 | 85 4 7       |
| Stanefgate                                  | <i>Essex</i>            | Prior of Lewes.                                                 | 43 8 6       |
| Typtree                                     | <i>Essex</i>            | Anthony Darcy.                                                  | 22 16 4      |
| Horkisleigh                                 | <i>Essex</i>            | Sir Roger Wentworth in<br>right of his Wife.                    | 27 7 11      |
| Dodneshe                                    | <i>Suffolk</i>          | Duke of Norfolk; & by<br>Fine hath released his<br>Title.       | 42 18 8 ob.  |
| Begham                                      | <i>Suffex</i>           | Richard Sackvyle.                                               | 152 19 4 ob. |
| Calceto                                     | <i>Suffex</i>           | Earl of Arundel, & Bp.<br>of, Chichester.                       | 34 10 0      |

Summa totalis diverforum Maneriorum & aliarum Possessionum tum  
Spiritual. tum Temporalium prædict. - - - - - 1913 0 3 ob.  
That is, In Spiritualls - - - - - 570 5 6  
In Temporalls - - - - - 1342 14 9



## N U M B. XXX.

Edmund Abbot of York, to Cardinal Wolsey ; To spare the  
 Priory of Romeburgh.

PLeasyth your Grace to understand, that I, your poor Orator, have *Cleopatra,*  
E. 4. P. 47.  
 lately received certain Letters from our Prior of Romeburgh, with  
 other our Brethren there being. By whose Proport I perceive that  
 your Graces Pleasure is to suppress the said Priory of Romeburgh ; &  
 also to unite, annex & improper the same unto the Church of S. Pe-  
 ters in Ipswich. And for the accomplishment of the same, as they  
 write unto me, your Officers came unto the said Priory the 11th day  
 of this present month, & there, after the reading of certain Letters  
 Commissionall, not only of your Grace but also of our holy Father the  
 Pope, & of our Sovereign Lord the King, for the same purpose direct-  
 ed, entred into the said Priory : And that don, took away as wel the Goods  
 moveable of the said Priory, being a Member of our Monastery, &  
 given unto us by *Alien Niger* sometime Earl of *Richmond*, & our second  
 Co-founder. By whose gift, next unto the Kings Grace, We have had  
 most Benefits, Lands & Profits given us ; (by reason wherof we be most  
 notably charged with Masses, Suffrages, & other Alms Deeds, for his  
 Benefits to us most chargeably exhibit) but also certain Muniments, Evi-  
 dences, & Specialties touching & appertaining unto our Monastery,  
 which we had lately sent unto our said Prior & Brethren there, for  
 the Trial of certain Lands & Rights which lately did depend, between  
 us & men of Worship in *Cambridgeshire*, in controversy, & yet doth de-  
 pend undecided ; & for no other Purpose.

In Consideration wherfore, if it might please your Grace, forasmuch  
 as we have a great part of our Lands granted unto us by reason of  
 the said *Alien Niger* ; wherby we be dayly charged, as doth appear  
 by Composition made between us & the said *Alien Niger*, & also Con-  
 firmed by *Boniface* the IV. *Anno sui Pontific. tertio*, under certain Cen-  
 sures & Pains, with Clauses derogatory, as more largely by the said  
 Grant doth appear ; That the said Priory might consist & abide as a  
 Member of our Monastery, as it hath don 300 years, & more, with your  
 Graces Favour. Your Grace shal not only put me & my Brether to  
 a great Quietnes, but also take away many sundry Doubts & great  
 Perils of the Remedy of our Lands granted unto us by the said Earl :  
 which be right notable ; if the same Suppression or Alienation no fur-  
 ther procede : & beside that, minister unto us a more Notable Act,  
 than ye had given us ten times more Lands than unto the said Priory  
 doth appertain and belong. But of truth the Rents & Revenues to the  
 same Priory belonging doth very little surmount of Thirty pounds ster-  
 ling, as far as I perceive. And yet toward your spiritual, honorable &  
 laudable Purpose concerning the Erection & Foundation of the same  
 College & School, I am right intyrelly contented, for your Tendering  
 of the Premisses, to give unto your Grace CCC Mark sterling, which  
 shalbe delivered unto your Grace immediatly. Most humbly beseech-  
 ing your Grace to accept my poor mind towards your most Noble Act,

M m m

which

which should be far better, if that my little Power therunto would extend. Protesting ever, that if your Graces pleasure be to have the said Priory to the purpose above recited, that then with my Study, Diligence & Labour, shal continually endeavour my self for the Accomplishment of the same, according as my Duty is. Trusting ever that your Grace wil se our poor Monastery no further hindred, but that we may in time coming live like Religious men, & serve Almighty God with our number determinate; & hereafter avoid both in Law & good Conscience al Perils that therby may ensue; & also pray for our Founder, Benefactors & your good Grace, accordingly to the Foundation of our Monastery, as our Duty is. And so knoweth *Jesus*, who preserve your most Noble Grace in high Honour & great Prosperity long to continue. From our Monastery of *York* the xx day of September.

Your most bounden Bedeman

*Edmond* Abbot of *York*.

### N U M B. XXXI.

Cardinal *Wolsey* to Secretary *Gardiner*; To inform him of the Kings Consultation concerning him.

*To the Right honorable Mr. Secretary.*

MSS.  
*G. H. Eq. aur.*

**M**Y N owne goode mastyr Secretary, Albeit I am in such altiration, and indyssposition of my hede & body by the meanse of my dayly forowe & hevynes, that I am fen ommit to writ any long Lres.: yet my trustyng frend, *Thomas Cromwel*, retorning & reparyng onto yow, I cowde nat forbere, but brively to put yow in remembrance: how that astyr the consultation takyn by the kyngs Hyghnes upon myn orderyng, which ye supposyd shulde be on Sunday was Se-vynight, ye wolde nat fayle to advertyse me at the leynth of the specialties therof. Of the wich to here & have knowleg, I have & dayly do loke for. I pray yow therfore at the reverens of god, & of thys holy tyme, & as ye love & tendyr my poore lyf, do so moche as to wrytt onto me your seyde Lres.: Wherby I may take some cumfort & rest: nat dowtting but your hert is so gentyl & pityfull, that havying knowleg in what agony I am yn, ye wole take the payne to send onto me your seyde consollatory Lres. Wherby ye shal nat onely deserve towards god, but also bynde me to be as I am, your contynual bedysman. Wrytten thys mornyng at *Asber*, with the rude hand & foroweful hert of yours with hert & prayer,

*T. Carlis. Ebor. miserrimus.*

N U M B.



## N U M B. XXXII.

The Cardinal to the Secretary ; To draw up his Pardon,  
granted by the King.

To the ryght honorable, & my syngular good frende  
Mayster Secretary.

**M**Y owne goode Mastryr Secretary, Aftyr my moſte herty recom-  
mendations, with lycke thanks for your goodnes towards me,  
thes ſhal be to advertiſe yow, that I have beyn informyd by my truſty  
frend *Thomas Crownwel*, that ye have ſignified onto hym, to my ſyn-  
gular conſolation, how that the Kynges highnes, movyd with pety &  
compaſſyon, & of hys excellent goodnes, & cheryte, conſydering the  
lamentable condition, & ſtat, that I ſtand yn, hath wylyd yow, with  
other Lords & maſtyrs of hys honorable counſell, to intende to the  
perſyghtyng & abſolvyn, without further tract or delay, of myn end,  
& appoyntement ; & that my pardon ſhulde be made in the moſte am-  
ple forme, that my counſell cowde devyſe. For thys the kyngs moſte  
gracyous remembrance, procedyng of hymſelf, I accompt my ſylf not  
ondly moſte boundyn to ſerve & pray for the preſervation of hys moſte  
Royal majeſte, but alſo thancke god, that ye have occaſion geven onto  
you to be a Sollyciter, & ſetter forth of ſuch thynges ; as do & ſhal  
conſerve my ſeyde ende. In the making & compownyng wherof, myn  
aſſuryd truſte is, that ye wole ſhewe the Love & affection, wych ye  
have, & bere towards me, your olde lover & frende : ſo declaryng  
your ſylf therin, that the worlde may parceyve, that by your good  
meanys the kyng ys the bettyr goode Lorde unto me : & that nowe  
newly in maner comyng to the world, ther may be ſuch reſpect  
had to my poore degre, olde age, & longe contynued ſervys, as ſhal  
be to the kyngs hygh honor, & your gret prayſe & laude. Wych on-  
dowtydly ſhal folowe, yf ye optinde yowr benyvolens towards me, &  
men perceyve that by yowr wyſdome & dexterite I ſhalbe relevyd ; &  
in thys my calamyte holpen. At the reverens therfore of god, myn  
owne goode Mr. Secretary, & refugy, nowe ſet to your hande, that I  
may come to a laudable ende & repoſſe ; ſeyng, that I may be fur-  
nyſhyd aftyr ſuch a ſorte & maner, as I may ende my ſhort tyme &  
lyff to the honor of *Cryſtes* church, & the prince. And beſydys my  
daily prayer & true hert, I ſhal ſo requyte your kyndnes, as ye ſhal  
have cauſe to thyncke the ſame to be wel imployd, lycke as my ſeyd  
truſty frende ſhal more amply ſhewe onto you. To whom yt may  
pleaſe yow to geve firme credens & lovyng audyens. And I ſhal pray  
for the increaſe your of honor. Wrytyn at *Aſher* with the tremylling  
hand & hevy hert of your aſſuryd lover & bedyſman,

T. Car<sup>lis</sup>. Ebor.

## NUM B. XXXIII.

The Cardinal to the Secretary ; Praying him to favour the Cause of the Provost of *Beverly* ; and to intercede with the King for him, & his Colleges.

To my right entierly welbiloved friende Mr. Stephyn Gardener,  
Secretary to the Kyngs highnes.

MSS.  
G. H. Eq. aur.

**M**YNE awne gentil Maister Secretary, After my mooste herty recommendations, these shal be to thanke you for the greate humanite, lovyng & gentil recule, that ye have made unto the poore Provost of *Beverly* : & specialy, for that ye have in such wise addressed hym unto the kings highnes presence, that his grace not onely hath shewed unto hym, that he is his goode & gracious Lorde, but also that it hath pleased hys Majeste to admitte & accepte hym as his poore orator & scoler. Wherby both he & I accompte our selfs so bounden unto you, that we cannot telle how to requite this your gratitude & kyndenes; mooste hartely praying you to contynue in your good favour towards hym, & to take hym & his pore causis into your patrocynye & protection. And, as myne assured expectation, & trust is, to remember the poor state & condition that I stond in, & to be a meane to the kings highnes for my relese in the same. In doying wherof ye shal not onely deserve thanks of God, but also declare to your perpetual laud & prayse, that ye beyng in auctorite, have not forgotten your olde maister and frynde. And in the wey of charite, & for the love, that ye bere to vertue, *Et ad bona studia*, be meane to the kyngs highnes for my poore colleges. And specially for the college of *Oxford*. Suffer not the things, which by your greate lernyng, studie, counsaile & travaile, hath bene erected, founden, & with good statutes & ordinances, to the honor of god, Increase of vertue & lernyng established, to be dissolved or dismembred. Ye do knowe, no man better, to what use the monasteries, suppressed by the popis licence, the kyngs consente concurring with the same, & a pardon for the \* *Premoneri*, be converted. It is nat to be doubted, but the kyngs highnes of his high vertue & equite, beyng informed how every thing is passed, his mooste gracious licence & consente (as is aforesaid) adhibited therunto, wol never go aboute to dissolve the said Incorporations or bodyes, wherof so greate benefite & commodite shal insue unto his realme & subjects. Superfluities, if any such shal be thought & founden, may be refecat ; but to destroy the hole, it were to greate pitie.

\* *Pramunire*.

Estiones therefore, good maister Secretarie, I beseeche you to be good maister & patrone to the said colleges ; *Et non sinas opus manuum tuarum perire, aut ad nihilum redigi*. Thus doying, both I, & they shal not onely pray for you, but in such wise deserve your paynes, as ye shal have cause to thinke the same to be wel bestowed & imployed, like as  
this



this present berer shal more at the large shewe unto you. To whom it may please the same to geve firme credence. And thus mooste hartely fare ye wel. From *Sothewell* \* the xxiiijth day of July.

\* An antient  
Seat in Not-  
tingham Shire,  
belonging to  
the Arch-bi-  
shops of York.

Your lovyng Frende,

T. Car<sup>lis</sup>. Ebor.

N U M B. XXXIV.

The Cardinal to the Secretary; To bee his friend in a suite with Mr. *Strangwishe*, for a Debt of 700 l.

To the right honorable, & my syngular good friende Mr. Doctor Stephyns, Secretary to the kings highnes.

**M**Yne awine good Maister Secretary, After my mooste harty Recommendations, these shal be to desire, & moost effectually to pray you to be good maister & friende unto me, concernyng the uncharitable sute of *Strangwishe* for vij<sup>l</sup> li., which he pretendith, that I shulde owe unto hym, for the ward of *Bowes*. And albeit ther was at his firste comyng to my service, by our mutual consents, a perfecte end made betwene hym & me for the same, yet nowe digressyng therfrom, perceyvyng that I am out of favour, destitute of socour, & in calamite, he not onely newly demaundyth the said vij<sup>l</sup> li. but also hath made complaint unto the kyngs highnes, surmittyng, that I shulde, contrary to justice, deteyne from hym the said vij<sup>l</sup> li. For the redresse wherof, it hath pleased the kyngs majeste to direct his mooste honorable letters unto me; the contents wherof I am sure be nat unknown unto you. And insuing the purporte therof, & afore the delyvere of the same thre days by past, notwithstanding my greate necessite & poverté, onely to be out of his exclamation & inquietnes, I have written to my trusty friende, Mr. *Cromwel*, to make certeyn reasonable offres unto hym for that intent & purpose; moost hartely beseching you to helpe, that upon declaration of such things, as upon my part shal be signified unto you by the said Maister *Cromwel*, some such end, by your friendly dexterite, may bee made betwixt us, as shal accorde with good congruence, & as I may supparte, & be hable, (myne other debts & charges considered) to bere. In the doying wherof, ye shal bynde me to be your dayly bedesman, as knoweth god, who alwayes preserve you. From *Sothewell*, the xxvth day of August.

MSS.  
G. H. Eq. aut.

Yours with hert & prayer,

T. Car<sup>lis</sup>. Ebor.

## NUMB. XXXV.

Thomas Cardinalis Eboracen. &c. Gypsiuchianæ Scholæ  
Præceptoribus. S. D.

**N**eminem latere putamus, quanto animi conatu, studio, industria, huc semper labores nostros destinaverimus, non ut nostris privatim commodis, sed uti patriæ, civibûsq; nostris omnibus, quam plurimum consuleremus. Qua una in re, amplissimum pietatis fructum nos assecuturos esse arbitramur, si divino aliquo munere popularium nostrorum animos exornaremus. Proinde, maximo, incredibiliq; pietatis ardore erga patriam affecti, quæ nos veluti jure quodam sibi vendicat, ludum literarium non omnino inelegantem velut amoris summi erga eandem nostri, clarissimum testimonium dedicavimus. Verum quoniam parum visum est ludum quantumvis magnificum extruxisse, nisi etiâ accesserit præceptorum peritia, modis omnibus dedimus operam, ut nos duos Præceptores electos, probatôsq; huic præficeremus: Sub quibus Britannica pubes, statim a primis annis & mores & Literas imbiberet; Nimirum intelligentes in hac ætatē, velut herba, spem Reip. positam esse. Id quod felicius maturiûsq; consequeretur, libello puerilis instructionis methodumq; ac rationem docendi, apprimè huic publi necessariam, omni nostra cura, studio, diligentia, ut haberetis, curavimus. Vestræ partes, erunt nunc vicissim, qui huic novæ scholæ nostræ Præceptores estis, hic rudimentis ac docendi ratione diligentur exercere hos pueros; deinceps cum elegantissima Literatura, tum optimis moribus ad majora profecturos. Ad quod si pari cura enitimini, atq; nos ad oculum vobis demonstraturi sumus, nos non tam vobis vestro studio impense faventes jam demerebimini, quam plane apud posteros felices reddideritis. Bene valete. Ex ædibus nostris, Anno Domini Millesimo quingentesimo vigesimo octavo, Calend. Septembris.

*Quo ordine pueri, in nostrum gymnasium admissi, docendi  
sint; Quiq; authores iisdem prælegendi.*

## Primæ Classis Methodus.

**P**incipio, scholam hanc nostram in Classes octo partiendam esse non incongruè placuit. Quarum prima pueros rudiores in octo Orationis partibus diligenter exercendos contineat. Quorum os tenerum formare præcipua cura vobis sit: ut pote qui & apertissima & elegantissima vocis pronuntiatione, tradita elementa proferant siquidem rudem materiam licet ad quodvis effingere; & *Horatio* monente, *Quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem Testa diu.* Quamobrem hanc ætatem justa vestra cura defraudare minime par est.

Secundæ



## Secundæ Classis.

Deindè, postquam ætas hæc satis feliciter illis primis rudimentis adulta profecerit, eam in secundum ordinem vocari velimus, ad usum loquendi Latinè, & ad vertendum in Latinum aliquod propositum vulgare, non insulsum neq; ineptum; sed quod argutam aliquam aut venustam habeat sententiam, quæ ab ingenio puerili non nimium abhorreat. Quod simul ac versum fuerit, quam mox characteribus Romanis mandari oportebit: dabitq; operam quotidie, ut libellos quam emendatissimos, quàmq; elegantissimè sua quisq; manu scriptos habeat universus grex.

Si Authorem aliquem præter rudimenta, adhibendum tenellæ pubi censueritis, id erit vel *Lillij* carmeni monitorium; vel præcepta *Catonis*; nimirum formandi oris gratia.

## Tertiæ Classis.

Ex Authoribus, qui ad quotidianum sermonem purum, tersum, elimatum magnoperè conducunt, quis facietior, quem *Æsopus*? aut quam *Ter.* utilior. Uterq; vel ipso argumenti genere adolescentiæ non injucundus.

Rursum, huic ordini de Nominum generibus libellum quem *Lillius* conscripserat, si adjunxeritis, non improbaverimus.

## Quartæ Classis.

Præterea, cum quartæ classis militiam exercebitis, quem ducem malletis, quam ipsum *Vergilium*, omnium poetarum Principem, vobis dari? Cujus majestatem carminis, voce bene sonora, efferendam esse operæ pretium fuerit.

Verborum præterita & supina huic ordini convenientia commodabit *Lillius*. Verum ut hujusmodi fateor necessaria, ita velimus tamen tradi, quoad fieri possit, ut potioiem diei partem non occupent.

## Quintæ Classis.

Nunc demum video vos cupere, quam docendi rationem hic præcipiamus. Agite, mos geratur vobis. In primis hoc unum admonendum censuerimus, ut neq; plagis severioribus, neq; vultuosis minis, aut ulla Tyrannidis specie, tenera pubes afficiatur. Hac enim injuria ingenij alacritas aut extingui, aut magna ex parte obtundi solet.

Huic ordini, quod doceatur, præcipuum erit, ut aliquot selectas *Ciceronis* Epistolas prælegatis: quibus sane nullæ aliæ videntur nobis ad divitem sermonis copiam parandam, neq; faciliores, neq; uberiores.

## Sextæ

## Sextæ Classis.

Porro, Sextus ordo Historiam aliquam, vel *Salustij*, aut *Commentariorum Cæsaris*, postulare videtur. Quibus Syntaxim *Lillij* non incongruè addiderimus, verba defectiva, Anomala, & quæcunq; Heteroclyta, obiter legentes, admonebitis.

## Septimæ Classis.

Septimi ordinis grex, aut *Horatij* Epistolas, aut *Ovidij* *Metamorphosin*, aut *Fastorum* libros assiduè volvat; interim vel carmen, vel epistolam aliquam componens. Illud quoq; permagni referet, si aliquoties aut carmen solverint, aut solutam orationem pedibus alligatam reddiderint. Audita nè effluant, aut apud vos, aut cum alijs puer retractet. Sub somnum exquisiti quippiam, aut dignum memoria meditetur, quod proxima aurora Præceptori reddat.

Interdum laxandus est animus, intermiscendus lusus, at liberalis tamen, & literis dignus. In ipsis studijs sic voluptas est intermiscenda, ut puer ludum potius discendi, quam laborem existimat. Cavendum erit, nè immòdica contentione ingenia discantium obruantur, aut lectione prælonga defatigentur. Utrâq; enim juxta offenditur.

## Octavæ Classis.

Deniq; hoc exercitio ad aliquam sermonis peritiam provectus grex, ad majora Grammatices præcepta revocetur; velut ad figuras a *Donato* præscriptas, ad *Vallæ* elegantiam, & ad linguæ Latinæ quoslibet veteres Authores. In quibus prælegendis vos admonitos velimus, ut ea duntaxat quæ explicanda præsentî loco sint idonea, conemini discere. Veluti Comœdiam *Terentianam* enarraturi, imprimis authoris fortunam, ingenium, sermonis elegantiam, paucis differatis. Deinde, quantum habeat & voluptatis & utilitatis Comœdiarum lectio. Deinde, quid significet ea vox, & unde ducta, Deinde, dilucidè & breviter summam argumenti explicetis, Carminis genus diligenter indicetis. Postea, ordinetis simplicius: deinde, siqua insignis elegantia, siquid prisce dictum, siquid novatum, siquid Græcanicum, siquid obscurius, siqua Etymologia, siqua derivatio & compositio, siquis ordo durior, & perturbatior, siqua orthographia, siqua figura, siquid egregium orationis decus, siqua exornatio Rhetorica, siquid proverbium, siquid imitandum, siquid non imitandum, diligenter gregem admoneatis.

Præterea, in ludo dabitur operam, ut grex quam emendatissimè loquatur, loquentem aliquoties collandetis, siquid dictum erit aptius, aut emendetis, cum errabit. Interdum epistolæ brevis argumentum, sed argutum, lingua vulgari proponi debet. Postremò, sibi, ostendatis formulas aliquot, quibus traditum Thema commodè tractari poterit.

His rudimentis pueri in Schola nostra imbuti, facile declarabunt quantopere referat, ab optimis auspicatum fuisse. Vos modo pergite, ac patriam benè merentem honestissimis studijs illustrate.



## N U M B. XXXVI.

*Queen Elizabeth to Sir Ambrose Cave ; To enquire into an Estate taken away from one Heydon by Cardinal Wolsey. The letter dated June 22. 1568.*

## ELIZABETH R.

**R**ighte Trustie & Welbeloved, We grete you wel. And wheras we are crediblie enfourmed, that one *William Heydon*, late of *Britwel* in our Countie of *Hertford* deceased, was in his life tyme seised in his demeane, as of Fee, according to the custome of the Mannor of the *More*, being percel of our Duchie of *Lancaster*, in our saied Countie, of & in one Messuage, with thappurtenances, called *Tolpotts*, & of & in one hundred, threscore & ten acres of Land by estimation, to the same Messuage belonging, lieing & being in the parishes of *Watford* & *Rickmansworth*, in the countie saied of *Hertf.* And that he so being seised thereof, *Thomas Wolsey* late Archebissshop of *York*, & Cardinal there, being Lord of the saied Mannor of the *More*, did wrongfullie expel & put out the same *William Heydon* of & from the saied Messuage, Lands & Tenements, & every part therof. And that Cxxix acres, percel therof, the saied late Cardinal did cause to be inclosed & impaled within the great Park of the saied Mannor. And that a certain plot of ground, conteyning by estimation three acres percel of the saied lands & tenements, was by the saied late Cardinal, converted into a high way, leading from *Rickmansworth* to *Watford* aforesaid, in the saied Countie ; & so is used at this present. And that the saied Messuage, & eight acres of land, percel also of the premisses, lying without the pale of the saied Park, are in our hands, or are occupied by such person, as payeth us rent for the same. MSS.  
D. G. H. Eq.

And wheras also we are further crediblie enfourmed, that the saied *William Heydon*, after he was expelled & put out of the saied messuage & premisses, as is aforesaid, did surrender the same messuage, & al the aforesaid lands, with thappurtenances, into the hands of the Lord of the saied mannor, to the use of *Thomas Heydon*, his younger son, & of his heires & assignes for ever, according to the custome of the saied Mannor : And that *Johane* wif of *George Pope*, & *Margaret* wif of *John More*, are daughters & heires of the saied *Thomas Heydon* : And that also neither the saied *William Heydon*, nor *Thomas Heydon*, nor the heires or assignes of eyther of them, have had any manner of recompence in & for the premisses, as we are also crediblie enfourmed.

WEE therefore mynding, if the premisses soe enfourmed us (as is afore-said) be true, that recompence shal be made to the heires of the saied *Thomas Heydon*, as reason is. And the rather by & at the humble & continual sute, complaint, & lamentable petition of the saied *John More* & *Margaret* his wif, & of *George Pope*, & *Johane* his wif, daughters & heires of the saied *Thomas Heydon*, to whom a surrender of the premisses, as is aforesaid, was by the saied *William Heydon* made ; Do hereby wil,

N n n

auctorise

authorise & require you, our said Chauncellor of our said Duchie, together with the advise of our Councel of the same our Duchie, with al convenient speed, thoroughlie to enquire, examine, & circumspectlie trie out, whether the premisses & allegations soe infourmed us, as is aforesaid, be true or not. And if therupon you shal perceyve & understand, that the same are true, & that the said *John More* & *Margaret* his wif, *George Pope* & *Johane* his wif, ought of right to have & enjoy the premisses; Then we further wil, require, & by these presents do authorise you furthewith, with convenient speed, to make unto them the said *John More* & *Margaret* his wif, & *George Pope* & *Johane* his wif, restitution of the said lands & premisses, or such other reasonable recompence for the same, as you, upon due & deliberate consideration of the premisses, & the circumstances of the same, shal think most mete & convenient. And therupon to make unto them, sufficient assurance of the same recompence to pass under the Seale of our said Duchie accordinglie; or by any other sufficient means, as you shal think mete. And theis our letters signed with our hand shal be unto you & every of you, a sufficient warrant & discharge against us, our heirs & successors at al times hereafter concerning the premisses in every behaulf.

*To our Righte trustie & welbeloved  
Sir Ambrose Cave Kt. one of our  
privy Counsel, & Chancellor of our  
Duchy of Lancaster, & to our  
counsel of the same Duchie.*

## N U M B. XXXVII.

*The Bedes on the Sunday, as antiently used.*

*Out of the Festival.*

**Y**E shal knele downe on your knees, & lyfte up your hertes, making your prayers unto almyghty god: For the good estate & peace of all holy chyrche, that God mayntayne, save & kepe it. For our holy father the Pope, with al his true college of Cardynalls: that god for his mercy them mayntayne & kepe in the ryght byleve, & it holde & encrease, & al mysbyleve & heresye he lesse & destroye. Also, ye shal praye for the holy lande, & for the holy crosse that *Jesu Chryst* dyed upon, for the redempcyon of mannes soule; that it may comme into the power of chrysten men, the more to be honoured for our prayers. Also, ye shal praye for al Archbysshops & bysshops, & in especial for the Archbysshop of *Caunterbury*, our Metropolitane: And for the Bysshop of *N.* our Diocesan: that god of his mercy gyve to them grace, so to governe & rule holy chyrche, that it may be unto the honour & worship of hym, & salvacyon of our soules. Also, ye shal pray for all Abbottes, Pryours, Monkes, Chanons, Fryers, & for al men & women of relygyon, in what ordre, estate, or degree, that they stand in, from the hyghest estate unto the lowest degree. Also ye shal pray  
for



for al them that have charge & cure of chrysten mennes soules, as Curates & Parsones, Vycares, Preefts & Clerkes. And in especial, for the Parson & Curate of this Chyrche; & for al the preefts & mynystres, that serve therin, or have served therin. And for al them that have taken ony ordre. That almyghty god gyve them grace of continuance wel for to kepe & observe it, to the honour & helth of theyr soules. Also, ye shal praye for the unyte & peace of al chrysten realmes, & in especial, for the good state, peace & tranquillitie of this realme of *Englande*, for our lyege Lord the kynge. That god for his great mercy send hym grace so to governe & to rule this realme, that god be pleased & worshipped, & to the profyte & salvacyon of this lande. Also, ye shal pray for our Lyege Lady the quene, my Lord the prynce, & al the noble progeny of them. For al dukes, erles, barons, knyghtes, & squyers, & other Lords of the kynges Counseyle, which have ony rule & governaunce of this land. That god gyve them grace so to counseyle, rule & governe, that god be pleased, the land defended, & to the profyte & salvacyon of al the realme. Also, ye shal praye for the peace, both on lande & on water, that god graunte love & charyte among al chrysten people. Also, ye shal pray for al our parysshens, where that they be on land or on water; that god save them from al maner of perylles: & for al the good men of this parysshe; for theyr wyves, chyldren, & meyny, that god them mayntayne fause & kepe. Also, ye shal pray for al true tythers, that god multiply theyr goods & encrease. For al true tyllers, that labour for our sustenaunce, that tyll the erth. Also, ye shal pray for al the graynes and fruytes, that ben sown, set or done on the erthe, or shal be done, that god sende such wederynge, that they may grow, encrease & multiply to the help & profyte of al mankynd. Also, ye shal pray for al true shypmen & merchaunts, whiersoever that they be, on land or on water, that god kepe them from al perylles, & bryng them home in saufte with theyr goods, shyppes & merchaundyfes, to the helpe, comforte & profyte of this realme. Also, ye shal praye for them that fynde ony lyght in this chyrche, or gyve any behestes, book, bel, chalyce or vestement, surplys, awter cloth, or towayle, lands, rentes, lamp or lyght, or any other aournementes, wherby goddes servyce is the better served, susteyned & mayntayned in redyng & syngyng. And for al them that therto have counseyled: That god reward & yelde it them at theyr moost nede. Also, ye shal pray for al true pylgryms & palmers, that have taken theyr way to *Rome*, to *Iherusalem*, to Saynt *Katharynes*, or Saynt *James*, or to ony other place. That god of his grace gyve them tyme & space wel for to goe & to come, to the profyte of they lyves & soules. Also, ye shal also pray for al them, that ben syck or diseased of this parysshe, that god send them healthe, the rather for our prayer. For al the women which be in our ladyes bandes, & with chyld in this parysshe, or in ony other, that god sende them fayre delyveraunce, to theyr chyldrens right shape, name, & chrystendome, & to the mothers purification. And for al them that wolde be here, & may not for sycknes, or travayle, or ony other leeful occupacyon: that they may have part of al the good dedes, that shal be done here in this place, or in ony other place. Also, ye shal pray for al them that be in good lyfe, that god holde them long tharin. And for al them that be in dette, or

deedly synne; that god bryng them out therof, the rather for our prayers. Also, ye shal pray for hym or her, that this day gave the holy breed, & for hym that first began & longest holdeth on; that god reward hym it at the daye of dome. And for al them that do wel, or say you good, that god yelde it them at theyr nede; & for them that otherwyle wolde, that god amende them.

For al these, & for al chrysten men & women, ye shal say a *Pater noster* & an *Ave Maria*. *Deus misereatur nostri*. *Gloria patri*. *Kyrie eleyson*. *Christe eleyson*. *Kyrie eleyson*. *Pater noster*, & *Nè nos*. *Sed libera*. *Versus*. *Ostiende nobis*. *Sacerdotes*. *Domine saluum fac regem*. *Saluum fac populum*. *Domine fiat pax*. *Domine exaudi*. *Dominus vobiscum*. *Oremus*. *Ecclesie tue quesumus*. *Deus in cuius manu*. *Deus, qui Sanctorum*, &c.

Ferthermore, ye shal pray for al chrysten soules: for archbysshops & bysshops Soules; & in specyall, for al that have ben bysshops of this diocese: & for al Curates, Parsones & Vicars Soules; & in specyall, for them that have ben Curates of this chyrche, & for the soules that have served in this chyrche. Also, ye shal pray for the Soules of al chrysten kynges & quenes, & in especyall, for the soules of them that have ben kynges of this realme of *England*. Also, for al those soules, that to this chyrche have gyven boke, bel, chalyce, or vestement, or ony other thyng, by the which the servyce of god is the better done, & holy chyrch worshypped. Ye shal also praye for your fathers soule, for your mothers soule, for your godfathers soule, & for your godmothers soule, for your brethrene & systers soules, & for the soules of al your kynnes folk, & for your frends soules, & for al the souls that we be bound to pray for. And for al the soules that be in the paynes of Purgatory, there abydyng the mercy of almyghty god. And in especyall, for them that have moost nede, & leest help: That god of his endles mercy lesse & mynysshe theyr paynes by the meane of our prayers, & bryng them to his everlastyng blysse of heven. And also of the soule of N. or of them that upon such a day this weke we shal have the annyversary, & for al chrysten soules, ye shal devoutly say a *Pater noster*, & an *Ave Maria*, *Psalmus*, *De profundis*, with the Collecte.

*Oratio*.  
*Absolve quesumus, domine, animas famulorum tuorum, Pontificum, Regum, sacerdotum, parentum, parrochianorum, amicorum, benefactorum nostrorum, & omnium fidelium defunctorum, ab omni vinculo delictorum. Ut in resurrectionis gloria inter sanctos & electos tuos resuscitati respirent. Per christum dominum nostrum. Amen.*



## N U M B. XXXVIII.

A Book against the Kings Matrimony with Q. Katherine.

*An liceat cuiquam ducere Uxorem fratris sui vita defuncti  
absq; liberis.*

**V**idetur omnino quod nullo pacto sit licitum. Nam scribitur in <sup>MSS.</sup> *Levitico*, Capite decimo octavo, unum præceptum generale istud, <sup>D. G. H. Eq.</sup> Scil. *Omnis homo ad proximam sanguinis sui non accedet, ut revelet turpitudinem ejus.* Et mox subjungit præcepta quædam specialia. Ubi inter cætera vetat, ne quispiam uxorem fratris sui accipiat. Et illico subinfert deus; *Turpitudinem uxoris fratris tui non revelabis, quia turpitudine fratris tui est.* Ponitur etiam in eodem Capite, *Nec accedes ad uxorem ejus, qui tibi affinitate conjungitur.* Et *Levitici* vicesimo capite dicitur aperte, *Qui duxerit uxorem fratris sui, rem facit illicitam: Turpitudinem fratris sui revelavit: Absq; filijs erit.*

Modò, ex his autoritatibus ita deducam argumentationes. Et primo, Hoc medio; Quod est jure divino prohibitum, nulli est licitum. Sed ducere uxorem fratris prohibitum est jure divino. Consequitur ergo, Nemini licere uxorem fratris ducere. I.

Evidet hæc Consecutio cum Majore: & Minor liquet ex autoritatibus *Levitici* prælibatis. Sed dicet fortasse quispiam. Præceptum istud modò vigorem non habere in Lege Evangelica, sed duntaxat pro lege *Mosaica* dabatur, Sed hæc Responsio facile diluetur tali ratione. Præcepta Moralia quæ sunt de lege naturæ, inde remanent in Lege Evangelica secundum omnes Theologos: Sed quod homo non accedat ad uxorem fratris sui est morale, quod est de jure naturæ: Ergo in Lege Evangelica adhuc remanet. Minor patebit ex summa *Altiſſiodorensis* in 4<sup>to</sup> Sententiarum, Titulo de Affinitate; Et beati *Bonaventura* in 4<sup>to</sup> dist. quadragesima. q. 2<sup>a</sup>. Et idem Doctor expressè in 4<sup>to</sup> dist. 32<sup>a</sup> articulo 3<sup>o</sup> q. prima, asserit, Hoc præceptum esse morale; nempe, quod Mulier non cognoscatur tempore Menstruæ. Et hoc idem Præceptum continetur inter has prohibitiones. Ergo, & cæteræ prohibitiones *Levitica*, in ipso Capite contentæ, videntur etiam esse Morales. Quod si hos Doctores funditus recusaverunt, adhuc idem probabo ex sacris literis, Videlicet, quod hoc est de jure naturæ, Quod homo non accedat ad uxorem fratris sui. Nam in eodem Capite 18<sup>o</sup> *Levitic.* dicitur, *Nec polluamini in omnibus his, quibus contaminata sunt universæ gentes, quas ego ejiciam ante conspectum vestrum.* Et paulo post subjungitur, *Omnes etiam execrationes istas fecerunt accola, qui fuerunt ante vos, & polluerunt eam. Cavete ergo, ne & vos similiter evomat, quum paria feceritis, sicut evomuit gentem, quæ fuit ante Vos. Omnis anima, quæ fecerit de abominationibus his quippiam, peribit, de medio populi sui.*

Tunc sic fornabo rationem. Si Gentes fecerunt has abominationes, & execrationes, & ita punitæ fuere; Ergo graviter peccarunt. Quia nunquam infligitur gravis poena, nisi ob peccatum prius commissum. Quum ergo propter has abominationes punitæ fuerunt gentes; Ergo

eas

eas transgrediendo gravissimè peccabant. Si gentes non peccabant nisi contra legem naturæ (quia legi Mosaicæ non erant subiectæ, ut asserit *Paulus ad Romanos*, 2<sup>o</sup>) Ergo hæ prohibitiones sunt de lege naturæ. Quod erat probandum. Sed supra jus naturæ non potest Papa dispensare, ut vult *Scotus* in 4<sup>to</sup>. Ergo quum hæ prohibitiones sunt de jure naturæ, Papa inconsultè egit dispensando cum tali matrimonio.

II. Præterea, Ubiq; est eadem causa, ibi erit idem effectus. Sed non ob aliud vetatur commixtio cum sorore patris aut matris, quam quia sunt una caro. Ut patet *Levitici* xviii<sup>o</sup>. Ergo cum frater & ejus uxor sunt una caro, non potest frater uxorem fratris defuncti ducere. Et consimilem rationem videtur ponere beatus *Bonaventura* ad oppos. q. in 4<sup>to</sup> Sentent. dist. 4<sup>ca</sup>. q. 2<sup>da</sup>. Ubi querit, an consanguinitas Matrimonio præstat impedimentum. Et minor etiam claret ex autoritate *Pauli* priori ad *Corinthios* 7<sup>o</sup>. *Qui adhæret meretrici unum corpus efficitur cum ea.*

III. Præterea, Ubiq; est materia ambigua & dubia, semper tutior pars est servanda & eligenda. Sed hæc materia est gravis, & dubia: Videlicet, quod serenissima Regia Majestas non debet dirimi a Regina; & quod Papa *Julius* licitè dispensavit. Nam aliqui Doctores, & aliquæ Universitates famatæ asseruerunt oppositum: Scil. Quod debet serenissima sua Majestas ab ipsa separari, & hoc sub pœna peccati mortalis. Ergo licitè potest hanc partem, tanquam tutiorem, eligere. Alioqui exponeret se periculo peccati mortalis, peccat mortaliter secundum omnes Theologos; & apparet ex sacra Scriptura. Nam qui amat periculum, peribit in illo.

IV. Item, Supponamus quod Papa *Julius* potuerit dispensare, ut Regia Majestas duceret uxorem relictam fratris sui, & quod fuerit verum Matrimonium inter ipsum & illam; adhuc probabo tale matrimonium justè posse dissolvi: Et hoc a Deo licet, non ab homine. Quia *quod Deus conjunxit, homo non separet*, juxta sententiam Evangelicam. Papa verò solum declarabit, quod Deus illud dissolverit. Et tali argumentabor ratione. Matrimonium inter aliquas personas dissolvitur a Deo propter majus bonum. Sed tuitio unius Regni est majus bonum, quam hoc aut illud matrimonium. Ergo propter tuitiorem Regni *Angliæ* Deus dissolvit matrimonium inter Regem & Reginam. Evidet hæc sequela: & probabitur Major. Nam Matrimonio contracto, & non consummato inter *Joannem* & *Magdalenam*, licitum est *Joanni* ingredi religionem propter continentiam servandam: Quæ secundum Theologos est majus bonum, quam Matrimonium. Et illud matrimonium dissolvit Deus, & non homo, ut dictum est prius. Quia *quod Deus conjunxit, nemo separet*. Probabitur etiam illa minor, Videlicet, Quod Tuitio unius regni sit majus bonum, quam hoc aut illud Matrimonium: Et tali pacto. Quicquid est majus majori est majus minori. Sed tuitio unius Regni est majus bonum, quam continentia istius aut illius personæ; Quæ tamen Continentia est majus bonum, quam Matrimonium, ut jam probavimus, & patet ex *Paulo*, prioris ad *Cor.* septimo. Ergo Tuitio unius regni est majus bonum, quam hoc aut illud matrimonium. Ergo propter Tuitiorem Regni *Angliæ* dissolvit Deus matrimonium istud. Quod etiam tuitio unius Regni sit majus bonum quam Continentia istius aut illius personæ, patet; non solum quia bonum commune est præferendum bono particulari, verum etiam, quia Papa dispensavit cum quodam



dam Monacho, ut exiret religione, & esset Rex *Arragoniæ*. Item, diebus nostris *Alexander Sextus* (ut a fide dignis accepi) pro bono publico regni *Gallorum*, declaravit, quod rex *Lodovicus XII.* poterat separari ab uxore sua, & ducere in uxorem *Annam* Ducissam Minoris *Britanniæ*. Cur igitur idem non licebit fieri modò cum Serenissimo nostro Rege propter bonum publicum Regni *Angliæ*? Quod enim sequatur bonum publicum *Angliæ* ex isto divertio ostenditur: quia Regina nostra, teste experientia, non parit plures filios. Ex novo autem matrimonio facile poterit Rex sobolem procreare masculinam, heredem. Et ita sedabuntur tumultus innumeri. Nam si (quod absit) decesserit serenissima regia Majestas sine filio, haud dubie in *Anglia* tantum ignis (prout conjicio) erit accensus, ut eum Oceani aqua vix extinguere posset; tanta erit lis in populo.

Huic etiam Positioni occurrit illud quod *Gregorius Augustino* Anglorum Apostolo: (a quo requisitus fuerat, Quota generatione debeant copulari) rescribit sic, *Quædam lex Romana permittit, ut sive fratris & sororis, sive duorum fratrum germanorum, seu duarum sororum filius & filia miscantur. Sed experimento didicimus ex tali conjugio sobolem non posse succrescere. Unde necesse est, ut quarta aut quinta generatio fidelium licenter conjugatur.* Sed post multum temporis idem *Gregorius* a *Felice Messinæ* scil. præfule requisitus, utrum *Augustino* scripserit, ut Anglorum quarta generatione contracta Matrimonia non solventur, inter cætera talem reddidit rationem: *Quod scripsi Augustino Anglorum Episcopo, ipsi etiam Anglorum genti, quæ nuper ad fidem venerat, ne a bono quo caperat, metuendo austeriora, recederet, specialiter & non generaliter, me cognoscas scripsisse. Nec ideo hæc eis scripsi, ut postquam in fide fuerint solidati, si infra propriam consanguinitatem inventi fuerint, non separentur, aut inter affinitatis lineam id est usq; ad septimam generationem, jungantur. Nec valet dicere evadendo, quod lex Deuteronomica, Capite - - - - -, de suscitatione seminis fratris evacuavit hanc legem Leviticam.* Quod ostendam tali pacto. Lex temporaliter data, & ad determinatum populum, non potest restringere legem universalem & moralem, datam universæ nationi; sed lex Deuteronomica erat solum temporalis, & ad certum populum limitata. Levitica vero lex moralis est & universalis, ut prius ostensum est: Quia lex naturæ extendit se ad omnes. Ergo per consequens, Lex Deuteronomica non habet vigorem restringendi legem Leviticam. Quare consequitur has prohibitiones Leviticas adhuc consistere in pleno robore.

Major hujus Rationis clarebit per simile. Nam *Exodi xx.* datur præceptum universale, Non occides. Et primo *Regum xv.* præcepit Deus *Sauli*, ut interficeret *Amalech*. Nunc iste casus specialis & particularis non potest restringere primum præceptum morale de non occidendo, ut manifestum est. Ergo per simile nec Lex Deuteronomica evacuabit Legem Leviticam, quæ est moralis, & omni populo communis.

Item, genus prohibitum cum distributione includit omnes species sub eo contentas, esse prohibitas. Sed hoc genus, scil. omnis homo ad proximam sanguinis sui non accedat, est prohibitum cuilibet homini. Ergo etiam omnes ejus speciei cuilibet homini prohibentur. Sed sub hoc genere continentur duodecim species in *Levetico*, Ca. 18<sup>o</sup>. Ergo quælibet earum prohibetur cuilibet homini.

Item

V.

VI. Item divinus *Augustinus* Contra *Fauftum*, libro duodecimo, capite 81<sup>o</sup> de *Juda & Thamar* sic loquitur, Si vir & uxor, sicut dicit Dominus, non jam duo, sed una caro sunt, non aliter nurus deputanda est, quam filia. Nunc ex his dictis ita argumentor, De similibus simile est judicium. Sed nurus ex hoc quod solum cognita est a filio cedit in jus filia. Ergo & uxor fratris cognita a fratre cedit in jus sororis.

VII. Item, Dominus *Antoninus* in 3<sup>a</sup> parte Summæ, Capitulo undecimo, De Affinitate, Ubi loquitur de Dispensatione Papæ prohibita, dicit, Quod in linea transversali, in primo gradu prohibetur Matrimonium Consanguinitatis & Affinitatis jure divino. Unde (inquit) nec Papa dispensare potest, quia est contra naturam, ut scil. quis contrahat cum germana sua, aut uxore germani sui, eo mortuo. Unde etiam ante legem Mosaicam, multiplicato genere humano, ante diluvium aut post, creditur se abstinnisse a sororibus, & ab uxoribus fratrum, nisi ad suscitandum semen fratris præmortui, sicut & tempore legis, ut patet in *Thamar* & filijs inde. Et paulo post subjungit *Antho-ninus*, Nec etiam posset dispensare Papa in uxore fratris mortui sine liberis. Quia licet olim liceret, dispensativè licebat. Quæ Dispensatio fiebat jure divino, non ab homine. Nam jure divino communiter abstinebatur ab uxore Fratris, sicut a propria sorore : Sed in casu illo permittebatur. Unde sicut Papa non potest dispensare in pluralitate uxorū, quamvis olim esset licita (quia licita erat ex Dei dispensatione) prohibita jure communi, sic nec in proposita. Hæc *Antho-ninus*.

Sunt etiam nonnulli authores asseverantes matrimonium inter Affines esse prohibitum jure divino & naturæ : Ut *Jo. De turre cremata*, & *Petrus De Paludo*, & alij *Thomistæ*.

Hæc scripta & collecta fuere A<sup>o</sup> Regni Regis *Hen. VIII.* 21<sup>o</sup>.  
18<sup>o</sup> die Aprilis, per J. p<sup>i</sup> M.

## N U M B. XXXIX.

A Confutation of *Abels* Book, wrot against the divorce of *Q. Katherine*.

*Contra basim libelli Abelis.*

MSS.  
D. G. H. E7.

HÆC unica est basis ac fundamentum singulare, cui totus innititur *Abelis* Libellus. Quod Deus nunquam id quod malum est, & contra jus naturæ præcipit observandum, & hoc perpetuo & a Communitate. Ex hoc fundamento colligit, Non esse contra jus naturæ Ducere Relictam fratris, quum Deus illud antiquitus præcepisset.

Et si aliàs pluribus machinis, eisq; fatis validis, hanc munitionem expugnavimus ; non gravabimur tamen jam denuo novas vires adjicere : ut quantumvis inverecundus ac vaser sit hostis, multitudo saltem testium attonitus cristas cogatur dimittere.

Primum quidem pro enervatione hujus fundamenti dicimus, hoc Deuteronomicum præceptum nec universale fuisse, nec perpetuum.

*Universale*



*Universale* non erat, quum nullam gentem præter *Judaicam* obligabat. Sed neq; *Perpetuum* erat : quum coruscante Evangelio sit abolitum. Proinde invalidum prorsus ac debile fundamentum est, ad sustinendum *Abelis* structuram.

Deinde, ad perpetuam hujus Basis demolitionem, præmittam Conclusionem unicam, præsidij undiq; tutissimis munitam :

*Quod Deus præcipit illud nonnunquam, quod, antequam præcipiebatur, erat contra jus naturæ.*

Istam conclusionem firmabo primo autoritate Divi Martyris *Cypriani* ; qui in Epistola 62<sup>a</sup> ita scribit : *Aliud est quod Deus imperat facere, & aliud voluntati ejus obsequere : Cujus ita sunt mandata servanda, ut si aliquid jusserit, quod secundum homines injustum esse videatur, justum credatur, & fiat. Et si justum jusserit, justum deputetur, & fiat. Cum sine victoria non potest esse, quod mandat ; qui potens est injustitiam justificando, vocare justitiam : & justitiam reprobando, injustitiam probare transversam. Cujus Voluntas est vera & sola justitia.* Hæc *Cyprianus*. Ex quo liquido apparet, Deum posse ob aliquam causam justificare præceptum Deuteronomicum de suscitando semine fratri, etiam si, ante illud præceptum, esset contra jus naturæ.

Huic subscribit Divus *Augustinus* in libro 26<sup>o</sup>. contra *Faustum*. Ibi Ca. 3<sup>o</sup>. dem enim affirmat. *Naturam ita obtemperantem esse suo Authori, ut id solum naturale dicatur, quod ipse velit fieri.* Sic autem habet. *Contra naturam aliquid fieri dicitur, quum contra communem cursum, & consuetudinem aliquid fiat.* Unde *Apostolus* ; si tu ex naturali incisus *Oleastro*, Ad Rom. 11<sup>o</sup>. & contra naturam insertus es in bonam olivam, &c. id dixit contra naturam quod est contra naturæ legem.

Minorem sic probō. Laudavit Deus factum *Joe* regis *Juda*, quod accepit duas uxores : Sed accipiens duas uxores, transilivit limites naturæ. Igitur, &c. Major ostenditur autoritate sacre scripturæ. *Accepit Joiada sacerdos duas uxores Joe regi.* Et ob hoc & alia ejus facta, dictum est in laudem ejus, quod rex *Joas rectum fecerat, coram Domino cunctis diebus, quibus docuerat eum Joiada sacerdos.* Cum igitur *Joiada* docuit *Joam* accipere duas uxores, in hoc rectum fecit coram Domino.

Ex ijs jam licebit cernere, quam infirmum sit hoc fundamentum, & quam levi manu convelli, ac amoveri possit, super quod *Abel* tanquam super petram solidissimam totum collocat ædificium. Verum hoc jam sublato fundamento, ut tota scil. corruat structura superimposita, necessum est.

## NUMB. XL.

*Dr. Croke to the King ; Concerning his Agency in Italy.*

*Foxij MSS.*

PLEASE yt your highnes to be advertysed, that syns the XXVIII day of *Auguste*, I delyvered unto friar *Thomas* xxiiij crouynes. Syns the whyche tyme he hathe got your highnes but vij Subscriptions : the whyche I sent by *Harwel* the XIX of Octobre. And of them, two only excepte, there ys not on worthy thank. I have, & do often call upon hym ; but he answerethe me, that there ys no mo doctors to be gotten. The contrary wherof I knowye to be trew. And whan I demande off hym, for the declaration off my accompte, soine remembrance of his hande for XLVII crouynes, whyche I have paide hym, he answeythe, that, at the ende of the cause, he wyl other make me a byll, or delyver me thold money ayene. And hys cause, why he wol make me no byll, ys, as he saithe, feare lest he byll myght be shewed to your highnes adversaries. Off the whyche pretendyd feare, I so moche the more doubte, bycause I have taken hym twyffe styffelye reasonyng upon the queenys part ayenste your highnes conclusion with a friar of *Florence*, whom afore thys day he alwayes assuryd me to be of your highnes opinion. Albeyt now he saithe, the said Friar ys departyd beyng utter ennymye to the same. And in communication, *Soverayne Lorde*, with me upon his said reasonyng with the said Friar, he said to me, that themperors embassatour shulde say to hym, *Qui velit procurare pro regina non stare intra paucula scuta*, & he addyd these wordes to the same, *Crede mihi, Croce, posse me efficere, si velim facere, quod alij velint & faciunt, ut quicquid hactenus fecerim pro rege, illi magis obfit quam profit*.

Thys frute comythe off *Raphaelles* workes put in printe : makinge protestation in the worke written ayenste your highnes, *quod quidquid scripserit pro eadem, id omne tantum ex aliorum mente, non sua, ad ingenij exercitationem scripserit* : And that the worke written ayenste your highnes ys hys very trew & playne opinion, & firme & ful sentence & mind. What hurte this worke (with sutch werkes as ar in englishe set forth in *England* by constant rumour here) ayenste your highnes cause, dothe unto your highnes said cause, I have at length by doble lettres sent by the meane of *Harwel* from *Venice* to *Antwarpe*, & from *Antwarpe* to your highnes by post purposedly, acertayned your highnes.

And confyderinge, that I can get no mo subscriptions, nother off friar *Ambrose*, nor off *Thomas*, very fear compellyng us to advertyse your highnes, that al these friars were firste & only attayned unto your H. by me. And *Ambrose* had off me, for the getting off the Determination of *Padua*, for his part only, XX crouynes. *Thomas* hath had XLVII crouynes. *Franciscus* for hym & *Dionysius* LXXVII crouynes ; as I can right wel prove. And thys notwithstanding, whan I cal upon them for som frute, off none of theyr labour, except *Dionysius*, I can get none. And as *Ambrose* hath answered me,

that



that my Lord of London hath commandyd hym, *Tantum in causa regia facere, quantum ipsi præscripserit* Cassalius. So Leonicus, a man off greate gravitye and lernynge, by hys lettres (wheroff a cotype I fende herein enclosyd) acertaynythe me of a wars poynte. Albeyt I trust yt be not so. For sutch Commandemente coulde not but be prejudicial, as wel unto your Highnes cause, as unto my labours taken in the same; & also to the losse off the money, that I have layd out to the said friars, for the same. Nor I cannot perceve, how (yff thys be true) that I any more may preferr your most high causes in Venice & the parts about. Whose importune labour my Lord knowethe to have bene the principal & chese cause of the succeß that your Highnes cause hath had in Italye. Wherin afore my commynge, nor yet by other men long after, there was, (as your highnes & al other knowethe) nothinge erthely done.

And I beseeche your H. to pondre my good harte & acts passed; the whyche shal never (to dy for yt) cease to farther your said H. pleasure in thys behalfe with al payne, faythe & diligence, as the effecte of my endeavour I trust shal alwayes frutefully prove. And thus I beseeche our most merciful Saviour Christe long to preserve your most noble grace. At Venice the XXIII of Octobre, with the rude hand off your moste high Majesties

most humble & lauly Servant,

Richarde Croke.

## N U M B. XLI.

*An Address from the Convocation to the King, for an Act to take away Annates, exacted by the Court of Rome.*

WHere the Court of Rome hath a long season exacted of such as have been named, or elected, to be Archbps. or Bps. of this realm, the *Annates*, that is to say, the first fruites of their Bishoprics, before they could obtain their Bullys out of the said Court; By reason wherof the Thesaurie of this realme hath been had & conveyed to Rome, to no smal decay of this Land, & to the great impoverishing of Bps: Which if should dy within two or three years after their promotion, should dy in such debts, as should be to the undoing of their friends & creditors: And by the same exaction of *Annates*, Bps. have been so extenuate, that they have not been able in a great part of their Lives, to repair their Churches, Houses & Manors; Which by reason therof have fallen into much decay: And besides, that the Bps. have not been able to bestow the goods of the Church in hospitality & almes, & other deeds of Charity, which by the law, & by the minds of the Doners of their possessions temporal, they were bound to do:

In consideration wherof, forasmuch as it is to be accounted as Symony by the Popes own Law, to take or give any mony for the Collation,

tion, or for the consenting to the Collation of a Bprie, or of any other Spiritual promotion: And to say, that the said Annates be taken for the Vacation, as touching the Temporalities, pertaineth of right to the Kings grace; & as touching the Spirituality to the Archbp. of *Canterbury*: And it is not to be allowed, if it should be alledged, that the said Court exacteth these Annates for parchment & lead, & writing of the Bullys. For so should parchment & lead be very dear Merchandize at *Rome*, & in some cases an hundred times more worth, then the Weight or Counterpoize of fine gold:

In consideration also, that it is no reason, that the first fruites of such Temporal lands, as the Kings most Noble Progenitors, & other Noblemen of this realm, have given to the Church of *England*, upon high respects, causes & conditions, should be applied to the Court of *Rome*: Which continually getteth by this means, & many other, much goods & profits out of this realm, & never departeth with any portion thereof hither again. For touching the same Temporal lands, the Bps. be subjects only to the Kings Gr. & not to the Court of *Rome*: Neither by reason of those possessions ought to pay these Annates as a tribute to the said Court. Wherefor if there were just cause, as there is none, why any sums of mony, besides the competent charges of the Writing & Sealing, should be demanded for Bps. Bulls, the Court of *Rome* might be contented with the Annates of the Spiritualities alone without exaction of the first fruites of the Temporalities: in which they have none interest, right or superiority.

And further in consideration, that the Bps. be sworn at their Consecration, that they shal not alienate the immovable, or pretious movable goods of their Bishopric; seeing the payment of these Annates be an alienation of the first fruites, being precious movables: by the alienation wherof the Bp. should fall into perjury:

And over this, forasmuch as it was ordained, determined & concluded in the 21st Session at the general Council of *Basil*, that from time ever after, for & in the confirmation of elections for admission of Postulations or Presentations, in or for Provisions, Collations, Dispositions, Elections, Postulations, Presentations, though it be made by a Layman, in or for the Institutions, Installations, Investitures of Churches, Cathedral, Metropolitan, Monasteries, Dignities, Benefices or Ecclesiastical offices, whatsoever they be: Also in or for Orders, holy benediction, or Palls, nothing at al, before or after, should bee exacted in the Court of *Rome*, by the reason of Letters, Bulls, Seals, Annates, Common or Minute Service, First Fruits, or Deportates, or by whatsoever other title, colour or name they be called, under the pretext of any custome, privilege or statute, or prerogative, or any other cause or occasion directly or indirectly: Excepted only to the Writers, Abbreviators & Registers of the Letters, Minutes, & Bulls, therto belonging, a competent Salary for their Labor: Whose Salary cannot be extended reasonably to the twentieth part of the Annates, which be exacted & continually augmented: Contrary to which ordinance, determination & canon, made in the said Council, if any man exacting, giving or promising, would presume to do, he should fall into some great paines, as in the said council be expressed:



It may please the Kings most noble Grace, having tender compassion to the wealth of this his realm, which hath been so greatly extenuate & hindred by the payments of the said Annates, & by other exactions & slights, by which the Thesauere of this land hath been carried & conveyed beyond the Mountaines to the Court of *Rome*, that the Subjects of this realm be brought to great penury, & by necessity be forced to make their most humble complaint for stoeping & restraining the said Annates, & other exactions & expilations, taking for Indulgences & Dispensations, Legacies, & Delegacies, & other feats, which were too long to remember:

First, to cause the said unjust exactions of Annates to cease, & to be foredoen for ever, by Act of this his Graces high court of Parliament. And in case the Pope wol mak any Proceſs against this Realm for the attaining those Annates, or else wol retain Bps. Bulls, til the Annates be payd, forasmuch as the Exaction of the said Annates is against the Law of God, & the Popes own lawes, forbidding the buying or selling of spiritual gifts or promotions; & forasmuch as al good christen men be more bound to obey God, then any man; & forasmuch as *St. Paul* willeth us to withdraw our selves from al such as walk inordinately; it may pleas the Kings most noble Grace to ordain in this ptesent Parliament, that then the obedience of him & the people be withdrawn from the See of *Rome*: as in like case the *French King*, withdrew his obedience of him & his Subjects from Pope *Benedict* the XIIIth of that name; & arrested, by authority of his Parliament, al such *Annates*, as it appeareth by good writing ready to be shewed.

## N U M B. XLII.

## RICHARDI SAMPSONIS,

*Regij Sacelli Decani, Oratio: Qua docet, hortatur, admonet omnes, potissimum Anglos, regiae Dignitati cum primis ut obediant; quia Verbum Dei praecipit; Episcopo Romano ne sint audientes, qui nullo jure divino in eos quicquam Potestatis habet, postquam ita jubet Rex, ut illi non obediant. Qui contra fecerint eos praecipue docet Legem divinam contemnere. Non est ergo quod sibi timeant Angli de humana quavis Potestate Episcopi Romani, qui aliam quam humanam, hoc est, humano Consensu, in Anglos non habet. Obediant igitur Deo, non homini.*

*Hæc est Veritas Verbo Dei firmata.*

**N**IHIL est aliud in sacris literis, quod me tantopere ad dilectionem Dei, & Proximi invitat quam illud *Joan. 13. ca. Mandatum novum* (inquit Christus) *do vobis, ut diligatis invicem, sicut dilexi Vos,*

*E. Biblioth.  
Rev. Patris  
D. Joh. Ep.  
Elien.*

*ut*

Dilectionis  
tria Genera.

Bonitas Dei  
erga Hominem.

Christi benignitas  
erga hominem.

Dilectio Dei.

ut & vos diligatis invicem. Novum (inquit Christus) Mandatum, &c. Quia prius solo Verbo docti estis: Nunc autem Verbo & Exemplo: quia Exemplum vobis dedi, ut sicut dilexi Vos, &c. Ex hoc loco, Dilectionis duo genera docentur, Dei scilicet erga hominem, & hominis erga hominem. Neq; non ex priore dilectione profisciscatur tertium dilectionis genus necesse est, nempe hominis erga Deum. Causam itaq; primæ Dilectionis cum audieritis, erit quoq; & postremæ Dilectionis manifesta vobis Causa, neq; non esse necessarium tertiam illam Dilectionem, hominis erga hominem, facile perspicietis. Si non esset alius locus ullus quam primum illud *Genesis* Caput, satis perspicua est Dei erga hominem Dilectio. Postquam enim alia omnia, quæ in Cælo, in Terra, in Mari, quinq; primis diebus creaverit Deus, tum sexto die Hominem qui omnibus præesset, fecit. Neq; modo fecit ut alia priora, sed ad Imaginem suam fecit, deditq; omnium rerum Dominum, (fecit inquam) ut præsit, &c. Hinc ait Benedicens, *Crescite*, &c. Et dominamini *Piscibus*, &c. Fecit præterea ad imaginem suam, quia sensum & intellectum & animam immortalem dedit. Quod ait ad similitudinem, &c. Innocentiam præstitit, quoad [quam] peccato amisit, neq; tamen è Paradiso abjecto, rerum Dominium sustulit. Hinc *David* Bonitatem Dei admirans erga hominem tam ingratum, *Quid est homo* (inquit) *quod memor es ejus*, &c.? *Minuisti eum paulo ab Angelis, gloria & honore coronasti. Omnia subiecisti sub pedibus ejus*, &c. Nunquid non maxima sunt hujusmodi Beneficia ergo hominem? Sed aliud longè maximum Dei beneficium est, quod priora omnia longissimè vincit. Misit enim filium suum Deus Pater, cui non pepercit, ut ait Apostolus ad *Rom. 8.* ut nos filios iræ & damnationis, filios Adoptionis efficeret. Misit, inquam, Filium, ut per eum ad patrem, qui nobis prius irascebatur, facilem accessum haberemus. Factus est enim homo nostra causa. Omnes nostras miseras ut homo sustulit. Passus est. Redemit nos. Patri nos reconciliavit. Lavit, mundavit peccata nostra suo sanguine, pro omnibus mortuus. Per ipsum datur nobis Remissio peccatorum. Ipse interpellat pro nobis, pro nobis apud Deum Patrem Mediator est. Nobiscum præsens est semper, quoties eum in veritate invocaverimus, ut opem ferat in tempore. Sed frustra hujus benignissimi Christi erga genus humanum beneficia numerare conarer, cum sint longissimè ineffabilia.

Nos tamen suo monet exemplo, *Sicut ego dilexi vos*, &c. Quis tam ferreus est, ut hunc optimum Deum ex toto corde, &c. amare nolit? Hoc est dilectionis secundum genus; de quo tota scriptura loquitur, & toties admonet, ut Deum diligamus, ut in eo spem omnem nostram constituamus, illi nos totos committamus. Neminem præter ipsum timeamus, si ejus negotium urgeat. *Dominus protector* (inquit) *vitæ meæ, a quo trepidabo?* *Psal. 26.* *Timete eum* (inquit Christus) *qui potest tradere Corpus & Animam in Gehennam ignis.* *Mat. 5.* Neque tamen servilis timor esse debet, sed sanctus, purus, reverendissimus, non aliter quam obsequiosissimus Filius amantissimum suum Patrem timet. Patrem amat ex animo. Offendere metuit, quia amat. Et si aliquando deliquerit, a Patre non abhorret, sed eundem humiliter petit, ut veniam impetret. Eodem modo & diligamus nos Deum, Et bonus quidem hic Deus, ne simus Voluntatis ejus ignari, vitæ regulas tradidit. Docuit nos vias vitæ non hujus tantum, sed potius æternæ.

Neq;



Neq; multa sunt Præcepta, sed duo tantum; Ut Deum ex toto corde diligas, & Proximum sicut Teipsum, id quod est Dilectionis tertium genus. Visne scire quoniam pacto Deum diligas? Paucissimis verbis docet Christus. *Si diligitis me* (inquit) *Mandata mea servate.* Jo. 14. Hic Labor. Neq; prodest omnis Labor, nisi diligatis. Hinc orat Propheta, *Dirige gressus meos in semitis tuis, ut non moveantur vestigia mea.* Item, *Gressus meos dirige secundum Eloquium tuum.* In hac prece solliciti sumus, (cum neutiquam sufficiat nostra Imbecillitas, ut Dei Mandata servemus) ut dirigamur in Deum. Sunt tamen multi civiles mores, Natura docente, quos præcipit quoq; Deus, qui in nostro sunt arbitrio & potestate ut faciamus. Ab illis qui se excusare potest, nullus est. Qui igitur ea præcepta non facit, non servat, *dignissimus est qui vapulet multis*: Luce 12. Cujus generis sunt proximo non nocere, ejus bona injustè non auferre, furtum non facere, Neminem dolo decipere, falso crimine non urgere, id quod cumprimis impium est, &c. Præpositis obedire. Hæc etenim, & id genus alia multa, hominis ipsa natura docet. Sed postquam & eadem suo mandato firmaverit Deus, omni conatu ut servemus, elaborandum est. Et nisi quidem servaverimus, erimus planè digni multimodo supplicio.

Quod autem adjeci inter alia, Præpositis obediendum esse, diligentem cautionem habeamus oportet, ut illi obedientiam præstemus, cui debetur. *Cui Honorem, Honorem, &c.* Ad Ro. 13. *Regem honorificate.* 1. Pet. 2. Et sis cautus oportet, eo ne spreto, cui Dei præcepto obedire teneris, illi obedias, cui nullam Obedientiam debes. Hoc enim grave Peccatum est. Mandat Deus, ut Regi obedias. Neq; modo hoc præcipit, sed præterea nisi feceris Damnationem minatur. Ad Ro. 13. Quicquid ergo mandat Princeps, id facias oportet, quia sic præcipit Deus, modo nihil mandet contra Deum. Neq; illi aut Verbo, aut Facto resistendum est, quia Potestatem habet a Deo. Et qui ei resistit, Dei potestati resistit (inquit Apostolus) a quo potestatem accepit. Et qui illi resistit sibi Damnationem acquirit, inquit idem. O! magnum Præceptum, & ab omnibus observandissimum! Si vero ut serves non admonet Dei Amor, æternæ Damnationis timore, nisi deploratissimus fueris, servabis plane. Hoc est Præceptum, quod ex voluntate tua pendet, ut facias. Potes enim id facere. Et nisi quidem id feceris, non modo præsentaneam vindictam, ex manu Regis meritus es, sed etiam æternam, ex manu Dei. Hinc ait Apostolus, *Ideoq; necessitati subditi estote, non modo propter iram*, quia se potest vindicare de te, *sed etiam propter Conscientiam*, quia Præceptum Dei est. Et qui agit contra Conscientiam, ædificat ad Gehennam. *Vis ergo non timere Principis Iram?* Obediens esto, & malum ne facito. Si enim non obedieris, malum facis. Iram igitur time.

Ab hac Ira; ab hoc jure Principis, inobedientes afficiendi, eximitur prorsus nemo, nullum genus hominum, nisi quos suo donaverit beneficio. Quicunq; ergo is est, qui non vult timere gladium, Regi & ejus Legibus obediat. Sin autem time, quia potestatem habet a Deo Princeps, *in hoc ipsum*, (ut ait Apostolus) *quia Minister Dei est*, ut inobedientes & malos coerceat. *Est enim constitutus ad Vindictam malefactorum & laudem Bonorum*, quos tuetur, defendit, honorificat. 1. Pet. 2. Et quemadmodum ad ejus Officium pertinet, Bonos & Probos tueri & defendere, sic inobedientes & immorigeros, dignis poenis afficere. Hanc Potestatem



Potestatem habet a Deo. Palam est. Scripturæ manifestæ sunt. Est enim Verbum Dei, quo docemur, ut huic Potestati obediamus. Neminem prorsus excipit. Neq; in sacris literis unum Jota reperitur; quod immorigerum & peccantem quempiam, a regia Potestate eximat.

Non est ergo quod mireris, si Delinquentem, aut Sacerdotem; aut Monachum, aut Episcopum, supplicio affectum videris, magis quam Laicum. *Si malum feceris* (inquit Apostolus) *time potestatem gladij.* Hoc enim omnibus, & ad singulos omnes loquitur. *Nam si deliqueritis, quænam gratia* (inquit D. Petrus) *si colaphisati suffertis.* 1. Pet. 2. Conversationem igitur bonam habete (inquit) ne vobis detrectare possint homines, tanquam de Malefactoribus. *Subditi igitur estote,* &c. inquit. Ut simus ergo Regi & ejus Potestati, ejus Legibus subditi in omnibus, quæ ad hujus Sæculi negotia pertinent, mandat Deus ipse.

Supremum Caput Rex.

Cum ergo hanc SUPREMAM Potestatem habeat a Deo, ut jam a Verbo Dei accepistis, mirum est reperire tam stultos homines, qui hunc Regem SUPREMI CAPITIS Appellatione ornari, quantum in eis est, non sinunt, & ut non recipiant alij, aut imprudenter, aut impudenter & malevolè contendunt. Nonne supremi Capitis nomine dignus est, cui Soli in Terris data est Verbo Dei illa quam diximus suprema Potestas? Velim qui se Doctos arbitrantur, unam aliam Potestatem proferant è sacris Literis, quæ possit huic æquari. Hanc ergo Potestatem habent Reges ab ipso Deo, *ejus Ministri sunt*, ab eo *missi sunt*, (ut ait D. Petrus in priore loco) *ejusq; Vicarij sunt.* Omnes ergo huic Potestati obediant necesse est, qui volunt esse subditi Deo. Alias quidem Deum vere rejicit, vel spernit potius, qui non recipit eum, & ei non obedit, quem mittit Deus, cui expressam hanc Potestatem dedit. Vocetur idcirco SUPREMUM CAPUT, quia verè talis est, Verbo divino confirmatus.

Idq; Ratio docet.

Id quod naturalis quoq; Ratio, & usus rei apertè docent. Quis nescit totum Regnum unum esse Politicum Corpus, singulos homines ejusdem Corporis Membra esse? Ubinam est hujus Corporis Caput? Est ne aliud quam Rex? Aliud plane non est. Aliud usquam reperiri non potest. Usus rei hoc te manifestissimè docet. Quid fieri, quid statui, quid decerni potest absq; Regio Consensu? Quid laxari, quid dissolvi, quid remitti, absq; eodem potest? Videsne supremi Capitis Supremam Potestatem? Cur detractas illum suo nomine vocare? Si id per imprudentiam feceris, disce & resipisce. Si malevolè, pœniteat te celeriter, & isto subditus Deo, qui hoc mandat. Sin autem, ut communis Pacis perturbator afficiaris, jure pateris, & quidem divino. Mandat jus divinum, ut obedias. Pœnam statuit Lex humana, suo jure. Hoc enim Regi statuendum relinquitur. Neq; est Rex qui vindicat sed Deus, cujus Minister est, & a quo hanc accipit Potestatem. *Meum est enim Consilium,* &c. *Per me Reges* (inquit Deus) *regnant,* &c. Pro. 8. *Mihi* (inquit Deus) *Vindicta, & ego retribuam,* quia Minister, Vicarius meus, vel in hoc sæculo retribuet meo nomine, vel ego æterna pœna afficiam. Esto cautus, ne utrunq; patiaris. Non potest planè non utrunq; pati, qui Verbum Dei contemnit. Quid aliud est quàm contemnere Verbum Dei, non obedire Regi, Ministro Dei, Vicario Dei?

In Episcopi Romani arrogantem Potestatem.

Non Episcopum illum Romanum Vicarium Dei intelligo, qui jure suo non habet quod agat, extra suam Provinciam. Episcopus est Romanus: Agat Romæ Episcopum. In Anglia plus Potestatis non habet, quam habeat



habeat *Cantuariensis* Episcopus *Romæ*. Nullum planè Verbum est in sacris Literis, quod illi extra suam *Romanam* Provinciam Ministerij quicquam tribuat. Id quod tibi exploratissimum efficiam. Si, quam tantopere ambit jure divino, Potestatem habet, Verbo Dei manifestum faciat, oportet. Sed de *Romano* Episcopo magis quam de *Cantuariensi*, nulla prorsus est in sacris Literis mentio. Ex hoc igitur fonte, hanc aquam haurire nequit, ubi nulla prorsus est.

Quod ait se *Petri* Successorem esse, tum ab hac successione hanc Potestatem accepisse, si adesset *D. Petrus*, negaret planè, & in hunc mendacem haud dubiè clamaret, O! impostorem, O! virum ambitiosum, superbum, arrogantem. Docuit me Magister meus *Christus* Humilitatem, Abnegationem mei ipsius, hujus seculi, totiusq; Fastus ejus Contemptum, Pacem, &c. Sed qui meo nomine Primatum sibi vendicat, quam habet nihil Humilitatis, docent perspicuè quidem externi mores. Ex fructibus cognoscitur Arbor. Pro Abnegatione sui ipsius, omnia pro Voluptate & libidine facere ambit. Pro hujus Sæculi Contemptu, nihil tam amat quam quæ sunt hujus sæculi. Fastu, Pompa, Gentium Principes vincit. Pro Pace Bellum ubiq; ferit, non aliam ob Causam, quam ut vivat ipse, agatq; omnia pro Libidine. Hæc, inquam, & longe plura de *Romano* Episcopo diceret *D. Petrus*, si adesset. Sed de *Romanis* corruptissimis moribus & abominabilibus, ut ait *Psal. 13*. interim taceo. Non enim minori Negotio Oceani omnem prope aquam exhaurirem, quam illos mores omnes recenserem, & pro dignitate tractarem. Deum precor pro Christiana Charitate, ut Deum agnoscere discat, agnitum amet. Ut quæ præcipit *Christus*, tandem incipiat studiosius Episcopus *Romanus* imitari. Ut quemadmodum jam plerisq; annis, omnium fuit Abominationum (ut uno vocabulo mala omnia complector) Parens & Pater, non *Christi*, sed *Sathanæ* Opera porrigens, ita & tandem resipiscat, ut de uno tam famoso Peccatore converso, gaudeant multi *Christiani* viri, qui nunc illum odio prosequuntur; Odio inquam bono & justo. *Iniquos* (inquit *Propheta*) odio habui. Et cum primis discat Episcopus *Romanus* intra suos fines se continere. Stulte enim id vendicat hæreditario jure, quod Sancti Parentes neq; habuerunt unquam, nec habere voluerunt.

Nihil enim minus arrogavit sibi *D. Petrus*, quàm hujusmodi Primatum. Exercuit nunquam. Ideo non exercuit, quia non accepit. Nusquam reperies illum, aut aliquem Apostolorum aliquando misisse, aut alicui jussisse quicquam. Illum ab Apostolis una cum *Johanne* missum legimus, *Act. 8*. Quod autem in *Ananiam* fecit *Petrus Act. 5*. non ut Primatum habens, sed tanquam unum Apostolorum fecisse, tam ex principio illius Cap. quam ex alia parte exploratum est. Ait enim, non ad *Petri*, sed ad Apostolorum Pedes *Ananiam* agri pretium posuisse. Postea verò, ne *Petrum* in *Ananiam* id fecisse putaretur, superioris Potestatis gratia, non per manus *Petri*, sed per manus Apostolorum (inquit *Lucas*) fiebant signa, & prodigia multa in Plebe, Spiritu Prophetiæ huic malo velut occurrens. Neq; in alio loco, ut tolleretur murmur *Græcorum* contra *Hebræos*, multitudinem Discipulorum convocavit *Petrus*, sed Duodecim, inquit, &c. *Act. 6*. Neq; constat in illo loco, Quis eorum ad Multitudinem sermonem fecerit. *Dixerunt* (inquit) &c. cum tamen præsentibus essent Duodecim omnes; quia sic narrat *Lucas*, quorum unus erat *D. Petrus*.

Nullam Primatum accepit  
D. Petrus.

Quod si absolutam illam, quam jactant, haberet solus *Petrus* Potestatem, quid de *Paulo* dicemus, qui eo inconsulto, *Corinthios*, *Galathas*, *Romanos* ipsos, &c. sua Doctrina solidavit : *Timotheum*, *Ephesios*, *Titum Cretis*, ut quæ deessent, corrigeret, Presbyteros per Civitates constitueret, &c. præposuit ; ipsum *Petrum* in facie reprehenderit, &c. ? Neq; contulit Evangelium cum solo *Petro*, sed cum Apostolis, ad *Galat. 2.* Quod si *D. Petro* Primatum Potestatis asserere voluerimus, ultra *Judæos* non protenditur *Pauli* testimonio, qui se positum ait Prædicatorem Gentium & Doctorem, 1 *Timoth. 2.* Et non minus creditum ei Evangelium Præputij, quam *Petro* Circumcisionis. Neq; *Petrum* neq; Apostolos reliquos omnes, quicquam illi contulisse, ait. Neq; *Petro* Primatus quicquam tribuit supra alios Apostolos. Ait enim, *Jacobus*, *Cephas* & *Joannes*, qui videbantur Columnæ esse, societatis dextras dederunt mihi & *Barnabæ*. Ad *Galat. 2.* In quo loco non modo *Petrum* æquat alijs, sed etiam primæ Vocationis honore non præmittit. Priorem enim *Jacobum* nominat.

Tu es Petrus,  
&c.

Neq; ad rem pertinet, quod *Petro* loqueretur Christus in Evangelio, dicens ; Ego dico tibi, quia tu es Petrus, & super hanc Petram ædificabo Ecclesiam meam : *Mat. 16.* Non enim ædificavit Christus Ecclesiam suam super *Simonem Petrum*, super Hominem, hoc esset planè super harenam ædificare, sed super illam Fidem, quam confessus est *Petrus*, quod Christus esset filius Dei, &c. Huic ait in *Simonis Petri* persona omnibus Apostolis, *Simon, ecce Sathanas expetivit vos*, &c. *Ego autem rogari, ut non deficiat Fides tua*, &c. *Luc. 22.* Quod autem dixi Christum loquutum omnibus Apostolis in persona *Petri*, ne videatur Somnium esse meum, omittam omnes veteres Interpretes, tam Græcos quam Latinos, & solum mihi *Lyranum*, familiarem illum & domesticum, omnibus *Romani* Episcopi Adulatoribus Interpretem, accipio. In illo enim loco *16. Mat.* sic explanat. “ Et ego dico tibi, pro te (inquit “ *Lyranus*) & pro Socijs tuis, quia Tu es Petrus, id est, Confessor veræ “ *Petræ*, qui est Christus factus ; Et super hanc Petram quam confessus “ es, id est, super Christum, ædificabo Ecclesiam meam. Hæc *Lyranus* ad Verbum. Neq; alius est sensus illius loci, *Luc. 22.* Fides etenim *Petri*, quam confessus est, non illius solius *Petri* est, sed totius Ecclesiæ. Sic orans pro Fide illius, oravit Christus pro fide Ecclesiæ, id quod solum Fundamentum est, 1 *Corinth. 3.* Quod autem addidit *Luc. 22.* Tu aliquando conversus, confirma Fratres tuos ; Hoc enim & ad omnes, & ad singulos quosq; Fideles, in *Petri* persona, loquebatur Christus. Est quidem Officium unius cujusq; Christiani viri Fratrem sollicitè docere, consolari, corripere, &c. “ Convertamur igitur omnes “ (inquit ibidem *D. Ambrosius*) & caveamus, ne in perditionem, aliqua “ inter nos de Prælatione possit esse Contentio. Item paulo post, Sermo- “ nem ad Deum vertens, tua (inquit) Ædificatio quæritur, non alterius “ Honor. Et ideo datur una omnibus forma sententiæ, ut non de “ Prælatione Jactantia sit, sed de humilitate Contentio. Hactenus *Ambrosius*.

Et tu conver-  
sus, &c.

Quod autem ait Christus ad *Petrum*, Et tu Conversus, &c. non sentit de futurâ suâ Potestate, sed quod modo, cum conversus fuerit, & Fidem receperit, & quidem celeriter, quia primam Dei sequutus est Vocem, (ut ait *D. Ambrosius*) studeat alios in eadem Fide confirmare. Id quod nullius Christiani viri non est officium, ut supra dixi. Hanc itaq;



itaq; Doctrinam omnibus dedit in persona *Petri*; potissimum Verbi Prædicatoribus.

Non erat itaq; Ecclesiæ Potestas in Persona *Petri*. Absit, ut ab humana Fragilitate pendeat Christi Ecclesia; sed cum esset primus Apostolorum, Ordine, non Potestate, propter illum Primatum (inquit *Augustin. Joan.* ultimo) non verè, sed figurata generalitate, Ecclesiæ Personam gerebat. Quod autem ad ipsum *Petrum* propriè pertinet (inquit *Augustinus*) unus homo erat, Gratiâ, unus Christianus abundantiore Gratiâ, unus idemq; primus Apostolorum, &c. Lege ibidem quæ sequuntur in nostram sententiam, adeo perspicuè, ut nihil clarius. Primus erat Apostolorum primaria potestate præditus. Erant enim Potestate æquales.

Nec trina illa Interrogatio, una cum Commessione, ut Oves pasceret, *Joan.* ultimo, magis ad *Petrum* quam alios Apostolos pertinet, nisi quod trina illa interrogatione *Petrum* confirmare voluit Christus, commemoratione prioris trinæ Negationis suæ, ut solidius in Fide incederet. Hinc ait, *Sequere me.* Neq; trina illa Christi Interrogatio de Dilectione, omnes non sollicitè admonet de Fide erga Deum & Dilectione ejus, unde omnis virtus emanat.

Si adesset itaq; *D. Petrus* nihil haud dubiè magis ægrè ferret, quam quod suo Titulo suoq; nomine, hanc plusquam secularem Potestatem sibi vendicat *Romanus* Episcopus. Si enim *D. Petrus* hanc Potestatem a Christo accepisset cum illo Mandato, ut solus exerceret, ab eoq; suam Potestatem acciperent alij omnes, ut nunc sibi arrogat *Romanus* Episcopus, & peccasset valde *Petrus*, qui jussioni non obtemperabat; & perditissimè errassent, qui absq; eo in Ecclesia Christi ministrassent. Neq; hanc rem tacuisset, in Apostolorum *Actis*, *Lucas* haud dubiè, qui post Christi ascensionem Apostolorum Gesta scripsit. Sed quam alienum est ab *Actis* Apostolorum jam satis perspicuè diximus.

Cum ergo hanc non haberet Potestatem *D. Petrus*, unde arrogavit sibi *Romanus* Episcopus? A Principum scilicet atq; Populorum nimia Tolerantia, & illius loci Episcoporum fœda Ambitione & Superbia. Id quod ut omni solo clarius perspicias, efficiam; neq; tam multis. Primum, certius aliud nihil est sub cœlo, quam quod Episcopo *Romano* aut Primatus aut Potestatis plus non tribuatur jure divino, quam cuivis alij Episcopo, sive in *Anglia*, sive in *Gallia*, sive in *Italia*, cum ne *D.* quidem *Petrus* haberet. Super est ut eam, quam arrogat Potestatem, humano jure habuerit, necesse est. Pleriq; igitur ex primis *Romanis* Pontificibus neq; ambierunt, neq; exercere aliquando conati sunt, neq; illis, aut eorum cuivis tribuerunt alij, talem Potestatem. Extant quidem nonnullæ familiares Epistolæ *D. Cypriani* Episcopi *Carthaginensis* ad *Corneliū Romanum* Episcopum, ducentos & quinquaginta circiter annos post Christum. Quantum vero Primatus illi tribuat, illarum superscriptio docet non obscurè: *Cyprianus Cornelio Fratri* (inquit) *Salutem.* Neque Epistolarum Verba ampliorem illi Potestatem tribuunt. Fidem verò Verbi Dei, quam ambo Apostoli *Petrus* & *Paulus*, tam sua Doctrina quàm tandem Martyrio, solidam reliquerunt, præ cæteris locis *Romæ*, & venerati sunt prisca illi Patres, & integram adhuc *Cypriani* ætate, servarunt felices *Romani* Episcopi. Neq; *Damaso Romano* Episcopo trecentos & quadraginta octo circitor annos, post Christi ad Patrem hinc reditum, alium Primatum tribuit *D. Hieronymus* in suis



ad eum Epistolis, quam ut Fidem illius *Romanæ* sedis imitetur, & eam magnificat. Quod autem ait D. Hieronymus, *Extra hanc domum qui Agnum comederit, prophanus est*, in Epistola quæ incipit; *Quoniam vetusto*, To. 3. pag. 59. *Extra hanc Fidem* haud dubie sentit; quantumvis in illo potissimum loco non tam sincerè loqui videtur *Erasmus*, quam in alijs plerisq; locis, qui illam Domum nimis inadvertenter *Romanæ* Ecclesiæ Primatum interpretatur. Non enim in illa ætate agnoscebatur hujusmodi Primatus.

Quinam Primatus Episcopo Rom. in Concilio Niceno:

Quod si aliud nihil extra sacras literas hujus Primatus vim enervaret, de ipsoq; omnem Opinionem tolleretur, satis, mea sententia, primum illud sanctissimum *Niceni* [*Nicenum*] Concilium, omnibus ut certam Doctrinam accipiant, sufficeret; in quo neq; aderat *Romanus* Episcopus, neq; præerat Vicaria quavis Potestate. Procuratorem ut Confrater & Coepiscopus illuc miserat, in eodemq; in hunc ordinem constitutus est *Romanus* Episcopus, ut Apostolorum *Petri* & *Pauli* Honoris gratia, primum locum inter Episcopos haberet, alium Primatum nullum.

Et apud Græcam Ecclesiam.

Neq; Græcorum Ecclesia inter tot Beatissimos, eosdemq; in sacris Literis doctissimos Viros, alium aliquando de *Romana* Ecclesia Primatum agnoscere voluit. Id quod miretur nemo, cum postea in *Africano* Concilio ducentorum decem & octo Episcoporum id idem negatum est *Bonifacio Romano* Episcopo, qui Primatum ambiebat. Præsens erat Divus *Augustinus*, *Aurelio Valentino* Episcopo præsidente. Si verbo Dei hanc supremam Potestatem haberet *Romanus* Episcopus, tot optimos & eruditissimos Patres utriusq; Linguae haud dubiè non fugissent, neq; negassent, quod sacrae Literæ firmassent. Nulla ergo de Verbo Dei erat Controversia in *Africano* Concilio quod ad Primatum *Romani* Episcopi attinet, sed an talem illi Potestatem dedisset *Nicenum* Concilium, humanus consensus in dubium vocabatur. Hinc & *Romani* Episcopi Procuratores, ut *Niceni* Concilij Articulos acciperent, rogarant *Africani*, & ne dolo circumvenirentur, in *Græciam* nuntios miserunt illi, qui afferrent. Hæc gesta sunt ad quadringentos viginti quatuor annos ab anno salutis.

An Angli obligantur Romanæ sedi.

Non obijciat nobis *Anglis* argutus quispiam, quod *Romanæ* sedis sollicitudine, Regnante *Lucio*, primi omnium Provinciarum, Anno salutis humanæ 182. Christi Fidem accepimus. Quis nescit non hominis, sed Dei esse Donum, Fidem? ut ait Apostolus ad Ro. 12. Id quod in hoc loco perspicuum est. Quia *Lucium* Regem non sollicitavit *Eleutherius Romanus* Episcopus, sed per Literas egit *Lucius* cum *Eleutherio*, ut Christi Fidem, hoc est - - - - - as, acciperet. Misit itaq; *Eleutherius Fugatum* & *Damianum*, &c. Neq; non postea, Anno a Natali Christi 603. *Augustinum* & *Miletum* [*Mellitum*] Monachos, una cum alijs misit D. *Gregorius*, qui prope extinctam in *Britannia* Fidem, *Anglorum* Dominio, renovavit, normas religiosæ vitæ in Christo nonnullas dedit, &c. Hæc & nonnulla alia nobis, inquam, obijciunt; quibus *Romanæ* sedis nos obligatiores docere cupiunt, quam alias Nationes, paucis responderetur. Nisi *Eleutherius* rogatus a Rege viros misisset, qui sanctum conatum suum auxissent, ejusq; Petitioni satisfecissent, haud Episcopi nomine, sed Dæmonis dignior fuisset. Magis miror illum non accurrisse. *Gregorij* sollicitudinem quis non laudat? Ejus Canones libenter *Ethelbertus* Rex amplexus est, aliud non docentes quam sanas, & religiosæ vitæ in Christo Regulas, quibus velut duceretur facilis in Fidem



Fidem Christi novitius adhuc Populus. Non imperium sibi arrogavit, dominari non ambiebat, venit exemplo Christi ministrare, non ministrari. Alijs Mandatis, Jusſionibus, Imperijs regnare noluit, quam Verbo Dei. Non coegit Provinciæ homines ad se venire, dirimendarum Caſarum gratia, Citationibus, Conminatorijs, Excommunicationum [Fulminibus] Populum vexare noluit. Tantum ad ſanam vitam hortatus eſt. In hac re omnem ſolicitudinem exercuit, omnes vires exhibuit, quærens non quæ ſua fuerunt, ſed quæ Chriſti. His Mandatis obediebat Chriſtianiſſimus Rex. His Monitionibus parebat Populus Deo deditus, non quia jubebat homo *Romanus* Episcopus, ſed qui mandat Deus. Non ſuis verbis hortatus eſt, ſed Chriſti.

Ab hoc verbo cum degeneraverit *Romanus* Episcopus, quid juſtius quam illum, & ambitioſos ejus Canones omnes rejicere, reſpuere prorsus? Non enim ſunt Chriſti, ſed verè hujus ſæculi Canones, quid aliud quam Faſtum, Ambitionem, Superbiam, Avaritiam non docent. Hinc inſignis hujusmodi Primatus, hinc Dominium, pluſquam Regum Gentium, hinc abhorrendum illud *Pedum* Osculum. *Paulus* & *Barnabas* exilierunt in turbam, etiam conſciſſis Veſtibus præ dolore, cum eos cæpiſſet adorare Populus, Clamantes, Et Nos Mortales ſumus, ſimiles Vobis Homines. Act. 14. Cum vero ad *Petri* pedes procideret *Cornelius*, illico elevavit eum *Petrus* dicens, Surge, & ego ipſe Homo ſum. Act. 10. Quonam igitur modo cupit *Romanus* Episcopus ut ei ſint audientes Chriſtiani Populi, poſtquam omnia quæ mandat tam ſunt adverſa Chriſto? Aut ergo Chriſtus deferendus eſt, aut his moribus *Romanus* Episcopus. Nemo poteſt duobus his Dominis ſervire.

Quamdiu Chriſtum ſequuti ſunt *Romani* Episcopi, nulla fuit omnium Chriſtianorum Natio, tam illi ſubjecta, tam obediens (non ſupremæ Potestatis gratia, ſed ſua ſponte) quam *Anglica*, in magnam uſq; ſuperſtitionem. Neq; non diu & multis quidem annis intolerabiles ab hac ſede *Romana* moleſtias injuriæq; ſuſtinuit *Anglica* Reſpublica. Poſtquam vero neq; modus neq; ſinis reperiri poſſet, prudentiſſimus Rex non aliter quam debuit, quamvis tardè, ſuæ Reip. conſuluit. Conſtituit ille, cui omnes Verbo Dei obedire tenemur, ne Obedientiam illi præſtemus, qui nullo verbo Dei Obedientiam exigit. Qui ergo Chriſtianus & haberi & eſſe vult, Chriſti verbo obediat neceſſe eſt. Regi obedire teneri verbo Dei, ut perſpicuè docuimus, *Romano* Episcopo neutiſquam. Jubet Rex ut illi optemperes. Jubet *Romanus* Episcopus, ut illi te ſubjicias: Jubet Rex verbo Dei. Humano jure ſibi vendicat *Romanus* Episcopus. Si te Chriſtianum fatearis, Dei verbo parebis. Si me diligis (inquit Chriſtus) ſerva Mandata mea. Nam quicumq; non diligit me, mandata mea non ſervat. Et quicumq; non mecum eſt, contra me eſt, inquit. Ut ergo ſis ex parte Dei, agas quod mandat Deus neceſſe eſt. Alias quidem eris planè de inimicis illis, qui noluerunt Regem regnare ſuper ſe, ut ait *Lucas*, cap. 19. Moriemini in peccatis veſtris, quia Deum non modo non diligitis, ſed etiam odio eum habere videmini, quia Verbum ejus reſpuitis, & planè contemnitis, poſtquam id docti eſtis, niſi ſpreta omni humana Potestate, Verbo Dei obedieritis. Verbum Dei eſt, Obedire Regi, non Episcopo *Romano*.

Quodam tacito humano conſenſu irrepiſit in hanc Ditionem *Romanus* Episcopus. Ex multis, & quidem juſtiſſimis Cauſis, ut partim ſupra diximus,

diximus expresse consensu sancitum est, huic Potestati amplius ne subjugamini. Hoc mandat Deus, quia Rex Dei in terris Minister; Cui verbo Dei suprema Potestas datur, hoc præcipit. Utitur jure suo. Non vult amplius pati, ut qui diu nimis, non alia quam precaria Potestate usus est, illum è suo jure extrudat. Huic sanctioni obedire tenetur quisquis *Anglus* est, ut cum primis Regem - - - - - Reip. *Supremum Caput* diligatis, ut Vos - - - - - hujus Capitis Membra estis. Diligatis vos invicem magis ac magis, sicut ego (inquit Christus) & dilexi vos. Ut ab hac unanimi - - - - - quietam in hac momentanea vita agatis, & post hanc Vitam Filij sitis Dei, Cohæredes Christi, quem diligitis, cujusq; Verbo obedistis in vitam æternam. Amen.

## N U M B. XLIII.

*A Letter of Hugh Latymer, to Hubberdine : who had preached against the New Learning.*

THE Sprite of God be with you, to seale the Trowth,  
& folowe the same. *Amen.*

*Foxij MSS.*

**I** Dowt not, Master *Haberdyn*e, but that yee have redd the Sayenge of the Sprete by hys Prophet *Esaia*s, *Va ! qui dicunt bonum malum, & malum bonum ; ponentem lucem tenebras, & tenebras lucem, &c.* Which Words after myne Understanding be thus moch in English, *Woo*, or eternal Dampnation, *be unto them which saye that Good ys evell, & that evell is good : Calling Lyght Darckness, & Darckness Lyght, &c.* Take hede. Remembre your self wel. Yee maye mocke & deceive us : *Deus non irridetur. God wil not, for all that, be mocked.* It ys not the Sayenge of wyse *Aristotle*, of godly *Plato*, of holy *Thomas* ; no, nor yet of subtile *Duns* (who for al their Wysedome, Godliness, Holyness & Subtilty deceived, were deceived, & lyed) but it is the eternal & perpetual Word of God. Who as he deceiveth no man, so can he be deceived of no man, nor yet make any Lye. God it is that sayth *Woo*, or eternal Dampnation, *be unto hym that sayeth Good is evell, &c.* It is no thretnyng of man, but it is the Sentence of god : Wherefore it is the more to be feared, & undowtedly to be loked for. For it is only the word of god, that lasteth ever, & may sustayne no chaunge.

Do you mervel, wherfore I say this? It is only brotherly Love, & my conscience which compelleth me, as bonden, brotherly to admonish you, not only of the grevous blasphemies against the truth, which ye uttered here on the *Ascension* day ; but also to exhorte you to desist of your purposed blasphemie & lies against god & his word, which ye have promised to prove in this same place this day. And that ye may know that ye inexcusably blasphemed & belied the trouth, & promised to do the same, partly here I wil confute your blasphemies, that be past, & partly that be promysed.

And



And fyrst to begynne with that which ys past. Ye sayed, that it was plaine, that this *New lerning* (as ye call it) was not the trowth, & so not of god, but contrarywise that it was lyes, & so surely of the devell. This your assertion ye proved by two maner conjectures. The one is, that the professors of it lyve noughtly, & the other ys, that Prestes be persecuted of them. Which two persuations, though they be in very dede Lyes, as I trust in god to show them: yet though they were true, did but yeasilly prove your intencion. For after the same maner, ye maye as wel openly improve Christ & al hys doctrine, as ye do now under a colour. Of which I wil entreate more largely. But to our purpose, that as ye say it is playne, that this *New lernynge* (as ye call it) is not the trowth, & so not of god, but contrarywise, it is lyes, & surely of the devle: Herein are containyd three great blasphemies & abhominable lyes, injurious both to god & his word: And, I fear, synne agaynst the holy ghost: for they are even the same words with the example of Christ, declaring the synne agaynst the holy ghost.

For to begynne withal: Ye call the Scripture the *new Lerninge*; which I am sure is eldre than any lerninge, that ye wote to be the old. But if ye wil say that it ys not the Scripture, that ye cal New, but other Bokes, lately put in English: I answere, that the Scripture was the fyrst with you & your fautors condemned. Befyde, that those other, for the most, teach nothing, but that which ys manifest in the Scripture; & also playne in the auncient Doctors. I speak not of your old Doctors, *Duns & Saint Thomas, Halcot, Briget*, - - - - - but of *Augustine, Hierome, Chrysostome, Ambrose, Hilary*, & soch other. Which in like maner be called new Doctors, as the Scripture new lerninge; as *Tully* new Latine, the text of *Aristotle* new Philosophy, & likewise of al the Sciences. And so in this appereth your fyrst lye, that ye cal the Scripture *New doctrine*: except that ye wold cal it New, other because it makes the receavors of it new men, or els that it ys now newly restored unto the world, for the condemnation of them that reject it, & the salvation of the reccavors. Of which Newnes I am sure you spake not. I pray you was not the Scripture, if ye wold contend, before your most auncient Doctors, that ye can allege to have written of it? Was it not, afore they wrote upon it, better received? More purely understande? Of more myghty workynge, then it ys now, or sens they wrote upon it? In *Saint Pauls* tyme, when there was no Writers upon the New Testament, but that the playne story was then newly put forth, were there not more converted by, I dare boldly say, two parties, then there be at this houre; I wil not say christien men, but that professe the name of Christ? Is it not now the same word, as it was then? Is not the same scholemaster, that taught them to understande it then, which, as *Saint Peter* faith, ys the Sprete of God, alyve, as wel as he was then? Doth he not favour us now, as wel as he did then? Have we hym not now, as wel as we had then? If we have not the Sprete of Christ, *S. Paul* sayeth, so be we no christen men. And yf we be no christen men, so be you deceavers & false Prophets; preaching unto your self your authoritie & your Constitutions without the word of god; which is only the rule of Faith, according to the saying  
of

of Saint Paul: Where he sayeth, that *Faith ys of hearing*. And that not of al maner Hearing, but of Hearing of the word of god. Which faith also is the fyrst frute of the Sprite of god. Which Sprite yf we have not, so testifie you against us, that we be no christen men, & against your self, that you be no mynisters, or shepards of Christ, nor of his word, but the mynisters of Antichrist, & shepards of your own bellies. Which Sperit yf we have, so beareth us witnes S. Paul, that we be christen men, & S. Peter, that we may understand the Scripture. Which only is that the Lay people desyre: Utterly contemnyng al mens draughtes, & al mens writings, how wel lerned soever they be; only contented with their old & new Scholemaster, the holy Spirit of god, & the Mynister there to of hym elect, & by him sent.

But you wil say, ye condempne not the Scripture, but *Tyndals* translation. Therein ye show your self contrary unto your Words. For ye have condemned it in al other commen tongues, where in they be approved in other Countries. So that it is playne, that is the Scripture & not the Translation, that ye bark against, calling it *new lerning*.

This moch for the fyrst. And as for the two other be sone confuted. That it ys *not the trouth*, nor of God, but *Lyes*, & of the Devel. O! *Jesu*, mercy, that ever soch blasphemie against the holy ghost shuld procede out a christen mans mouth. Is it not al one to saye, that the doctrine of Christ is Lies, & cometh of the devel, & that Christ ys a Lyar, & the devel? What difference, I pray you, ys here, betwixt this blasphemy, & that which the *Phariseys* imputed unto Christ, when they saied, *We know that thou art a Samaritane, & hast the devel within thee?* When that Christ sayed, that the blasphemie against the holy ghost shuld never be forgiven. Iff ye have sayed this of ignorance, I pray god bring you to knowlege & repentance. Yf ye spake it against your conscience, of malice against the trouth, (as he knoweth, *Qui scrutator cordium est*) I fear me, lest tyme of repentance, which god forbid, shal ever be geven you in this lyfe. O! Lord god, what a wresting of the Scripture was it to enterpretate & - - - those words of S. Paul, *Before the coming of Antichrist, there shal be a departing from the Pope*, when as the Text sayeth playnely, Antichrist was comen already, & that he then worked secretly, & that there shuld be a departing from the Faith, & that he shuld be opened unto al men afore the commyng of Christ. For shame, na for conscience, other allege the Scriptures aright, without any soch wresting, or els absteyne out of the pulpet.

But now to come to your Conjectures, by which ye persuaded your assertions; that is, that the Scripture was new lerning, Christ a Lyar & the devle. Which are, that the Fautors & Professors thereof *Lyve noughtly*, & that they *persecute Prestes*. Fyrst, besydes that it ys manifest, that you conjectures both be fals: For the purenes of lyfe of the favourers of it, I speyke of them that are of my only knowledge, their vertuous lyvinge ys so knowen, that it ys but folly for me to labor to confute it. And that they persecute Prestes, I wold gladly here of one prest so moch as ones prisoned, I mean not for whoredom, theft & murders, with soch their commen practises, but for hys Faithes sake: Except it were soch, as you your self persecuted, as ye do, for knowleging



knowleging the trouth. Nede ye that I bring forth examples? Remember ye not the honest Preste, that the last yere was martyred by you in Kent? Do ye not hold Nicolson, Smyth, Patmore & Philips, with many other, in prifon, yet at this howre?

[The rest is wanting.]

# N U M B. XLIV.

## An old Popish Song made of Latimer.

1.

**O**H! thou ravishing Wolf in a Lambs skin,  
What mischief encreaseth daily thee by?  
For many Saulys to the Devil thou dost win,  
Beseeching of thy abhominable heresie.  
Yet feychful men thy words may defy.  
The which is more to thy rebuke & shame,  
So to impair the pore christen name.

2.

The blessed pure Virgin, & Mother to Christ,  
Thou seydest in preaching a Sinner was she.  
And therein like a false Heretick thou lyeest.  
For she is a holy Virgin, & ever shal bee.  
*Pulchra es, amica mea, & macula non est in te.*  
This Text Christ seid by her, as in scripture is told.  
Wherefore it is pity, thou shouldest dy for cold.

3.

The holy & blessed Salutarion Angelical,  
Sent down from the high throne of the Trinitie,  
Thou wouldest not have called a Prayer at all.  
Yet a Prayer it is, & ever wil bee,  
In the despite both of the Devil & thee.  
For to babble soch things thou wast too bold.  
Wherefore it were pity thou shouldest dy for cold.

4.

The Sanlys that in the paines of Purgatory be,  
To release them furth thus didst thou sey,  
For them we shold not do soch charitie,  
Ne ask no boon at al, for them to prey.  
Which opynions wer good for thee to renay,  
Lest Almighty God sey, as he shold,  
Let not this Heretick soch errors hold.

5.

Also devout pilgrimage, which good men have fought,  
For stocks & stones thou reputest them to be.  
Yet God for them many myracles hath wrought,  
As by exemple daylie we see.  
I know they be images, as wel as ye.  
Pictures made Devotion to uphold,  
Therefore it wer pity that down they shold.

6.

Doctur *Folelatus* ordeyned *Pradicatorum*.  
A meter name for thee ther cannot be,  
In as moch as thou art *Fons hareticorum*.  
But the Clout must hange with thee in Show perdie,  
Or els your Scapuler wold hang beneth your knee.  
So it is a seying of young & old,  
That pity it were thou shouldest be so uphold.

7.

I mervayl of you, that be Minysters in Towne,  
What honour thereby you intend to wyn,  
The wrong to uphold, & the right to ley down.  
It were meter for some of you to turn a shepes skin,  
To se that ther wer no maggots therein;  
Then in soch matiers to be so bold.  
Take hede at last you be not al controlld.

8.

It is no mervayl though some be so madd,  
To take the wronge, & ryght regardeth lest.  
Wher ther be so many soch fantasie have had.  
For *Quod Natura dedit nemo tollere potest*.  
Yet forsake thy warkes, & lyve not leke a beast.  
For yf *Pater sequitur suas partes* in mold,  
Then were it not pity thou shouldest be uphold?

9.

What Feyth is grounded in any of them al,  
That so lyghtly wyl be turned out of the ryght way,  
Forsaking iwete hony, & tasting byttere gall:  
As ther grete Sire & Heretick hath lerned them, I say?  
Who by hys Acts & theires, apperyth every day.  
For gods love, them nother mayntayn, ne uphold,  
Lest at length ye dy, afore that you be old.

10.

Go, litle Treatise, voyd of all eloquence,  
I prey to God, that thou mey comme to lyght;  
Though thou be endyted for lack of intelligence,  
Yet is thy intent to uphold the ryght,  
And al Hereticks to confound, yf thou myghr.  
Whom I prey Jesa Christ them to amende,  
Or els short lyfe & evel dethe them sende.

II.

L for Lollard standes in thys place.  
 A for Error of grete iniquitie.  
 T for a Traytour to God, lackyng grace.  
 I for Ignoraunce of the true Trinitie.  
 M for Maynteyner of those that nought be.  
 E for Eretick, as Lerner men seyth.  
 R for Rebeller agaynst Christs Feyth.

*An Answer to this Sonnet.*

HE was a Lamb, & thou a Wolf shalt proue.  
 The blessed Virgin he did not abuse:  
 But Stocks & Stones he preached to remove,  
 And Pilgrimages, which dyd men abuse.  
 Idolatry he wold al sho'd refuse,  
 And cleave unto Gods word, it to uphold,  
 Wh ch thou woldest hyde with face of brasse ful bold.

## NUMB. XLV.

*A Popish Discourse of Antichrist.*

YEE, that are willing to know of Antichrist, shal know first, Why he is so called: Therefore, that is to say, because in al things he is contrary to Christ, & shal do things contrary to Christ. Christ cometh humble, he cometh proud. Christ cometh to raise up the humble, & to justify sinners: he contrarily shal cast down the humble, magnify sinners, exalt the wicked, & shal alwayes teach vices, which are contrary to vertues: & the Evangelic law shal he bring to nought, & shal renew & bring again into the world the doctrin of the Devil, seeking vain glory, & shal name himself the Omnipotent God.

This Antichrist therefore hath many ministers of his malignity. Of whom many have gone before in the world, as *Antiochus, Nero, & Domitian* were. We also have known many Antichrists to be in our time. For whosoever he be, whethere he be a Layman, or a Canonist, or a Monk, that liveth against justice, or impugneth the glory of his order, & blasphemeth that which is good, he is an Antichrist, a minister of Sathan.

But now let us se of the beginning of Antichrist. That truly which I say, I faigne it not, neyther do I invent it of mine proper sense, but by diligent reading of the books, I find al these things written. For as our Authors say, Antichrist shalbe born of the Jewes; of the Tribe of *Dan*; according to the Prophet, saying, *Dan shal be a Serpent in the way, an adder in the path.* For like as a serpent shal he sit in the way, & be in the path, that he may stryke them that walk in the path of justice, & slay them with the poison of his malice. He shal be born by the copulation of a father & mother, as other men: not, as some say, of alone Virgin. But notwithstanding he shal be conceived wholly in synne, engendred in sinne, & born in sinne. In the very beginning of his conception, the Devil also shal enter into the womb of his mother, & shal be norished & defended in his Mothers belly by the power of the Devil, & the power of the Devil shal be alwayes with him. And like as the holy ghost came into the Mother of our Lord, & shadowed her with his vertue, & filled her with godlines, that she might receave of the holy ghost, that it which should be born should be divine & holy: So also the Devil shal come into the Mother of Antichrist, & shal fill her wholly, compass her round about, hold her wholly,



wholly, & altogether, both inwardly & outwardly, shal possess her; that she may conceyve by a man, (the Devil working) & that it which shal be born, may be altogether wicked & perditionous. Wherupon he is called, both the *son of sinne* & the *son of perdition*, because as much as he may, he shal destroy al humane kind, & he himself at the last shal be destroyed.

Behold! ye have heard, how he must be born: Hear also the place, Where he must be born. For like as our Lord & Redeemer did foresee for himself *Bethlehem*, that there for us he might take humanitie, & vouchsafe to be born; so the Devil knoweth a fit place for that man of perdition, which is called Antichrist, from whom the root of al mischief shal spring, that is to say, the City of *Babylon*. For in this City, which sometime was the most renowned & glorious city of the Gentiles, & chief of the kingdom of the *Persians*, shal Antichrist be born: & in the Cities *Bethsaida* & *Corozaim*, must he be brought up & be conversaunt. Which cities the Lord in the Evangelist curseth, saying, *Wo unto thee, Bethsaida: Wo unto you, Chorozaïm.*

Antichrist shal have Wise men, Witches, Soothsayers, Inchanters, who (the Devil inspiring them) shal nourish & teach him in al iniquitie, falsehood, & wicked art. And malignant Spirits shal be his Captaynes & Fellows always, & unseparated companions. Afterwards coming to *Jerusalem*, al such Christians as wil not convert unto him, shal he sleigh by divers torments, & place his seat in the holy Temple. He shal restore also the holy Temple, which *Salomon* builded unto God, in his state, & shal falsely say himself to be the son of God. But first he shal convert Kings & Princes unto him; & afterward, through them, the rest of the people. First, he shal destroy the places by the which our Lord Christ walked: & afterward he shal send his messengers, & preachers throughout al the world. His preaching truly & power shal reach from Sea to Sea, from the East even unto the West, from the North even unto the South: & shal do also many signes, great, mervaylous, & not heard of: that is to say, Trees suddenly to flourish & wither, the Sea to be troubled, & suddenly to be calmed, natures to be chaunged into divers formes, the ayr to be moved with winds, & many other kind of motions, & other innumerable & mervaylous, the dead to be raysed in the sight of men: So that yf it may be, the very Elect shal be brought into error. For when they shal see such great & like signes, they also, which are the most heavenly & perfect of God, shal doubt whether he be Christ, that shal come in the end of the world, according to the Scriptures, or no. Al these miracles truly by al means shal be false, through devilish enchantments. But unto sinners & unbelieving they shal seem to be true.

He shal stir up persecution under al the heaven, upon Christians & al Elect. He shal set himself agaynst the Faithful three wayes: that is, by Terror, Gifts & Miracles. He shal give unto you, beleving in him, abundance of gold & silver. Those truly whom he cannot deceyve by Gifts, he shal overcome by Terror: & whom he cannot overcome by Terror, he shal assay to seduce by signes & miracles. But those whom by signes he cannot allure, in the sight of al men shal he slay with most miserable death. Then shal there be such tribulation, as was not since the time, that Nations began, even unto that

time. Then they which are in the field, shal flee into the hills, & whoſo is upon the bed ſhal not deſcend into the houſe, that they may take any thing out of it. Then every Chriſtian, which ſhal be found, eyther he ſhal deny God, or els by the ſweard, or by the fire of the fornace, or els by ſerpents, or els by beaſts, or els by ſome ſuch like kind of Torment, ſhal he commaund to be ſlayne, yf they continue in their ſayth.

This Tribulation ſo terrible & to be feared, ſhal continue altogether three yeare & an half. Then ſhal the dayes be ſhortned for the Eleſt ſake. For except he had ſhortned thoſe dayes, no fleſh ſhould be ſaved.

2 Theſſ. II. The Time truly, When Antichriſt ſhal come, or when the day of judgment ſhal appear, *Paul* the Apoſtle, in his Epiſtle to the *Theſſalonians*, ſaying, *We beſeke you, brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jeſu Chriſt*, in the ſame place ſheweth it manifeſt, where he ſayth, *For except the departing come firſt, & the man of ſin be reveled, the ſon of perdition, &c.* For we know, becauſe that after the kingdom of the *Grekes*, or alſo after the kingdom of the *Persians*, out of which eyther of them hath for their time ſhined with great glory, & flouriſhed in moſt great power; at the laſt alſo, after other kingdoms, the kingdom of the *Romans* began: which was ſtrongeſt of al the former kingdoms; & had al the kingdoms of the earth under its dominion, & al Nations of the people were ſubject to the *Romans*, & ſerved them under tribute. Afterward therefore, ſayth the Apoſtle *Paul*, that Antichriſt ſhal not come into the world, except the Departing come firſt: that is to ſay, except al kingdoms, which were firſt ſubdued, ſhal depart from the *Roman* empire. But this time cometh not yet: becauſe we muſt ſe the *Roman* empire for the moſt part deſtroyed. Yet notwithstanding ſo long as the Kings of *French* men ſhal endure, who ſhal hold the *Roman* empire, the *Roman* empire ſhal not utterly periſh; becauſe it ſhal ſtand in their Kings. For certain of our Doctours ſay, that one of the kings of the *French* men ſhal wholly hold the *Roman* empire. Which king ſhal be in the laſt time: & he ſhal be the greateſt, & laſt of al kings. Who after he hath luckily governed his kingdom, at the laſt ſhal come to *Jeruſalem*, & lay down his ſcepter & crown in the Mount *Olyvet*. This ſhal be the end & conſummation of the Empire of the *Romans* & al chriſtians. And then by & by, according to the aforeſaid ſentence of the Apoſtle *Paul*, they ſay, Antichriſt ſhal come.

And then truly ſhal the *Man of ſin be reveled*, that is to ſay, Antichriſt. Who although he be a man, notwithstanding ſhal be the welſpring of al ſin, & *Son of perdition*. This is the ſon of the Devil, becauſe in al things he ſhal do his Wil. Becauſe the plenitude of al Devilish power, & al wicked diſpoſition, ſhal corporally dwel in him. In whom al the treaſures of maliciouſnes & iniquity ſhal be hidden. Who *doth repugn*, that is to ſay, is contrary to Chriſt, & al his members: & *is exalted*, that is to ſay, ſet up into pryde, *above al thing that is called God*; that is, above the Gods of the Gentiles, *Apollo, Jupiter, Mercury*, whom the Pagans eſtemed to be Gods. Antichriſt is extolled above al theſe Gods, becauſe he ſhal make himſelf greater & ſtronger than they al. And not only above them, but alſo above al  
that



*that is Worshipped*; that is, Above the holy Trinity, which now is only to be worshipped & adored of every creature. He shal so extol himself, that he may *fit in the Temple of God, shewing himself as he were God*. For as we have afore said, being born in the city of *Babylon*, coming to *Jerusalem*, he shal circuncide himself, saying, I am Christ, which is promised you; Who come for your salvation, that you, who are disperfed, I may gather together, & defend you.

Then shal al the *Jews* flee unto him, thinking to receyve God, but they shal receyve the Devil. Antichrist also shal sit in the Temple of God, that is, in the holy Temple, desiring al Christians to be Martyrs, he shal be elevated & magnified, because the Devil, the Head of al mischief, shall be in him; Who is king over al the sonns of pride. Antichrist shal sodenly & unadvisedly come, & deceyve & destroy al mankind through his error.

Afore his beginning, two Prophets shal be sent into the world; that is, *Enoch & Helias*: Who by the divine wepons of God shal defend the Faythful, & instruct them against wicked Antichrist, & shal comfort & set forward the Elect unto war, teaching & preaching three years & an half. So many as can be found at that tyme of the children of *Israel*, shal these two great Prophets & Doctours convert unto the Fayth, & shal restore them from the oppression of so great trouble, being separated from the Elect. Then shal it be fulfilled that the Scripture sayth, *If the number of the children of Israel shal be as the sand of the sea, those that are left shal be saved*. But after they shal have preached three yeares & an half, by & by the persecutions of Antichrist shal begin to wax hot. And Antichrist shal first take up his wepons agaynst them, & shal slay them, as it is said in the Apocalyps. And when, sayth he, *he shal end his testament, the beast shal come from the bottomles pit, & shal make war against them; & shal slay them*.

After that therefore these two shal be slayn, then pursuing the rest of the Faythful, he shal eyther make glorious Martyrs, or els cause many to forsake their christian religion. And whosoever shal beleve in him, shal receive the sign of his seal in their foreheads.

But now seing we have told of his *beginning*, let us shew what *End* he shal have. This Antichrist therfore the son of the Devil, the most vile worker of al evil, when he hath (as is aforesaid) vexed the whole world three yeares & an half with great persecution, & shal have vexed al the people of God with divers punishments, after he shal have slayne *Helias & Enoch*, & crowning the rest remayning in the Fayth with Martyrdome, at the last shal the wrath of God come upon him, as blessed *Paul* hath written, saying: *Whom the Lord shal slay with the breath of his mouth*. Finis.

## NUMB. XLVI.

*The General Sentence, or Curse: Used to be read to the people four times in the year. Taken out of the Festival, printed by Wynkyn de Worde, 1532.*

*The Festival.*

**G**ood men & women, I do you to understande, that we that have the cure of your soules ben commaunded of our ordinaries, & by the constitucyons & the lawe of holy chyrche, to shew to you foure tymes in the yere, in eche quarter of the yere ones, whan the people is most plenary in holy chyrche, the articles of the Sentence of Cursynge. So that none for our defaute, neyther man nor woman, fall therein. And if ony be fallen therein, that he may through the help of Almighty God, & al holy chyrche, with shryfte & penaunce makynge good for his synne, ryse up & hym amende. Wherefore I do you to understande, that cursynge is suche vengeance takynge, that it departeth a man from the blyffe of heven, from howsel, shryfte, & al the Sacramentes of holy chyrche, & betake hym to the devyll, & to the paines of hell, the which shal endure perpetually without ende; but yf he have grace of our Lord hym to amende. But therfore se that no man or woman say, that I curse them, for it longeth not to me, but for to shewe the poyntes, & the Artycles of the sentence of cursynge. For I do you wel to wyte, that whoso doth agaynst ony of these poynts, that I shal shew you, he is accursed in the dede doyng; of the Pope, Archebysshop, Bysshope, & of al holy chyrche: & that God Almyghty gyve you grace for to kepe you out of cursynge, lysten & heare, & I shal, through the help of god father almighty, to you than tel & shew.

By the aucthorite of god, the son, & the holy goost, & his glorious Mother & mayden, our Lady Saynt *Marye*: & the blessed Apostles, *Peter* & *Poule*, & al the Apostles, Martyrs, Confessours, & Virgyns, & al the halowes of god, I denounce & shew for accursed, Al those that the fraunchyse of holy chyrche break or dystrouble, or are agaynst the state of holy chyrche, or therto assent with dede or counseyle. And also al those, that deprive holy chyrche of ony right to make of holy chyrche ony Laye Fee, that is halowed or sanctified. And also al those that with holde the rightes of holy chyrche, that is to say, Offerynges, Tithes, Rents, or freedoms of holy chyrche, let or dystrouble, or breake: that is to saye, yf ony man flee to chyrche, or chyrcheyard, whoso hym outdrawe, & al those that therto procure, or assent. And al those that purchaseth lettres of ony Lords courte, wherfore lettynge is made in chrysten courte, that proces of right may not be determyned or ended. And al those that the peace of the land dystrouble. And al those that blode draw of man or of woman in violence, or in vylany make to be drawen, in chyrche or in chyrcheyarde, wherfore the chyrche or the chyrcheyard is interdyted or suspended. And al those that be agaynst the ryght of our Soverayne Lord the kynge. And al those that warr sustayne agaynst the King wrongfully.

And



And al those that are commune robbers, revers, or mansleers, but it be in themself defendyng. And al those that be agaynst the great charter of the Kyng, that is confermed of the courte of Rome. And al those that false wytnes beare wrongfully: namely in cause of matrimony, in what courte soever it be, or out of courte. And al those that false wytnes bring forth in ryght of matrimony, for to distrouble man or woman. Or for to disheryte any man of lands or tenements, or any other catell. And al false advocates, that for mede put forth any false excepcyons, or quarells, through the which the ryght of matrimony is foredone; or any other maner of ryght instede of judgment. And al those that for mede or favour, malicyously man or woman bryngeth out of theyr good fame into wycked; or make them for to lese theyr worldly goods or honour, or them put wrongfully to their purgacyon, of the which was no fame ne renowne knowne before that tyme. And also al those that malicyously, & through cawtel or gyle, distrouble, letteth, or gaynsayeth the ryght presentment of our mother holy churche myltaunt here in erth, whereas the very patrone shold be present; & al that therto procure with word or dede, or with false conquest, or with other power. And al those that malicyously despyse the commaundement of the Kyng, or take a cursed man from the tyme that he hath layen in cursyng xl dayes, & wil seke for no remedy. And al those, that prysoners distrouble with false judgement, or false enquest, & al those, that theyr delyveraunce purchase agaynst the ryght of holy chyrche. And al those that take mede for to distrouble peace, there love sholde be, & charite, or stryfe maynteyne with wordes or dedes; or tyl they have yelded agayne theyr mede, that they toke of them, they may never be assoyled: And al those that hold houses, manors, graunges of parsones, vycaryes, or of any other man of holy chyrche agaynst theyr wyl. And al those that any maner of movable good, or unmovable, away bear with strength, or wrongfully away draw or waste: of the which cursyng they may not be assoyled, tyl they have made satisfaccyon unto whom the wrong is done. And al those that any maner of goods with vyolence or malice beare out of holy chyrche stedde or abbaye, or hous of relygyon, which that therein is layd or done for warandyse or focoure, or for to be kepte: & al those which that therto procure or assent. And al those that theni mayntayne or sustayne. And al those that have layd hand on preest or clerke with malyce, but it be by hymself defendyng. And al those that gyve counseyle to Sarafins, or help them agaynst chrystendome. And al those that theyr chyldren wrongfully father wyttyngly, or theyr chyldren wyten any other man with malyce. And al those that vary or flee theyr generatyons, or theyr children destroy with drynkes, or with any other craft. And al those that make false mony, or therto be assentyng. And al those that good mony clyppe or shere, them to advauntage to deceyve any man with. And al those that false the Popes Bull, or counterfayte the kynges seale. And al those that bye or sell with false measures, or false weyghts: that is to say, to bye with one, & to sel with another. And al those that false the kynges standarde themself wytyng. And al those that any testament distrouble, or therto procure with word or with dede, wherfore the deedes Wil is not fulfylled. And al those that forswere them upon the holy dome, wylllyng

wyllyng & wytynge for mede, or for hate, for to do ony man or woman to lese theyr worldly goods or honour. And al robbers or revers, openly or pryvely, by day or by night, or ony mannes good stele, wherfore they were worthy for to have judgment. And al those that withholde ony mannes good, that have ben spyred thryse in holy chyrche themselfe wytynge. And al those that dystrouble the peace of holy chyrche, or of the land, & al the Kynges felons. And al those that them mayntayn. And al false conspyratours, & al false forswerers in assyses, or in any other courte. And al those that ony false playnts put forth agaynst the fraunchyse of holy chyrche, or of the kynge, or of the realme. And al those offrynges that are offred in holy chyrche or in chyrche yard or chapel, or in oratory, or in any other stede within the provynce of *Caunterbury*, withholden, or put away in any other place agaynst the wyl of the parson or vycare, or theyr attourney in the parysshe, that it is offred in. And al those that theyr goodes away gyue for drede of deth, in fraud of holy chyrche, or to forbear theyr dettes payenge. And al those that suche gyftes take, or therto helpe or counseyle. And al those that let prelates or ordynaries for to holde consystory, sessyon, or chapytres, for to enquire of synnes, & of excesse, in good amendement of mannes soule. And al wythes, & al that on them byleve. And al heretykes that byleve not in the Sacrament of the awter, that is goddes own body in flesshe & blode in fourme of breed, & other Sacraments, that toucheth helpe of mannes soule. And al juglers & usurers: that is to say, that yf ony man or woman lend theyr catell to man or woman for ony avauntage to take by cove-naunt more or lesse, than theyr own, & yf there be ony suche founde in towne or cite, the cite or the towne sholde be interdyted by the old lawe, & neyther do theyr masse, nor sacrament mynystred, tyl he were out therof. And al that withhold tythes, or withdraw theyr tithes wytyngly or malyciously, to the harme of holy chyrche; or tythes let to be gyven of al the goodes which they be commaunded, & ordeyned to be gyven by the law of holy chyrche, that is to say, of al fruytes of yerds, cornes, herbes, the ware, fruyes of trees, of al maner of beestes, that are newynge, of wol, lambe & chese, in tyme of the yere of swannes, gese, doves, duckes, of bees, hony, wax, of hey, as often as it neweth: of flax, of hemp, of wyndmylles, or al maner of mylles, of al maner of marchaundyse of chaffryng men & of men of craft. And al those that malyciously or wytyngly ony of these thynges, or ony other withhold, the which ought to be gyven to holy chyrche by goddes law, to the harme of holy chyrche, & al that therto procure in word, or in dede.

*Modus fulminandi sententiam.*

**P**Relatus alba indutus cum ceteris sacerdotibus in ecclesia existentibus, cruce erecta, candelis accensis, stans in pulpito, pronunciet verba que sequuntur.

Ex auctoritate dei patris omnipotentis & beate *Marie* virginis & omnium sanctorum, excommunicamus, anathematizamus, & diabolo commendamus, omnes supra dictos malefactores, ut excommunicati sint,



sint, anathematizati, & diabolo commendati : maledicti sint in villis, in campis, in vijs, in semitis, in domibus, extra domos, & in omnibus alijs locis, stando, sedendo, jacendo, furgendo, ambulando, currendo, vigilando, dormiendo, comedendo, bibendo, & aliud opus faciendo, & illos a luminibus & omnibus bonis ecclesie sequestramus, & diabolo damnamus, & in penis inferni animas eorum extinguamus, sicut extinguitur ista candela ; nisi resipiscant & ad satisfactionem veniant.

Finita sententia, extinguat lumen ad terrorem, pulsantibus campanis.

## N U M B. XLVII.

*A Letter of one Friar Laurence, concerning the Divorse ; And the favor of some Friars of Greenwich to Q. Katharines Cause. Written to Crumwel.*

Jhesus.

**R**Ehtt worthy honnor & dygnyte for yowr hy wysdum & pollysy, <sup>MSS. D. G. H. E4.</sup> grace & peace yn adverlyte, for an humbyl & meke salutacyon. My Lorde, as I am ynformyd, by sartan of our brethryne, Fathar Robbynson a pon funday last past dyd offar hyme selfe to contende yn dysputacyone with that wyrschypful Abbote, whytch that day dyd pretch at Powls crose. Wher apon ys ryfyn a commyn brute, that the frers of Grenwytch, yf they myhte be suffarde to tell the trothe, wolde pute to sylence al theyme whytche hath or shalle pretche in owre Sufferande the Kinges caws, & allso prove all thynges fals that they have pretchyde. Mor ovar the forsayd father Robbynson duth fully purpose to declar thys matter of Matrimony betwyxte ovr moste Gracyus Sufferande & the Quene, &, as mytche os in hym ys, bothe with hys wyte & lernynge to Justify the Quenes parte. Thys ys apoyntyde to be done apon Sunday nexte cummynge : And that wheros he may have the moste soleme awdyence. Wherefore excepte that yowr Lordschype doth fynde sum convenient remydy by your hy pollysy, *Error posterior erit priore pejor* : The Viccar of our Covente ys of secrete cownsellē yn all thys bysynes. He was with fathar Robbynson at Powlse crose. He dyd brynge theys tydynges firste to our Covente. He ys for the moste parte contynually with ovr fathars at Lambethe, or els abroad amonkste Seculars ; & by hys defaytful flatteryng, he dothe mytche harme bothe amonkste ovr brethryne, & also amonkste Seculars. He dothe aprove yt to be well done, that ovr Wardeyn dyd reprove the pretcher yn the pulpete withyn ovr Covent, bothe os consarnynge the tyme, & also the maner of hys spekyng : In so mytche, that he hath mayde reporte to sartayn brethryne of the Covent of Rytchmonte, that yt was not ovr Wardeyne, whytche dyd speke, but yt was the holy goste, that dyd speke yn hyme. Byt to yowr Lordschype he was of a contrary opynyon. Thus may yowr Lordschype manyfestly se & parsave howe full he ys of crafte, & dyssymulacyone. He also made reporte, that ovr forsayd fathers scholde schortely prevale aganste yowr

R r r

Lordschype,

Lordschype, & also aganste all themme, whitche dothe favowr owr Soverandes cawse. What he hath reportyd of me, I commyte my cawse to gode: byt I have asuryde confydence yn owr grasyous Sufferand, that he wyll nevar be so unkynd to me os owr forsayd Vyccare hath reportyd hyme. For yf he scholde, I ware undone for evar.

If yt ware the gracyus plesure of owr most Nobyll Sufferand to send for me, then wold I disclose to hyme sartane thynges, whitche I dare note exprese, nethar by messynger, nor by wrytynge. Whitche thynges I trust scholld be bothe to the yncrese of hys honnor, & also to the forthrance of his purpose. Whersor yf yt schal be hys gracyous pleyfur to send for me, I humbly besytch your Lordschype to moscion hys grace, that he doth send also for brother *Lysle*. Whitch to his lytyll powar dothe faythfully favoure our Sufferande & allso hys cawse. Whitche is allso dysyrus of your prosperyte. No mor to your Lordschype at thys tyme: byt *Jhesu* prefarve yowe yn this presente lyfe by hys grace. Whitche ended, he grawnte to yow glory eternalle. Amen.

Yowres yn alle thynges to hys lytyll powar,

*John Lawrence.*

#### N U M B. XLVIII.

*Sir Thomas More to Secretary Crumwel; Excusing his communication with, & Letter writ to the Nun of Kent, &c.*

*Cleopatra,*  
E. 5. P. 149.

**R**ight Worshipful, After my most harty recommendations: It may please you to understand, that I have perceived by the relation of my son *Rooper* (for which I beseech Almighty God reward you) your most charitable labour taken for me towards the Kinges Gracious Highnes, in the procuring at his most Gracious hands the relief & comfort of this woful heavines, in which myne heart standeth, neither for the los of goods, lands or liberty, nor for any respect either of this kind of honesty, that standeth in the opinion of people, & worldly reputation. Al which maner things, I thank our Lord, I so little esteem for any affection therin toward my self, that I wil wel be content to jubarde, lese & forgoe them al, & my life therewith, without a further respite, then even this same present day, either for the plesure of God, or of my Prince. But surely, good Mayster *Crumwel*, as I by mouth declared unto you some part (for al I neither then sayd, nor now write) it thorowly pierceth my poor hart, that the Kinges Highnes, (whose gracious favor towards me far above al the things of this world, I have ever more desired, & wherof, both for the Conscience of mine awne true faith & devotion towards him, & for the manifold benefits of his high goodnes continually bestowed upon me, I thought my self alway sure) should conceive any such mind  
or



or opinion of me, as to think, that in my communication either with the Nun or with the Frerys, or in my Letter written unto the Nun, I had any other maner mind, than that might wel stand with the duty of a tender loving subject toward his naturall Prince; or that his G. should reckon in me any maner of obstinate hart against his plesure in any thing, that ever I said, or did, concerning his great matter of his mariage, or concerning the Primatie of the Pope. Nor would I wish other thing in this world more lief, then that his H. in these things shold know me as perfectly knew my dealing, & as thorowly saw my mind, as I do my self, or as God doth himself: whose sight pierceth deeper into my hart, then mine awne.

For, Sir, as for the first matter, that is to wit, my letter or communication with the Nun (the whole discourse wherof in my former letter I have as plainly declared unto you, as I possibly can) so pray I God to withdraw that scruple & doubt of my good mind out of the Kings noble brest. And none otherwise, but as I not only thought none harme, but also purposed good. And in that thing most in which as I perceive his G. conceiveth most grief & suspition. That is to wit, in my letter which I wrote unto her. And therefore, Sir, sith I have by my writing declared the troth of my dede, & am ready by mine oath to declare the troth of mine intent, I can devise no further thing by me to be done in that matter, but only beseech Almighty God to put into the Kings gracious mind, that as god knoweth the thing is indeed, so his Noble G. may take it.

As touching the second point, Concerning his Gs. *great matter of* his marriage, to the intent that you may see cause with the better conscience to make suite unto his H. for me, I shal as plainly declare you my demeanor in that matter, as I have already declared you in the other. For more plainly can I not.

Sir, upon a time, at my coming beyond sea, where I had been in the Kings busines, I repaired, as my duty was, unto the Kings G. being at that time at Hampton Court. At which time suddenly his H. walking in the Gallery, brake with me of his great matter; & shewed me, that it was now perceived his Mariage was not only against the positive laws of the Church, & the written Law of God; but also in such wise against the law of nature, that it could in no wise by the Church be dispensable. Now so was it, that before my going over the sea, I had heard certain things moved against the Bul of the Dispensation, concerning the words of the Law *Levitical*, & the Law *Deuteronomycal*, to prove the Prohibition to be *Jure divino*. But yet perceived I not at that time, but that the greater hope of the matter stood in certain faults, that were founden in the Bul: wherby the Bul should by the Law be not sufficient. And such comforte there was in that point, as far as I perceived a good season, that the Counsil on the other part were faine to bring forth a Brief, by which they pretended those debates to be supplied. The truth of which Brief was by the Kings Council suspected: And mych diligence was there after don for the trial of that point. Wherin what was finally founden, either I never knew, or ellys I not remember. But I reherse you this to the intent you shal know, that the first time, that ever I heard that point moved, that it should be in such high degree against the law of nature, was the time in

which, as I began to tell you, the K. G. shewed it me himself, & layd the Bible open before me, & shewed me the words, that moved his H. & divers other erudite persons so to think, & asked me further what my self thought thereon.

At which time, not presuming to look that his H. should any thing take that point for the more proved or improved for my poor mind in so great a matter, I shewed nevertheless, as my duty was, at his Commandment, what thing I thought upon the words, which I there read. Whereupon his H. accepting benignely my suddain unadvised answer, commanded me to commune further with Mr. Fox, now his Graces Almoner, & to read a Book with him, that then was making for that matter. After which Book read, & my poor opinion estones declared unto his H., his H. like a prudent, & a virtuous Prince, assembled at another time at *Hampton Court* a good nombre of very well learned men: at which time, as far as ever I heard, there were (as was in so great a matter most likely to be) divers opinions among them. Howbeit I never heard, but that they agreed at that time upon a certain form, in which the Book should be made. Which Book was afterward, at *York place* in my L. Cardinals chamber, read in the presence of divers Bps. & many learned men. And they all thought, that there appeared in the Book good & reasonable causes, that might move the K. H., being so virtuous a Prince, to conceive in his mind a Scruple against his Mariage. Which while he could not otherwise avoyd, he did well & virtuously, for the acquiescing of his Conscience, to sue, & procure to have his doubt decided by judgment of the Church.

After this the Suite began, & the Legats sat upon the Matter. During all which time I never meddled therein, nor was a man meet to do. For the matter was in hand by an ordinary Process of the Spiritual Law: Whereof I could little skil. And yet while the Legates were sitting upon the Matter, it pleased the Kings H. to send me in the company of my L. of *London*, now of *Durham*, in Ambassiate about the Peace, that, at our being there, was concluded at *Cameray*, between his H. & the Emperor, & the *French King*. And after my coming home his H. of his only goodnes, as far unworthy as I was therto, made me, as you well know, his Chancellor of his Realm. Soon after which time his G. moved me again yet estones, to look & consider his great matter, & well & indifferently to ponder such things, as I should find therein. And if it so were, that thereupon it should happen me to see such things, as should persuade me to that part, he would gladly use me among others of his Councillors in that matter. And nevertheless he graciously declared unto me, that he would in no wise, that I should other thing do or say therein, than that I should perceive mine awne conscience should serve me. And that I should first look unto God, & after God unto him. Which most gracious words was the first lesson also, that ever his G. gave me at my first coming into his Noble Service.

This Motion was to me very comfortable, & much I longed, beside any thing that my self either had seen, or by further search should happen to find for the one part or the tother, yet especially to have some conference in the matter with some such of his Graces learned Council, as most for his part had laboured & most hand found in the matter.

Whereupon



Wherupon his H. assigned unto me the now most Reverend Fathers, the Archbps. of *Canterbury* & *York*, with Master Dr. *Fox*, now his G's. Almoner, & Master Dr. *Nicolas*, the *Italian* Frere. Wherupon I not only sought & read, & as far forth as my poor wit & learning served me, wel weighed & considered every such thing, as I could find my self, or read in any other mannys labour, that I could get, which any thing had written therin: But had also diligent conference with his G's. Councillors aforesaid. Whose Honors & Worships I nothing mistrust in this point, but that they both have & wil report unto his H., that they never found obstinate manner nor fashion in me, but a mind as toward & as conformable, as reason could in a matter disputable require. Wherupon the Kings H. being farther advertised, both by them & my self, of my poor opinion in the matter (wherin to have been able & meet to do him service I would as I then shewed his H., have been more glad, than of al such worldly commodities, as I either then had, or ever shal come to) his H. graciously taking in gre my good mind in that behalf, used of his blessed disposition, in the prosecuting of his great matter only those, of whom his G. had good number, whose Consciences his G. perceived wel & fully perswaded upon that part: & as wel my self, as any other, to whom his H. thought the thing to seem otherwise, he used in his other business. Abiding of his abundant goodnes nevertheless gracious Lord unto me: Nor never was willing to put any man in ruffle or trouble of his Conscience.

After this did I nothing more therin; nor never any word wrot I therin, to the impairing of his G's. part, neither before nor after, nor any man ellys by my procurement: But settling my mind in quiet to serve his G. in other things, I would not so much as look, nor wittingly let ly by me any Book of the other part. Albeit that I gladly read afterwards divers books that were made on his part yet. Nor never would I read the book that Master *Abel* made on the other side; Nor other Books, which were, as I heard say, made in Latin beyond the Sea, nor ever give ear to the Popes proceedings in the matter.

Moreover, wheras I had founden in my study a Book that I had before borrowed of my L. of *Bath*, which Book he had made of the matter at such time as the Legates sat here therupon, which Book had been by me negligently cast aside, & that I shewed him I would send him home his Book again, he told me, that In good faith he had long time before discharged his mind of that matter, & having forgotten that Copy to remain in my hand, had burned his awne copy that he had therof at home: And because he no more minded to meddle in the matter, he desired me to burn the same book too; & upon my Faith so did I.

Besides this, Divers other wayes have I so used my self, that if I rehearsed them al, it would wel appear, that I never have had against his G's. mariage any maner demeanor, wherby his H. might have any maner cause, or occasion of displeasure against me. For likewise as I am not he, which either can, or whom it could become to take upon him the determination or decision of such a weighty matter; nor boldly to affirm this thing or that therin, wherof divers points a great way

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pas my learning ; So am I, he, that among other his G's faithful Subjects, (his H. being in possession of his Mariage, & this Noble woman really anointed Queen) neither murmur at it, nor dispute upon it, nor never did, nor wil. But without any other maner meddling of the matter among his other faithful subjects, faithfully pray to God for his G. & Her both, long to live & wel, & their Noble issue too, in such wise as may be to the plesure of God, Honor & Surety to themselves, rest, peace, wealth & profit unto this Noble realm.

*The Primatie.*

As touching the third point, the *Primatie* of the Pope, I nothing meddle in the matter. Troth it is, that as I told you, when you desired me to shew you what I thought therein, I was my self some time not of the mind, that the Primatie of that See should be begun by the Institution of God, until that I read in the matter those things that the Kings H. had written in his most famous Book against the Heretics of *Martin Luther*. At the first reading wherof I moved the K. H. either to leave out that point, or else to touch it more slenderly ; for doubt of such things as after might hap to fall in question between his H. & some Pope : as between Princes & Popes divers times have don. Wherunto his H. answered me, That he would in no wise any thing minish of that matter. Of which thing his H. shewed me a secret cause, wherof I never had any thing heard before. But surely after that I had read his G's. book therein, & so many other things as I have seen in that point by this continuance of these X years since & more, have founden in effect the substance of al the holy Doctors from *S. Ignatius*, Disciple to *S. John* the Evangelist, unto our own dayes, both Latins & Greeks, so consonant, & agreing in that point, & the thing by general Council so confirmed also, that, in good Faith, I never neither read nor heard any thing of such effect on the other side, that ever could lead me to think, that my Conscience were wel discharged; but rather in right great peril, if I should follow that other side, & deny the Primatie to be provided by God. Which if we did, yet can I nothing, as I shewed you, perceive any commodity, that ever could come by that denyal. For that Primatie is at the leastwise instituted by the Corps of Christendome, & for a great urgent cause, in avoyding of Schismes, & corroborate by continual succession more then the space of a thousand years at the least. For there are past almost a thousand years, sith the time of holy *S. Gregory*.

And therefore, sith al Christendom is one Corps, I cannot perceive, how a member thereof may, without the Common assent of the body, depart from the Common Head. And then if we may not lawfully leave it by our selves, I cannot perceive (but if the thing were a treating in a General Council) what the Question could avail, whether the Primatie were instituted immediately by God or ordained, by his Church? As for the General Councils assembled lawfully, I never could perceive, but that, in the declaration of the truth, to be believed, & to be standen to, the Authority thereof ought to be taken for indubitable. Or else were there in nothing no certainty, but through Christendom, upon every mans affectionate reason, al things might be brought, fro day to day, to continual ruffle & confusion. From which by the General Councils, the Spirit of God, assisting every such Council wel assembled, keepeth, & ever shal keep, the Corps of  
the



the Catholic Church. And verily, sith the K. H. hath, as by the Book of his Honorable Councel appeareth, appealed to the General Councel from the Pope (in which Councel I beseech our Lord to send his G. comfortable speed) methinkith in my poor mind, it could be no furtherance there unto his G's. cause, if his H. should in his own realm before, either by Laws-making, or Books-putting forth, seem to derogate & deny, not only the Primatie of the See Apostolick, but also the authority of the General Councils. Which I verily trust his H. intendeth not. For in the next General Councel it may wel happen, that this Pope may be deposed, & another substituted in his room, with whom the K. H. may be very wel content.

For albeit that I have for mine own part such opinion of the Popes Primatie, as I have shewed you, yet never thought I the Pope above the General Councel, nor never have, in any Book of mine put forth among the Kings Subjects in our vulgar tongue, avauced greatly the Popes authority. For albeit that a man may peradventure somewhat find therein, that after the common maner of al Christen realmes I speak of him as Primate; yet never do I stick thereon with reasoning & proving of that point. And of my Book against the *Masker* I wrot not, I wot wel, five lynys, & yet of no mo, but only of S. Peter himself. From whose person many take not the Primatie, even of those that graunt it none of his Successors. And yet was that Book made, printed, & put forth of very troth, before that any of the Books of the Councel was either printed, or spoken of. But wheras I had written therof at length in my Confutation before, & for the proof therof, had compiled together al that I could find therfore, at such time as I little looked that there should fall between the K. H. & the Pope such a breach as is fallen since; when I, after that, saw the thing likely to draw such displeasure between them, I suppressed it utterly, & never put word therof into my book, but put out the remnant without. Which thing wel declareth, that I never intended any thing to meddle in that matter against the Kings gracious pleasure, whatsoever mine own opinion were therein.

And thus have I, good Master *Cromwel*, long troubled your Mastership with a long proces of these matters, with which I neither durst, nor it could become me to encumber the Kings Noble Grace. But I beseech you for our Lords love, that you be not so weary of my most cumbrous Suit, but that it may like you at that opportune time or times, as your Wisdome may find, to help that his H. may, by your goodnes, be fully informed of my true faithful mind: & that in the matter of that Wicked woman, there never was on my part any other mind than good: Nor yet in any other thing else, never was there, nor never shal there be, any further fault founden in me, than that I cannot in every thing think the same way, that some other men of more Wisdome & deeper learning, do. Nor can find in my hart otherwise to say, than as mine awn conscience giveth me: Which condition hath never grown in any thing, that ever might touch his Gracious pleasure, of an obstinate mind, or misaffected appetite; but of a timorous conscience, rising happily for lack of better proceeding. And yet not without tender respect unto my most bounden duty towards his most Noble Grace. Whose only favour I so much esteem,  
that

that I nothing have of mine awne in al this World, except only my Soul, but that I wil with better Wil forgoe it, than abide of his H. one heavy displesant look.

And thus I make an end of my long tedious proces, beseeching the Blessed Trinity, for the great goodnes ye shew me, & the great comfort ye do me, both bodily & ghostly to prosper you, & in heaven to reward you. At *Chelcith*, the vth day of March, by

Your deeply bounden

*Tho. More* Kt.

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N U M B. XLIX.

*Shaxton Bishop of Salisbury, to Secretary Crumwel ; In answer to orders sent him for preaching the Kings Supremacy.*

*Cleopatra,*  
E. 6.

**H**onorable Sir, I certify your good Mastership, that I have this day received the Kings most honorable Letters, sent unto me from you by my Servant : & rejoyce not a little, that it hath pleased his Highnes to write so earnestly unto his Bishops in this so earnest a Cause : Thinking surely, that God hath used your Wisdom to stir up the good Prince hereunto. Wherof I highly thank that Almighty Lord. Praying you also to go on stil from one thing to another, as your wisdom, yea Gods very wisdom in you, exciteth & stirreth you, til the usurped power of that Man of Rome be clean abolished & put out of the hearts of the Kings Subjects. And I shal with al my diligence apply my self to the accomplishment of this his so godly Commandment, by Gods grace.

And forasmuch as I have taken my leave of the King & Queen, & tary for nothing now but only for the Instrument called *Custodias Temporalium*, I estsoones beseech your Mastership to have that in your remembrance, when you shal next repair unto the Court, together with a discharge for taking any Oath of the Residentiaries of *Sarum* : Which surely they wil exact of me, unles I bring something, either from the King his Highnes, or else from you, his chief Councillor, for to stop their mouths.

And as for sealing new Obligations, if it like you to command your Servant to send me them to morrow by this Bringer, I shal seal them & send them to you without any tarriance, by the Grace of God. Who conserve you & prosper you in al godly purposes & enterprises. *Mortelack*, the iiij day of *June*.

Your own to command,

Nic. Shaxton, *Bishop of Sarum*.

N U M B.



## N U M B. L.

Robert Bishop of Chichester, to Secretary Crumwel; Upon  
the same argument.

**A**fter my most hearty recommendations, with like thanks for your manifold kindnesse shewed unto me in times past: Pleaseth it you to be advertised, that upon Sunday, *Viz.* the 13th Day of this instant month of *June*, after such smal Talent, as God hath lent me, I preached the word of God openly in my Cathedral Church of *Chichester*; & also published there the Kings most dreadful Commandment concerning (with other things) the uniting of the *Supreme Head* of the Church of *England* unto the Imperial Crown of this Realm; & also the abolishing & tecluding out of this Realm the inormities & abuses of the Bp. of *Romes* authority usurped within the same. And likewise have sent forth my *Suffragan* to preach & publish most speedily the same in the populous Townes within my Dioces. And further have proceded, that by this day at the furthest, there is neither Abbot Prior, Dean, Archdeacon, Provost, Parson, Vicar nor Curate within my Dioces, but they have commandment to publish the same in their Churches every Sunday, & solemne Feast accordingly. And, as much as in me is, I shal see & cause them to continue in doing of their duty in this behalf. Most heartily desiring you to move the K. Highnes, that it may please his Grace, considering my Age & impotency, that the further doing of these premisses by other sufficient persons may be sufficient for my discharge in this behalf. And if it shal please you to particularly advertise me of the Kings plesure herein, ye shal bind me to do you any plesure, that lyeth in my little power. And thus fare ye most heartily wel. From *Selfey* xxviii<sup>o</sup> June.

*Cleopatra,*  
E. 6.

Your bounden Orator,

*Robt. Cicest.*

## N U M B. LI.

John Bishop of Lincoln, to Mr. Crumwel; Of the  
same matter.

**R**ight Worshipful Master Secretary, My duty remembred unto your good Masterhip, with my humble thanks for al your goodnes towards me, & in al my Causes ever. Pleaseth it the same to understand, that I have, according as I am bounden, & as the King his Grace Commandment was by his letters, since the receipt of the same, set forth, & caused to be declared throughout my Dioces, his Title,

*Cleopatra,*  
E. 6. p. 261.

S f f

Dignity

Dignity & Style of *Supreme Head in earth*, immediately under God, of the Church of *England*, & shal so continue. And for as much as the last letter of Declaration in English, which your Mastership sent unto me last, must go into so many several places within my Diocess, that al the Clerks I have are not able to write them in long process of time, I have caused 2000 of the same to be put in print, for the speedy & good setting forward thereof: & have sent unto you a paper of the same. Beseeching you, I may have knowledg of your pleasure by this Bearer my Servant: Whether it be your pleasure I shal in this forme in print send forth the same or not. And your pleasure known, it shal not be long in doing, God willing.

Over this I have in mean time set forth to divers parts in every Shire within my Diocess the same in writing, as many as al my Clerks could in the mean season write, & are doing stil. Thus the Godhead preserve your good Mastership. Written at *Woburn*, this xxv day Junij.

Your bedisman, & Priest,

*John Lincoln.*

## NUMB. LII.

*Cuthbert Bishop of Durham, to Mr. Crumwel; Concerning his preaching the Kings Supremacy.*

*Cleop. E. 6.  
p. 248. b.*

AND where now of late I have also received the Kings most honorable Letters, sent unto me by Sir *Francis Bygot* Kt., containing the Kings Highnes Commandment for setting forth of his Title of *Supreme Head* of the Church of *England*, & the abolishment of the Authority of the Bp. of *Rome*; I not only my self, before the receipt of the same Letters, had don my duty in setting forth his Title of *Supreme Head*, but also caused others to do the same. And so his Grace was prayed for ever since the Proclamation of the Act therupon made. And eftsones upon the receipt of the Kings said letter, I repaired to *Duresm*, & there preached my self again in great presence, as wel in setting forth the Kings Title, as in Declaring the usurped authority of the Bp. of *Rome*, heretofore used in this Realm. And so have done, & shal, from time to time accomplsh the Kings Commandment in my Diocess, God willing.

There were words in the said Letter that sore grieved me; that the Kings Highnes should repute, that I should look for a new world, or mutation. If the Kings H. knew my mind, as God doth, sure I am, those words had not been put in. For I have been as sore against such Usurpations of the Bp. of *Rome*, as dayly did grow, as any man of my degree in this Realme. And that I should now look for the renewing of that thing, which I withstood heretofore, as far as I might, when he flourished most, it is not likely. Surely I look for no Mutation,



tation, nor new World, but one; which is the changing of this life transitory to the life eternal in the World to come. Which Mutation, whensoever it shal happen, I beseech Almighty *Jesus* of his infinite mercy, that I may leave the Kings H. in his most prosperous reign many years after my decease, to myche increase of his Honour, the wealth of his Subjects, & the propagation of his most rōyal posterity. And thus Almighty *Jesus* preserve your good Mastership to his plesure & yours. From *Aukland* the xxjth day of July.

Your Masterships humble Bedeman,

*Cuthbert Duresm.*

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N U M B. LIII.

*The Kings Letter to the Earl of Suffex; To seize such as preached up the Popes Authority in England.*

By the King.

HENRY R.

**R**ight Trusty & right wel beloved Cousin, We greet you wel. And <sup>*Cleopatra,*</sup> where it is comen to our knowledg, that sundry persons, as wel <sup>*E. 6. p. 213.*</sup> Religious, as Secular Priests & Curates, in their Parishes & divers places within this our Realm, do daily as much as in them is, set forth & extol the Jurisdiction & Authority of the Bp. of *Rome*, otherwise called *Pope*; Sowing their seditious, pestilent & false doctrin: Praying for him in the pulpit, & making him a God, to the great deceit, alluding & seducing of our Subjects, bringing them into errors, seditions & evil opinions: More preferring the power, lawes & jurisdiction of the said Bp. of *Rome*, then the most holy lawes & precepts of Almighty God: We therefore, minding not only to procede for an unity & quietnes to be had, & continued, among our said Subjects, but also greatly coveting & desiring them to be brought to a perfection & knowledg of the mere verity & truth; & no lenger to be seduced, nor blinded with any such superstitious & false doctrin of any earthly Usurper of Gods laws; Wol therefore & Command you, that where & whensoever ye shal apperceive, know or hear tel of any such seditious persons, that in such wise do spread, teach & preach, or otherwise set forth, any such opinions & pernicious doctrine, to the exaltation of the power of the Bp. of *Rome*; Bringing therby our Subjects into error, grudge & murmuration; That ye indelayedly do apprehend & take them, or cause them to be apprehended & taken, & so committed to Ward, there to remain without bayle or mainprize, until upon your advertisement therof unto us, or our Councel, ye shal know our further plesure in that behalf. Yeven under our Signet at our manor of *Greenwich* the 17th day of April.

## NUMB. LIV.

*The Kings letters to the Justices of Peace ; To further the Kings cause of the Supremacy.*

By the King.

HENRY R.

*Cleopatra,*  
E. 6. p. 214.

*Novemb.*  
1534.

**T**Rusty & right wel beloved, We greet you wel. And wheras heretofore, as ye know, both upon most just & vertuous foundations, grounded upon the Laws of Almighty God & holy Scripture, & also by the deliberate advise, consultation, consent & agreement, as wel of the Bps. & Clergy, as by the Nobles & Commons Temporal of this our Realm assembled in our high Court of Parliament, & by authority of the same ; the abuses of the Bp. of Rome his authority & jurisdiction, of long time usurped against us, have been not only utterly extirped, abolished & secluded ; but also the same our Nobles & Commons, both of the Clergy & Temporalty, by another several Act, & upon like foundation, for the public weal of this our Realm, have united, knit & annexed to us, & the Crown Imperiall of this our Realm, the Title, Dignity & Stile of *Supreme Head* in earth, immediately under God, of the Church of *England*, as undoubtedly evermore we have been : Which thing also the same Bps. & Clergy particularly, in their Convocations, have wholly & intyrelly consented, recognized, ratified, confirmed & approved autentiquely in Writing, both by their speciall oaths, profession & writing under their Signes & Seals ; so utterly renouncing al other Oaths, obedience & jurisdiction, either of the said Bp. of Rome, or of any other Potentate : WE late you wit, that perpending & considering the Charge & Commission in this behalf given unto us by Almighty God, together with the great quietnes, rest & tranquillity, that hereby may ensue to our faithful Subjects, both in their Consciences, & otherwise to the plesure of Almighty God, in case the said Bps. & Clergy of this our Realm should sincerely, truly & faithfully set forth, declare & preach unto our said Subjects, the very true word of God, & without al maner colour, dissimulation & hypocrisy, manifest, publish & declare, the great & innumerable inormities & abuses, which the said Bp. of Rome, as wel in Title & Stile, as also in authority & jurisdiction, of long time, unlawfully & unjustly hath usurped upon us, our Progenitors, & al other Christian Princes ; Have not only addrest our letters general to al, & every the same Bps, straitly charging & commanding them, not only in their proper persons, to declare, teach & preach unto the people the true, mere, & sincere Word of God : & how the said Title, Stile & Jurisdiction of *Supreme Head* appertaineth unto us, our Crown & Dignity royal ; & to give like warning, monition & charge, to al Abbots, Priors, Deans, Archdeacons, Provosts, Parsons, Vicars, Curates, Schoolmasters, & al other Ecclesiastical persons within their Diocesses, to do the semblable in their Churches every Sunday, & solemn Feast ; & also in  
their



their Schooles : & to cause al maner Prayers, Orizons, Rubricks, & Canons in Mass-books, & al other Books used in Churches, wherein the said Bp. is named, utterly to be abolished, eradicated, & razed out, in such wise, as the said Bp. of *Rome*, his name & memory for evermore (except to his contumely & reproch) may be extinct, suppressed & obscured : BUT also to our Justices of the Peace, that they in every place, within the precinct of their Commission, do make & cause to be made diligent search, wait & espyal, whether the said Bps. & Clergy do truly & sincerely, without any maner cloke or dissimulation, execute & accomplish their said charge, to them committed in this behalf : & to certify us & our Councel of such of them, that should omit or leave undon any part of the premisses ; or else in the execution therof, should coldly & fainedly use any maner, sinister addition, interpretation or cloke : as more plainly is expressed in our said Letters :

WEE, considering the great good & furtherance that ye may do in these matters, in the parties about you, & especially at your being at Sizes & Sessions, in the declaration of the Premisses, have thought it good, necessary & expedient, to write these our Letters unto you ; whom we esteem to be of such singular zeale & affection towards the glory of Almighty God, & of so faithful & loving hearts towards us, as ye wol, with all your wisdomes, diligences & labours accomplish al such things, as might be to the preferment & setting forth of Gods word, & the amplification, defence & maintenance of our said Interest, Right, Title, Stile, Jurisdiction & authority appertaining unto us, our Dignity, Prerogative, & Crown Imperial of this our Realm ; wol & desire you, & nevertheles straitly charge & command you, that laying apart al vain affections, respects, & carnal considerations, & setting before your eyes the mirror of truth, the glory of God, the right & dignity of your Sovereign Lord, thus sounding to the inestimable unity & commodity, both of your selves, & al other our loving & faithful Subjects, ye do not only make diligent search within the precincts of your Commission & Authority, whether the said Bps. & Clergy, do truly & surely, as before, preach, teach & declare to the people the premisses according to their duties ; but also at your said sitting in Assizes & Sessions ye do persuade, shew & declare unto the said people the very tenor, effect & purpose of the premisses in such wise, as the said Bishops & Clergy may the better, not only do & execute their said duties, but that also the Parents & Rulers of families may declare, teach & inform their Childer & Servants in the specialities of the same, to the utter extirpation of the said Bishop's usurped authority, name & jurisdiction for ever.

SHEWING also & declaring unto the people, at your said Sessions, the Treasons traitorously committed against us & our laws by the late Bp. of *Rocheſter*, & Sir *Thomas More* Kt. Who therby, & by divers secret practices of their malicious mind against us, intended to feminate, engender, & breed, among our people & subjects, a most mischievous & seditious Opinion, not only to their own confusion, but also of divers others, who lately have condignely suffered execution according to their demerits. And in such wise dilating the same, with persuasions to the same our people, as they may be the better riped, established

established & satisfied in the truth. And consequently, that al our faithful & true Subjects may therby detest & abhor, in their hearts & deeds, the most recreant [miscreant] & traiterous abuses & behaviors of the said malicious malefactors, as they be most worthy. And finding any default, negligence or dissimulation in any maner of person or persons, not doing his duty in this party, yee immediatly advertise us & our Councel of the default, maner & fashion of the same. Letting you wit, that considering the great moment, weight & importance of this matter, as wherupon dependeth the unity, rest & quietnes of this our Realm, if ye should contrary to your duties, & our expectation & trust, neglect, be slack or omit to do diligently your duty in the true performance & execution of our mind, plesure & commandment, as before, or would halt & stumble at any part or specialty of the same: Be ye assured, that We, like a Prince of Justice, wol so punish & correct your default & negligence therin, as it shal be an example to al others, how contrary to their Allegiances, Oaths & Duties they do frustrate, deceive & disobey the just & lawful Commandment of their Sovereign Lord, in such things, as by the true, hearty & faithful execution wherof they shal not only prefer the honor & glory of God, now set forth, the Majesty & imperial Dignity of their Sovereign Lord, but also import & bring an inestimable unity, concord, & tranquillity of the public & common state of this Realm: Wherunto both by the Laws of God & Nature, & Man, they be utterly obliged & bounden. And therfore faile ye not most effectually, earnestly & entyrelly to se the premisses done & executed, upon pain of your Allegiances, & as ye wol avoid our high indignation & displeasure at your uttermost perils. Yeven under our Signet at our Manor beside *Westminster*, the xxvth day of June.

## NUMB. LV.

*Thomas Bedyll, to the Kings Visitors; When he sent them his Emendations of a Book for preaching & declaring the Kings power.*

*Cleopatra,*  
E. 6. p. 256.

\* Dr. Fox,  
after Bp. of  
Hereford.

IN my right harty wise I commend me to you. And where I have altered some things in the Treatise devised for preaching & setting forth of the Kings Title of Supreme Head, & of the extinction of the power & jurisdiction of the Bp. of Rome: Wherin I have counselled with Master Almoner \*, & have shewed him what I have done; which is much busied at *Lambeth*, as ye know: I have therfore sent the said Alterations unto you: that ye, comparing the Book, that ye have already with this, may take or leave, as ye shal like or disallow.

In the beginning where it is written, *They shal Preach & Declare*, I have altered it through the Book thus, *I declare unto you*, or this, *Ye shal understand*. For else I suppose many of the Curates be so brute, that they would read or speake every word, as it was written, & say



& say of themselves in the pulpit, *They shal preach & declare* : As a talk runs of a Collier that did so in a stage play, &c.

Also, in the beginning be two maners of entring into the matter : One for Learned, One other for Ignorant.

I have also brought in a good Saying, or two, of *Tertullian*, That *Princes be highest next God*. I have brought in divers Histories of the Bible, that Kings commanded the Priests, Constituted the Priests, & *Levites*, punished - - - - - the highest Bp. sometime with death, sometime revenging them, & setting one other in their place. And this I did for certain causes, which yee may correct.

I have left out the Allegory of the repairing of the [Temple] when it was in ruine, because it is not the Allegory sence, but the Literal sence, that must prove any matter sufficiently. And that Princes may reform the Clergy doing amiss, It is better proved in that Book otherwise.

I have also added something in the end, as ye may soon perceive. And besides this, the Book standeth in most places, even as it did, saving here & there a word.

I have drawn a Title to be set before the Book, which ye may emend at your plesure ; & further do with this Book as it shal like you. I pray you have me in mind at this Change, as out of your own I desired you in my last letters. And thus fare ye as well as I would my self to fare. From *London*, the 5th day of August. The Common Sicknes waxeth very busy in *London*.

By your own

*Thomas Bedyl.*

## N U M B. LVI.

*Crumwels Letter to certain Monasteries, that feared the King would force them to Surrender : Assuring them of their Continuance, upon their suitable Behaviour to their Institution. And to Apprehend such as should report the Contrary.*

AFTER my hartly Commendations. Albeit I doubt not, but having long sithence received the Kings Highnes Letters ; wherin his Majesty signified unto you, that using your selves like his good & faithful Subjects, his Grace would not in anywise interrupt you in your State & kind of Living : And that his Plesure therefore was, in case any man should declare any thing to the contrary, you should cause him to be apprehended, & kept in sure Custody, till further knowledge of his Graces Plesure ; You would so firmly repose your selves in the Tenor of his said Letters, as now his Words ; Ne any voluntary Surrender made by any Governour & Company of any Religious House, sithence that time, shal put you in any Doubt or Fear of Suppression, or Change of

*Cott. Librar.  
Cleopatra,  
E. 4.*

of your kind of Life & Policy. Yet the most excellent Wisdom of his Majesty, knowing as wel, that on the one side Fear may enter upon a contrary Apparance, where the Ground & Original is not known; as on the other side, that in such Cases there cannot want some malicious & cankered Hearts, that upon a voluntary & frank Surrender, would perswade & blow abroad a general & a violent Suppression; to the Intent you should safely adhere to the Sentence of the said Letters by his Highnes already addrest unto you, & like good Subjects ensue the Purport of the same in the Apprehension & Detention of al such Persons that had brought, or would instil the contrary: whereas certain Governours & Companies of few Religious Houses have lately made free & voluntary Surrenders into his Graces Hands: Hath commanded me for your Reposes, Quiets, & for the Causes specified on his Graces behalf, to advertise you, that unles there had been Offertures made by the said Houses that have resigned, his Grace would never have received the same: & that his Majesty intendeth not in any wise to trouble you, or to devise for the Suppression of any Religious House that standeth; except they shal either desire of themselves with one whole Consent to resign or forsake the same, or else misuse themselves contrary to their Allegiance. In which Case they shal deserve the Loss of much more than their Houses & Possessions: that is the Loss also of their Lives.

Wherefore in this you may repose your selves: Giving your selves to serve God devoutly, to live like true & faithful Subjects to his Majesty, & to provide honestly for the Sustentation of your Houses, & the relieving of poor people with the Hospitality of the same, without Consumption, & wilful Wast & Spoil of things; which hath been lately made in many Abbies: as tho the Governors of them minded only their Dissolution: you may be sure, that you shal not be impeached by his Majesty: But that his Grace wol be your Shield or Defence against al other that would minister unto you any Injury or Displeasure. And if any man, of what Degree soever he be, shal pronounce any thing to the contrary hereof, fail you not, either to apprehend him, if you shal be able: or if he be such a Personage that you shal not dare to meddle with, to write to his Majesties Highnes their Name, or Names: & report, that he or they, so rude behaving themselves, may be punished for the same, as shal appertain.

#### N. U M B. LVII.

*Legh and Ap Rice, to Secretary Crumwel; Concerning the Inhibitions of Bishops.*

*Cleopatra,  
E. 6. p. 255.*

**A**fter due Commendations, Please it your Masterhip to be advertised: That we, supposing that the Bps. would be in hand with you again touching the *Inhibitions*, thought good to shew you such reasons, as moved us to cause them to be made after that maner.

First, Whereas the King, tho he were alwayes so indeed, yet but now of late agnized & declared Supreme Head of the Church of *England*,



land, & could not put that Title in real possession & execution, but if he took into his hands once al Jurisdiction & Power ; &, for a season, or at his plesure, exercise the same for the establishment of his Subjects, & a perpetual Monument :

Also, lest the Bps. if they had alwayes enjoyed this Jurisdiction, without any Interruption, would (as in maner they do already) have supposed & reckoned, they had received the same from elsewhere, than from the Kings Highnes ; It seemed to us good, that they should be driven by this means to agnize their Author, Spring & Fountain ; as else they be too ingrate to enjoy it.

If they had any Jurisdiction, they must needs have received it, either by the Law of God, or by the Bp. of *Romes* authority, or else by the Kings Grace permission. Which is no sufficient discharge against the Statute. If they say, Against [By] the law of God, let them bring forth Scripture. But I think them not so impudent as to say so. If they say, By the Bp. of *Romes* authority, let them exercise stil, if they think it meet. If they say, By the Kings permission, why be they more discontent, that the King should cal again now to his hands, that which came from him to them, than they would have been, if he had now granted it them ? And surely they are not able to justify the exercise of their jurisdiction hitherto.

But may fortune, they wil say, They have *Prescribed* against the King. And truly tho the law of the Realm say the contrary, we say that they would, have done so indeed, if they had yet stil continued the same without interruption. And therefore to avoyd that they do not so *prescribe*, We thought good at the least way once to interrupt them, & that for the Visitation time. Or else their Successors might say, that the King had but only the Title, & never might, nor did, put the same in execution. For such hath been their juggling heretofore, as the King & you know wel enough.

Also, If they should exercise this jurisdiction, it must be executed after the Canon laws, which, with their Author, are profligate out of this Realm. Therefore we thought meet, that the Jurisdiction should be given (if it please the Kings Highnes so) to them even with the Laws, after whose Tenor the same should be executed. That then it may appear to al the world, that both the laws & also Jurisdiction, procede of the Kings Highnes, as the Chief Spring, Head & Fountain.

But yet it should seem, whatsoever they say, that they refer this Jurisdiction, as accepted from some else, than from the King, if they durst speak it ; when they chalenge it as their Right, & grudge at these things. Sith no man can suppose, if they reckoned it to have proceeded of the King, that any of them would be miscontent, that he should cal that to his hands again, which they never enjoyed, but by his permission & tolerance.

If they claim it as their right, let them shew their Evidence. If they take it as a Benefit of the Kings Hignes, let them sue for it again by Supplication. That they & al other may understand him to be the Head-power within this Realm under God ; & that no Jurisdiction procedeth within the same, but from him.

And they in the mean, to exercise only necessary things, (if they can shew any) as the Kings Commissaries, & Yours, every man in his Diocess: & in no wise to meddle with such things, as be voluntary, unto the time above rehearsed.

These things & al other we remit to your high Wisdom, Discretion, & Correction.

Also, We send you two Articles to be set in the Injunctions of *Cambridg*, which we had omitted. And the same Injunctions, when ye have perused them & corrected, it may please you Mastership to cause to be written in Parchment, & sealed, & then to be sent unto us. And this the Almighty God have your Mastership in his blessed keeping, the 24 Septemb.

Your ever assured

*Thomas Legh, D. L.*

Sir, I pray you to remember my Bil, touching the Bulls, if ye think I may do the Kings Grace any service therin, & you any commodity.

Your faithful Servant,

*John Ap Rice.*

## N U M B. LVIII.

*Some Additions to the Injunctions for the University of  
Cambridg, prepared by the Kings Visitors.*

*After the Preface, this to be the first Article.*

**E**T primum omnium, Vos omnes & singuli, fideliter verèq; & ex animo observabitis, & ab alijs, quantum in Vobis fuerit, sic observari facietis, docebitis & procurabitis, omnia & singula contenta tam in juramento Successionis nostræ aliàs per Vos præstito, quàm in quodam professione sigillo vestro communi sigillata, & manibus vestris Subscripta: Statutàq; hujus Regni pro extirpatione Papatus, & usurpatæ sive prætenfæ potestatis *Romani* Episcopi in hoc Regno, proq; assertione sive confirmatione Authoritatis, Jurisdictionis, & Prærogativæ nostræ supremæ Ecclesiasticæ, & Successorum nostrorum, quandocúnq; edita, sive sancita, edendàq; sive sancienda, modis omnibus, quibus melius & efficacius poteritis, adimplebitis & observabitis. Ac Juniores & alios vestræ Curæ commissos sedulò docebitis & instruētis, ipsos unà vobiscum penitus esse absolutos ab omnia obedientia Episcopo *Romano* deberi prætenfa; Regiámq; potestatem cæteris omnibus juxta divinum eloquium in terris præcellentiore esse, & eidem præ alijs omnibus ex divino præcepto parendum & obediendum esse: Nec *Rom.* Episcopi antehac usurpatam jurisdictionem, sive auctoritatem quovismodo ex sacris literis fundatam esse; sed partim dolo & astutia ejusdem *Rom.* Episcopi, Ipsiusq; pravis & ambiciosus Canonibus & Decretalibus, ac partim tolerantia & permissione Principum, succrevisse: & ideo nunc jure optimo & æquissimo ex hoc nostro Regno auctoritate publica sublatam esse.

*The*



*The second Article.*

Et quia animadvertimus corruptelam præcipuam Studiorum omnium fuisse, &c.

*At the end of the Injunctions, this to be added.*

Has Leges & Injunctiones vobis, Charissimi, jam tulimus & proposuimus, Reservantes nobis, ac præfato nostro *Thomæ Crumwel*, Visitatori nostri Generali, sive ejus in ea parte Surrogato cuicunque, potestatem, quascunque alias Injunctiones indicendi; cæteraque pro nostro, sive ejus arbitrio faciendi; quæ nostræ, ipsiusve, prudentiæ & discretioni visum fuerit expedire. Quæ omnia & singula Injunctiones ac Mandata præscripta, Vos omnes & singulos respective; inviolabiliter observare volumus, præcipimus & mandamus, sub pænâ indignationis nostræ Regiæ.

## N U M B. LIX.

*The Bishop of Durham, to Secretary Crumwel; Concerning a Commission sent him for taking the Valuation of Livings.*

**R**ight Honorable, In my humble maner I recommend me unto your Mastership, Advertising the same; That where the Kings Highnes did direct his most honorable Commission & Instructions to me & my fellows, named therein, for the knowledg of the true valor of Spiritual Promotions within the Bprie. of *Durham*, according to the Act of Parliament last past, for the Kings Tenths & First Fruites; We, according to our said Commission & Instructions, have endeavoured our selves by al means to us possible, to attain to the true knowledg of the said valors. And forasmuch as in these North parts were but three Auditors joyned with us of this Country, & them of *Yorkshire*; and the Commissioners of *Northumberland*, & those of the Archdeaconry of *Richmond*, & the Books of *Yorkshire*, which is large, occupied the said Auditors so long, that unto they were dispatched, we could not have them to attend to the making up the Books of this Country of the Bishopric; Which now they have done. And albeit we should have been glad to have had Mr. *Blithman*, (who brought unto us the Kings Commission, & is one of us, & now is there) to have been here at the sealing up of them, as he was at the taking up of the Valors; yet forasmuch as it was shewed me, that your Mastership, at the Receipt of the Books of *York*, marvelled, that ye heard no word from me & my fellows, We thought therefore best (not tarying the Coming of Mr. *Blithman*, being uncertain unto us) to send up the Books unto your Mastership; which this Bearer shal deliver unto the same. Wherin be comprized the true valors, as neer as we can attain, of al Spiritual Benefices & Promotions within the Limits of our Commission. — And by & by he writes,

*Cleopatra,*  
E. 6. p. 248.

“ That he would follow the Kings Commandment, that is, to give no  
 “ Institutions unto any, until the Kings Highnes were agreed withal  
 “ for his First frutes. *And advised Crumwel*, That it were good, that  
 “ some in those parts had Authority to take the Bonds: because many  
 “ things might fal that would put the party to as much charge to ride  
 “ up to *London* for them, as the Frutes would amount unto.

## N U M B. LX.

*Stephen Bishop of Winchester, to the King; Being under  
 his displeasure.*

*Cleopatra,  
 E. 6. p. 200.*

**M**Y duty remembred to your Majesty, with all lowly humility, &  
 reverend honor. For as much as letted by disease of body I  
 cannot personally repair to your Highnes presence; having heard of  
 your Graces Almoner, to my great discomfort, what opinion your  
 Highnes hath conceived of me, I am compelled by these Letters to re-  
 present me unto the same, Lamenting & wailing my chance and for-  
 tune, to have lost, beside my deserts, as much reputation in your Graces  
 heart, as your Highnes without my merit hath conferred unto me in  
 estimation of the world. And if I comforted not my self with remem-  
 brance of your Graces goodnes, with whom *Veritas semper vincit, &  
 Sortis taderet & vita.*

I know in my self, & can never forget your Graces benefits, your  
 Highnes notable affection toward me. I know my duty & bond to  
 your Highnes. How much I desire to declare in outward deeds mine  
 inward knowledg, God knoweth, & I trust your H. shal know. But  
 in the mean time for want therof, thus I suffer, & know no remedy,  
 but your H. goodnes, to expend what I have done, what I should  
 have do, & what I may do: & not to be discontent, tho, in cor-  
 recting the Answer made, I beleived so great a number of learned men,  
 affirming it so precisely to be true, that was in the Answer alledged con-  
 cerning Gods Law. Especially, considering your H. book against *Lut-  
 ther*, in mine understanding most plainly approveth it. The Book  
 written in your Graces Cause, & translated into *English*, seemeth to  
 allow it. And the Council of *Constance*, condemning the Articles of  
*Wyckif*, manifestly decreeth it. The contrary wherof if your Grace  
 can now prove, yet I, not learned in Divinity, ne knowing any part  
 of your Graces proves, am I trust without cause of blame in that be-  
 half. When I know that I know not, I shal then speak thereafter. It  
 were pity we lived, if so little expressing our Love to God in our  
 Deeds, we should abuse his Name & Authority, to your H. displeasure,  
 of whom we have received so many benefits. On the other part, if it  
 be Gods Authority, to us allotted, tho we cannot use it condignely, yet  
 we cannot give it away. And it is no les danger to receive than to  
 give, as your H. of your high Wisdom can consider. I am for my  
 part, as I am bound, most desirous not only to do what may be done  
 to your Highnes contentation, but also applicable to learn the truth,  
 what



what ought to be done. Trusting your Majesty wil finally take in good part, that I think that true, for which I have so good grounds & authorities, until I hear stronger grounds & reasons to the contrary. I shal most gladly confer with any of your Graces Council in this matter. And in the mean time daily pray to God for knowledg of his truth; & preservation of your Majesty in much felicity: alway most ready & desirous to do as becometh

Your most humble Subject,

most bounden Chaplain,

& daily Bedeman,

Ste. Winton.

# N U M B. LXI.

Shaxton, Bishop of Salisbury, to Crumwel, Vicar General.  
Upon the said Bishops inhibiting a Monk of Reading,  
to read Lectures any more in the Monastery. Whose Cause  
the said Vicar General had called to himself.

**M**Y Duty don unto your good Lordsp. These shal be to advertise the same, that I received your Honorable Letters; Dated the 13th day of March, & obeyed the same as it became me. Albeit that I wel perceived, that the Abbot of Reading, in whose Favour yee wrote, or else some other in his Behalf, had misinformed you of the Cause, why I did inhibit the Monk that readeth there. The Truth wherof, when I have once opened unto you, I nothing doubt, yee shal think it reasonable, to refer the whole Matter again unto me: or else at the least to allow, ratify & confirm my Doing; & to see the said Abbot corrected for his Misdoing in despising me, Gods Minister under the King, in my just & right Doing.

The Truth is this, Dompne Roger London, the Reader, that was accused to me of *Hereſie* by three Monks of the same House, namely, by these, D. William Benet, D. William Sutton, & D. Walter Ludlow. The Matters were no Trifles. The First; the Holy Scripture is not absolutely sufficient of it self, for a Christen man to live by. *Item*, If any good man can preach the Word of God sincerely & truly, both in Word & Example; yet is he not sufficient to keep a Cure, unles he have somewhat more: That is to say, he must have the Cases of Conscience. *Item*; The Evangelical Faith justifieth no man before God, without his own Works. *Item*; A man may deserve Grace, Justification, & a higher Place in Heaven by his own Works.

Upon this Accusation I examined him, as favourably as I could do: & found him a man of very smal Knowledg, & of worſe Judgment: And finally making onely his Reformation in Words: & neither Faggoting; nor to his utter Shame & Confusion, any open Revocation. After I had at good Length taught him the Truth touching the

Cott. Library  
Cleopatra,  
E. 4.

the Premises, I resolved our Communication briefly as I could : namely, In such sort as declared the Contrary of his Articles to be the plain Catholic Truth : And took his Subscription, & dismissed him.

Now by this ye may perceive, my good Lord, how unmeet a man this is to read a Lecture in Divinity there, or elsewhere, til he be of better judgment ; yea, & of more Insight in Scripture, than he is yet like to be. And herefore sued I unto your Lordsp. to have had my man read there. The which thing, if it had come to pass, so should I not have needed to have inhibited the said Monk his Reading : but I bare with him to say his *Creed*, so long as there was hope to have another Reader there. But when my Expectation was frustrated in that behalf, then was I driven to do that which I was loth to do ; & which nevertheles I was bound to do, that is, to inhibit him Reading.

And is not the Abbot now worthy to be corrected, which, al this notwithstanding, hath caused the Monk contemptuously stil to continue his Lecture ? Had not I been worthy Correction, if I had contemptuously disobeyed your Letter lately addressed unto me, having the Equivalency of a Inhibition ? And as yee look to be obeyed of me, as long as yee be the Kings Deputy, so, I trow, ought I to be obeyed in my just using of mine Authority, of al them over whom the Kings Highness hath set mee. As they disobey both God & the King, that in your just Precepts disobey you his Deputy ; so do they disobey both God & the King, that in my just Inhibition disobey me, that am also a Minister under God & the King, in the sort of a Bishop : And how this Cause pertaineth to the Kings *Injunctions*, my good Lord, in Faith, I perceive not. I know this, the Kings Injunction is to have a Lecture in Divinity read. But & if the Reader readeth not well, as he ought to do, I trow, it longeth to mine Office to inhibit him the setting forth of his evil Doctrine.

Wherefore if yee advoking this Matter into your Hands, by that Means bear the Abbot in his evil Dealing, that he may escape, by that Pretence, just Correction, see yee thereto, if ye will. But judge, whether that be to exercise your Office *In Edificationem, & non in destructionem*. God wil judge of such using of Authority, my good Lord ; whose Judgment no man shal escape. *Et ecce ! Judex ante januam assistit*, saith S. James. And in like sort S. Peter, *Si tardat*, inquit, *Dominus promissionem, sicut quidam existimant ; sed patienter agit propter vos ; nolens aliquos perire, sed omnes ad pœnitentiam reverti. Adveniet autem Dies Domini, sicut fur, &c.*

Where yee wil me, *not to exercise any other Extremity*, against the said Abbot, &c. Then, it seems, that ye call this that I have don an *Extremity*, & wil me not to exercise any other. If this be an Extremity, my good Lord, to call him to his Answer, in Faith, I wot not, what is Justice & Equity. If I had, after his Answer made, put him to excessive Correction, I had then practised Extremity. Wherof if yee had then relieved him by your Authority, ye had don wel your Office & Duty ; but to take the Matter from me by your Authority, before I have practised any Extremity, is indeed to abuse your Authority, and to practise against me an Extremity. And yet moreover to calumniate my Weldoing, & cal it *Extremity*, is much more than this Extremity.



Is this the Assistance, my good Lord, that I shal look for from you, in reforming of proud Contemners of Authority, against disobedient Persons, despising Gods & the Kings Ministers; yea, both God & the King, in their Ministers? And that yee construe all this Extremity to be practised for the Denyal of my Request concerning a Reader there, have misconstrued my Weldoing once again. For as for the Refusal of my Reader, I set not by it a Farthing; so that there be provided a good Reader. For I made not my Suit unto you in his Behalf, as many men do, because I would be rid of my man: I ensure you, Sir, he is to me right dear: Yea, & nothing the less, because he was a Priest, & for his Mariage degraded. *Quia gaudium est in Cælo super uno peccatore penitentiam agente, quàm super Nonaginta, &c.* He is now an honest Layman, whatsoever he was, being a Priest. But I made my Suit unto you only, to the Intent they mought have a good Reader, which they had, & yet have, need of.

It is a strange thing, my good Lord, to consider the Affections of men, I could not obtain so much of you the last Day, as others, by Word or Writing to know your pleasure, what yee would have me to do with a Popish Monk late of *Abyndon*; altho I was most utterly ignorant, what I mought do. But I would have known, whether your Pleasure had been to have heard him your self, as you did his Abbot before. And the Abbot of *Reading* could out of hand get & obtain your Letters, to let me in my right Proceeding, toward his just Correction. Is this your encouraging of men to do their Duty, my good Lord? Although I have given you none Occasion in my Conscience, why ye should not be my good Lord, yet perceive I right manifestly your Grief towards me, not only by your former Letters, which ye have divers times sent unto me; (which I water manitimes with salt Tears) but also your Misconstruing al my Doings, yea, & by speaking your Pleasure of me, ful ungodly & uncharitably. But let God alone: you hurt your self more than me. *Quia nemo læditur, nisi a Seipso*, saith he. Our Lord have pity upon you, & turn your heart to Amendment, when it shal please him. Your Displeasure may utterly undoe me in this World, I know wel enough; like as your Favour hath been Occasion heretofore of my great Avauncement, without my Desire. And if it so come to pass, I hope I shal have in my Mind, that *Dominus pauperem facit, & ditat: humiliat, & subleuat*: And *Job* his Sentence; *Dominus dedit, Dominus abstulit: sicut Domino placet, ita factum est. Sit Nomen Domini benedictum*. I trust, I say, the Lord shal give me Patience & Grace, to take of his Hand whatsoever he shal send me: *Et faciet cum temptatione proventum*, as *Paul* saith, *ut possim sustinere*. This I know, *Quòd non haberes potestatem adversus me ullam, nisi data esset tibi desuper*. This I know, that tho al men on Earth, yea, & al the Devils in Hel, incite & stir you against me, not a Hair of my Head shal perish without the Goodwil of my Father in Heaven.

Nevertheless, as I am sure that I have not, so I hope, that I shal not give you any Occasion justly to be grieved with me. But & if ye wil, without just Occasion given you, exercise your Power against me, *Et Odio habere me gratis*, then let God alone; upon whom I depend; & to whose Protection I wholly do commit me.

Mine



Mine own dear good Lord, for Gods sake, hate not them that love you. Be not grieved with them, that for Christen Love admonish you; & even from the bottome of their Hearts, pray for you. But be displeased with them that flatter you. Remember, that it is written (*Eccl. 19.*) *Et qui nequiter humiliat se: & interiora ejus plena sunt dolo.* For in their Hearts they care not, whether yee fleet or sink. Aid them with your Authority, which apply themselves to serve God & the King in their Calling. Among whom I reckon my self one, & wil give no place therin to the best Bp. in *England* for my Talent, except *Canterbury & Worcester.* And alas! Sir, what good shal I do with my continual Preaching, & earnestly setting forth of the Truth, if the Residentiaries of *Salisbury*, to whom ye wrote, that the Kings Grace shal take my Doings in evil part touching that Cause; Or the Maior & Citizens of *Salisbury*, whom ye seem to bear in the usurping against the Kings Grants, & their own Composition with the Church; or any other of my Dioces here, that I am again out of favour with you, & as they wil judge with the Kings Grace, (*Cujus Indignatio Mors est*) through you? Yea, who wil set a Straw other by me, or my Preaching, if Authority be away? The which thing your self wel considering, said the last Year openly among us al, That we should suffer no Minishment of Authority, but rather have more, than ever we had. But now it appeareth, *Quod verba sunt hac.*

Yee wrote me a fore Letter, because I wrote in my Letters, that by the Grant of King *Edward IV.* the Maior of *Sarum* is the *Bishops Maior*, & the Citizens the *Bishops Citizens*, as wel as the Maior of *Reading* the Abbots Maior, &c. As tho I had committed a great Fault in so writing; & made no mention of the King, our Sovereign Lord, his Confirmation. Which except I had, I would never have written such a Word for my Head. For what Profit should any Kings Graunts do a man, without Confirmation of him that weareth the Crown? Was not this to be grieved without Occasion, my good Lord? Yea, was not this to seek a Knot in the Bulrush, as it is said? And God is my Witnes, how little I lift up my self, because of such Graunts; were not the Quietnes & Ease of the poor Citizens, which be now free of al Tollage & Pollage, assoon as they come to inhabit them in the City. Where else they should not open a Shop Window, nor keep none Inn without payment of Money. And had not they, I mean the Poor, desired me the Contrary, I would ere this day, have given up al those Graunts clearly: rather than through the unjust Complaints of certain unquiet Persons, yee should have been thus fore grieved with me.

And now, Sir, both the Graunts, & I also, are at the Kings Pleasure, even at a Beck, as it is said; whensoever it shal be thought good unto him, & you of the Council, to have another Order.

Now forgive me, Sir, for Christs blessed Bloud sake, if through my Rudeness, I have grieved you in this, or any other of my Letters; & take al in good part, I hartily beseech you. Construe nothing unchristenly: & become again my good Lord. And then shal rejoyce, that God hath fortunate my Writing: which bringeth to effect oft times very difficle things, I wil not say, impossible. If yee take otherwise, & wil stil continue fore against me, I would wish that I were no Bp.

but



but obscure in some Angle, to sing to my self, & my Muses, as it is said. For little good shal I do in my Office, wot I wel, without your Assistance, & such as yee be. And if I do no good in it, what should I do with it? As for my self, I lived with much more Ease a great deal, before I was a Bishop.

And now, what your good Pleasure shal be, that I do further, concerning the Abbot of *Reading*, & his Monk, the Reader; I beseech you, it may please you to signify unto me by your Honorable Letters; & I shal order me therafter, as it becometh me, obediently, by the Grace of God. Who preserve your good Lordship long, with much encrease of Honour. From *Ramsbury*: the xxj. day of March: By the evil Hand

Of your Lordships to Command,

*Nicolas Salesbury.*

## N U M B. LXII.

*Sir Thomas Elyot, to Secretary Crumwel; Concerning his sending in Seditious Books of the Bishop of Romes Authority. According to a Proclamation.*

**M**After Secretary, In my right humble maner I have me recommended unto you. Sir, Albeit it were my duty to await on you, desiring to be perfectly instructed in the effectual understanding of the Kings most gracious pleasure, contained in his Graces Proclamation concerning Seditious Books; Now forasmuch as I have been very sick; & yet am not intyre recovered, I am constrained to importune you with these my homely letters. Which considering my necessity & sincere meaning, I trust, wil not be fastidious unto you. Whom I have alway accounted one of my chosen friends, for the similitude of our studies: Which undoubtedly is the most perfect foundation of amity.

*Cleopatra,  
E. 6. p. 249.*

Sir, As ye know, I have been ever desirous to read many Books, especially concerning Humanity & Moral Philosophy. And therefore of such studies I have a competent number. But concerning H. Scripture I have very few. For in Questionists I never delighted. Unfavorable Glosses & Comments I ever abhorred. The Boasters & Advancers of the pompous Authority of the Bishop of *Rome* I never esteemed. But after that, by much & serious Reading, I had apprehended a judgment, or estimation of things, I did anon smel out their corrupt affection, & beheld with scornful eyes the sundry abusions of their authorities, adorned with a licentious & dissolute form of living. Of the which, as wel in them, as in the universal state of the Clergy, I have oftentimes wished a necessary Reformation. Wherof hath happened no little contention betwixt me & such Persons, as ye have thought that I have especially favoured; even as ye also did for some laudable Qualities; which we supposed to be in them. But neither

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they mought perswade me to approve that, which both my Faith & Reason condemned, nor I mought dissuade them from the excusing of that, which al the world abhorred. Which obstinacy of both parts relented the great affection betwixt us, & withdrew our familiarity repayd.

As touching such books as be now prohibited, containing the Bp. of *Romes* authority ; some indeed I have, joynd with divers other Works in one great Volume. or two at the most, which I have found leisure to read. Notwithstanding if it be the Kings pleasure & yours, that I shal bring or send them, I wil do it right gladly. As for the Works of *John Fisher*, I never had any of them to my knowledg, except one little Sermon : Which about 8 or 9 years past was translated into Latine by Mr. *Pace*. And for that cause I bought it, more than for the Author or Matter. But where it is, I am not sure. For, in good faith, I never read it but once, since I bought it. Finally, if your pleasure be to have that & the other, forasmuch as my Books be in sundry houses of mine own, & far asunder, I heartily pray you, that I may have convenient respite to repair thither after my perfect recovery. And as I would, that God should help me, I wil make diligent search, & such as I shal find, favouring any thing against the Kings pleasure, I wil put them in readines, either to be brought to you, or to be cut out of the Volume, where they be joynd with other, as yee shal advise me, after that I have certified to you the titles of them.

Wherefore, Sir, I heartily beseech you, for the sincere love that I have towards you, to advertise me plainly (ye lacking pleasure to write) either by Mr. *Petre Vannes*, or Mr. *Augustine* ; they writing what your counsel & advise is herein, which to my power I wil follow. And, good Mr. Secretary, consider, that from the time of our first acquaintance, which began of a mutual benevolence, ye never knew in me froward opinion, or dissimulation. Perchance natural simplicity, not discretely ordered, mought cause men to suspect, I favoured Hypocrisy, Superstition, & Vanity ; notwithstanding, if ye mought se my thoughts, as God doth, ye should find a Reformer of those things, & not a Favourer, if I mought that I would. And that I desire no less, that my Sovereign Lord should prosper, & be exalted in honor, than any servant that he hath : as Christ knoweth. Which send to you abundance of his grace, with long life. Written at *Cambridge* on the vigil of *S. Thomas*.

Your unfeignedly

*Elyott.*

N U M B.



## N U M B. LXIII.

*An Ambassiate & Declaration of K. Henry VIII. to James V. King of Scots; Concerning the Supremacy, &c. Exciting that King to cast off Popery, & to vindicate his own Authority from the Encroachments of Rome.*

**M**ost Excellent, Mighty & Victorious Prince. Pleaseth your Majesty, that by the Commandment of my most Dread Lord & Sovereign King of *England*, your Graces most dear Uncle, I have in charge under Commission certain special matters concerning his Highnes plesure, secretly to be signified unto your Grace. Wherin not only as a natural Cousin of your Royal Consanguinity, but as a most loving Father, intirely tendring your worthy honor; no les desirous thereof, than regarding his own peculiar prosperity: Unfeignedly accounting your Graces advancement his most conformable consolation. In consideration wherof, sith it hath so pleased God of his infinite favor to revele unto his Highnes, as wel by studious endeavor of good letters, as by erudite consultation of famous esteemed Clerks; also by long attempted experience in searching the truth, chiefly in Christs doctrine, (who saith *Joh. 14. Ego sum Veritas*) now clearly to perceive the thrall captivity under the usurped power of the Bp. of *Rome*, & his ungodly laws; wherein his Highnes, & other many of his Noble Progenitors, were most wickedly abused, to their intolerable calamity & exceeding molestation of their Subjects, over whom God had yevon them authority & goverance to rule; as by al stories of the Old Testament, & information of the New, plainly appeareth:

Which groundly known to his Highnes, wisheth likewise the same to be perswaded unto your Grace. Wherby your honorable Renown & Royal Authority should be much enlarged, with no les felicity of soul, principally to be regarded, than with habundant commodity of riches & unfeigned obeyfaunce of faithful Subjects, far from the cumbersome calamity of Popish miserable molestations. What more intolerable calamity may there be to a christen Prince, than unjustly to be defeated of the righteous jurisdiction within his own Realm: To be a King by name, but not in deed? To be a Ruler without regiment over his own liege people? What more grievous molestation can chance to true-hearted Subjects, than to be severed from the Allegiance due to their natural Sovereign, their anoynted King, graunted by Gods Law, & to become servile slaves to a foraign Potentate, usurping to reign over them against the Law of God; As by the violent Tyranny of the Bp. of *Rome* hath hitherto many years been practised throughout al regions, to the ruinous desolation of the holy Christentie? What realm is there, but that the Bp. of *Rome* hath planted therein his Kingdome, & established his Regiment, after such a subtil way, that he & his crafty Creatures were obeyed of Princes, to whom of duty they ought to have been Subjects? *1 Petri 2. Sive Regi tanquam precellenti, &c.* Of whom al *Roman* Bps. have presumed to be Successors;



but not Followers : contrary to his example, *Qui non venit ministrari, sed ministrare.*

In al Realms the Popish practise hath had such Confederatie of false forsworn Factions, & traiterous *Titinylls*, untrue to their Sovereign, that nothing was so secret in counsel of any Prince, but forthwith it was caried by relation to the Popes ear. And if ought were attempted against his own person, or any crooked Creature of his creation, in restraint of their extortionate claimes, (as there was nothing but they claimed to have authority upon) incontinent they bounced out their Thunder bolts & Cursing fulminations, with such intolerable force of unmerciful cruelty, that they made the greatest Personages of the world to tremble & quake for fear. For by the negligent sufferance of Princes through default of knowledg of Gods word, that Popish pride was so haught, his Authority so preeminent, his power so puissaunt, his strength so mighty, his displeasure so dangerous, his tyranny so terrible, that scarce any durst resist, to countervaile none was able.

Examples of many excellent Princes, as *John* the first, & *Henry II.* of gracious memory, Kings of *England*, here in their Life times inost cruelly vexed : & after their decease, by forged leasyngs, & slanderous impeachments, misreported & falsely belyed, with despiteful dishonor of their excellent Progeny. After like fashion the victorious Emperor *Lodovicus*, enterprising to interrupt the pestilent perversity of Pope *John XXII.* to what careful confusion was he brought ? Moreover the godly & wel disposed *Henry III.* Emperor of *Almayn*, how traiterously was he betrayed by Pope *Hildebrand*, procuring his own Son unnaturally to war against his Father, to take him prisoner, & finally to depose him of his Imperial Crown ? Furthermore, what christen heart can refrain from sorrowful sighs, & mourning Lamentations, to consider how the innocent & harmles Prince *Childericus*, King of *France*, was extremely handled of his own Servant ; *Pepyne*, bereaved of his kngdom, through the instigation of the Bp. of *Rome* ?

And now tho' he hath thus encroached upon Princes, being men, [he had been less to blame, had that been all] wheras he hath exalted himself against God, thrusting him out of his room, & settling himself in Gods place, the Conscience of Christen people : of whose usurped power, *S. Paul* prophesying, *Thes. 2.* calleth him, *The Sinful man, the Son of perdition : Qui est Adversarius, & effertur adversus omne quod dicitur Deus, aut Numen ; adeo ut in Templo Dei sedeat.* Doth he not sit in the Temple of God, by damnable Dispensations, by deceivable Remissions, by lying Miracles, by feigned Relicks, by false Religion, &c. ? And as he hath avoyded God out of the conscience of Chrstien people ; so hath he defeated Princes of their jurisdiction, & debarred every common weal from their politic governance, bringing in his lawless Canons, & detestable Decrees, supplanting the divine Ordinance of power, given to Princely Rulers. And the cause why they have been so deceived, *S. Paul* declareth, *Eo quod dilectionem veritatis non acceperunt.*

This egally considered of your most prudent, singular & high politick Discretion, as wel by probable experience within your Dominions, as by evident example of other Christen Regions, where the Popish unruly Regimenr hath reigned, with intolerable Usurpations, tyrannously



nously defacing al power of Princes ; It may please your gracious Benignity to advertise the intyre intent, the loving mind, & unfeigned heart of my Sovereign, your most Dear Uncle, to be exprested to allure your Graces affection toward the favorable embrasement of Gods word. Wherin his Highnes only rejoycing ardently, desireth to impart the same, his special joy, with your most excellent Grace : Which should be greatly the advancement of your State Royal, the quietation of your Loving Subjects, & most highly the plesure of God.

## N U M B. LXIV.

*The Proposals, called the Petitions, of John Frederic, the Duke of Saxony, & Philip Landgrave of Hesse ; Given to the Kings Ambassadors, in order to a League.*

**I***mprimis*, That it may please the Kings Majesty to promote the Doctrin of the Gospel, as the Confession of the Germans at *Augstburg*, & the Apologies therupon do import : unles his Grace woll change or reform any thing according to the word of God. *Cleopatra, E. 6. p. 296.*

*Item*, That his Highnes shal defend, with the Confederates, the doctrin of the Gospel, & the Ceremonies conformable to the same in the Council General, if the same shal be Just, Catholic, & Free.

*Item*, That neither his G. nor the Confederates in *Germany*, without the expres consent of both parties, shal not assent to any Council to be indicted by the Bp. of *Rome*, whatsoever Authority he shal pretend ; nor also agree with the people of the said Council. Provided nevertheless, that if it shal appear such a Free, Just & Christian Council to be indicted, as the Confederates do require in their Answer to *Paulus Vergerius*, the Bp. of *Romes* Ambassador, that such Council is not to be refused.

*Item*, That if it should happen, that any Council should be indicted by the Bp. of *Rome* to certain place, where he, & other Princes of his Papistical Confederation, would procede, if the said Council should be indicted without his Majesty, & Confederates of *Germany* their agreement ; that they shal earnestly employ themselves to let it to their power,

*Item*, That in the same case they shal make, & cause Protestation to be made, how they dissent to the said Council, & that they intend not to be bound to the Decrees of the same.

*Item*, That they shal obey no manner of Decrees, Mandates, Sentences, Bulls, Letters or Breves of the said Council, in whatsoever name they shal procede, & they shal refuse the same to be good & lawful ; & to their powers cause their Bishops & Preachers so to persuade unto the people.

*Item*, They desire, that like as his Majesty is associate unto them in the doctrin of God, so his Highnes would take upon him the place of Protector & Defender of their League.

*Item,*

*Item*, That neither the Kings Highnes, nor the *Germans*, shal defend or maintain the opinion, that the Primacy of *Rome* should be *Jure divino*; nor that it should be expedient to the Common wealth of Christendome to have the Bp. of *Rome* above al other, or to have any jurisdiction within the Dominions of the said Princes.

*Item*, That in case it should happen any wars to be moved against the said King, or any of the Princes or States of *Germany*, in the cause of religion, or of any other cause or matter; that neither of both parties shal give any help, succor or aid, or favor against the other, directly or undirectly, secretly or openly, to the Invasor.

*Item*, That it may please the Kings Majesty, for the defence of the League, & cause of Religion, to contribute & put in & under Sureties deposit, with the said Princes, 100000 Crownes. The one half wherof the said Confederates shal & may use for their defence; & the other half the said Confederates shal take of such monies, as they have conferred & deposited to that Sum. And if the said Confederates shal need to make any long Defence, that seeing the Princes & Confederates be bound to further sums to be by them contributed, besides the danger of their goods & lives for the mutual Defence; that it may please the Kings Majesty to contribute 200000 Crownes more. Of the one part wherof the Confederates may have the use. And if the war shal happen sooner to be finished, that then the rest shal be reserved *Bona fide*, & restored after the time of the Confederation to his Majesty.

*Item*, That if the King woll so do, the said Princes shal promise & give sufficient Sureties, that they shal convert no part of the same sum to any other use, than to the Defence of the League & cause of the Religion, nor of any such money as they do contribute to the same. And that in case the same Sum be not so spent, that they restore it to his Majesty; Or after the Defence they shal restore the rest, that shal not have been spent in that use.

*Item*, That in the mean time, while the Kings Orators shal confer with some of their learned men, the said Orators wol advertise the K. Highnes therof, & to know therupon his plesure, to be signified unto the said Duke & Landgrave.

*Item*, That after his Plesure known, the said Princes, in their names, & also in the names of their Confederates, shal send some Ambassadors, & among them one excellently learned, not only to confer upon the doctrine & ceremonies, &c. but also to treat & conclude with his Highnes, in the name of the Confederates.

NUMB.



## N U M B. LXV.

*The Opinion of Stephen Bishop of Winchester, concerning the Articles, presented to the Kings Highnes by the Princes of Germany.*

AS touching the first Article. If this Article be granted unto, then <sup>Cleopatra,</sup> shal the Kings Highnes be bound to the Church of *Germany*, & <sup>E. 5. P. 214.</sup> without their consent may not do that the word of God shal permit, unles the Common consent doth concur therunto. Whereupon if this Capitulation be lawful, & shal bind, then shal the Bp. of *Rome* draw it for an Argument to his part, that the Word of God may be restrained to a common assent. Wherefore a League or Bond herein in such termes, is, in my judgment, incompatible. For by the Word of God, both they may reform their Opinions without our Assent, & We without theirs, whatsoever League were made to the contrary.

And for the World, In as much as the Kings Highnes, being of the State of a King, & in his Realm an Emperor, & Head of the Church of *England*; & among the Princes of *Germany* there be onely Dukes & lower Degrees; Such also as knowledg the Emperor for their Supreme Lord; By reason wherof the same Reasons, wherby we prove by Scripture the Kings Majesty Head of the Church of *England*, we prove also the Emperor Head of their Churches: How shal they, without the Consent of the Head of their Church, (which is the Emperor) establish with us the Agreement upon their Religion: Or how shal we, without derogating the Kings cause of his Prerogative & Supremacy, covenant with them in that behalf: whom we know as no Heads of their Church, but inferior members, as long as they knowledg a Superior in the same Church: that is to say, themselves as Subjects to the Emperor? For as we must be ordered by our Head, the Kings Highnes; so wil the Emperor also, that they should be ruled by him according to the word of God. If they here in wil not agree with us, then shal we vary in a great matter. For either they must deny the Emperor their Superior, wherein they be very scrupulous, & seem to attribute very much unto him; or else granting, that they must, according to our opinion, which is true, grant him Head of the Church; And it followeth then, that without him they can establish nothing, but such as he alone, by the word of God, may reforme at all times.

As touching the second, The Kings Highnes might make such a promise unto them as is contained in this Article; & therby be bound; so as by the Word al were discussed. But on their part, I se not how their promise can stand, & be sure: because they knowledg a Subjection to the Emperor.

To the Third Article, As concerning the Council to be indicted, as they have answered to the Bp. of *Rome*: In as much as the Kings Highnes hath nothing ado with the Emperor; I se not how his Grace should agree to any Council to be indicted by the said Emperor. And yet this Article doth import that effect, in that it maketh an  
acceptation

acceptation of such a Council, as should be indicted according to the Answer made to *Peter Paul* [*Vergerius*, the Popes Ambassador.]

As touching the fourth Article, The Kings Highnes may accomplish this Article on his part. But I see not how they could do any thing again for their part, in letting the Council, for as much as touch them, in case the Emperor would, as Emperor, cal the Council.

To the seventh Article, Me seemeth the word *Association* soundeth not wel. Ne it were convenient, that the Kings Highnes should have any lower place, than to be Chief, Principal & Head of the League, & the rest not to be Associate, but Adherent & Dependent therunto, as Contrahents. And if any were, the Duke of *Saxony* to be Associate. Whom, for that he is an Elector, the Kings Highnes hath been accustomed to write *His Cousin*, &c.

The rest of the Articles, concerning mutual Defence & Mony, be very good for the said Princes. For they shal be sure of a great Prince to their friend, & therewith a sum of Money in hand, whereby they might be percase relieved. But as for a Reciproque, I see none to the Kings Highnes for their part again: in as much as they be so far off, & cal themselves the Emperors Subjects.

Finally, Where they desire to have al things agreed unto, before they send an Ambassador to the K. H. they speak therein wisely for their own commodity. For so shal they stil obtain his grace, that they shal then send unto us, not to learn of us, but to instruct & teach us; not to sue to us, but to direct our Church in such Ceremonies, as by their deliberation should be communed of & concluded.

Thus, Master Secretary, according your Letters I write unto you what I think, that is to say, what Doubts & Scrupulosities I find in this matter. Wherin percase I write somewhat amiss, because I understand not fully how they take the Emperor in *Germany*, ne what will be their opinion in him. But if they take him, as I gather by their other Writings they do, then our matters by way of League shal be so much the more perplexed with them. I would rather advise the Kings H. to give them mony, wherwith to defend truth, than to enter any League with such men, which, as I fear, cannot be fast bound again, & dwel also so far off. To hear their Ambassadors, to commune also with them, to discuss the very truth, were very good: But upon the Word of God, to make a new knot, wherof the one end shal be in *Germany*, shal declare rather a change of a Bond of dependence, than a riddance therof. If the Kings H. can induce them wholly & uniformly to agree upon the mere truth, it shal be an Honourable deed, beside the secret merit therof. But in case a Bond were made, & then any of them should swerve from any piece of the Capitulation by force of the Emperor, a grief & displeasure should ensue, without any commodity of redressing the same. I write the Worst, for that ever needeth remedy: the Best needeth no commendation, & the Best, I doubt not, shal be followed with you.

One thing I have thought good to put you in remembrance of, that it were wel done, that they were moved there in *Germany* to agree upon the Kings stile, because of his Supremacy, as wel as upon his Cause of Matrimony; wherin God hath given Sentence, for the most part by the death of the Dowager\*. And this cause is now so necessary

\* Who deceased  
in Jan. 1535.



cellary as the other. For since my Coming hither, I have been assayed herein. And one said, he thought they in *Germany* would not agree therunto, for fear of giving unto the Emperor over much Authority over them. Upon which occasion, I made this Answer my first reason unto you. The King, our Master hath a special cause, because he is Emperor in himself, & hath no Superior. Other Kings, that knowledg an Emperor, had rather suffer any man else, than the Emperor to be head of their Church. This, I doubt not, but by your wisdom you can consider, & the Emperor, which is too great already, they wil in no wise make him greater.

### N U M B. LXVI.

*The Answer of the Kings Ambassadors, made to the Duke of Saxe, & Landgrave of Hesse.*

**F**irst, That his Highnes as wel by his Ambassadors, as their Letters from *Smalkald*, doth perceive two things. The one is their gratitude & benevolence towards his Majesty, & that they desire the continuance [of Friendship] betwixt their Progenitors inviolably observed, to be increased. The other is, not only their great Constancy in setting forth of the truth of the Gospel, that was darkned afore, but also that they exhort his Grace to the defence of the same. Which be most acceptable to his Highnes: & thanketh them as wel for his behalf, as also for the behalf of al Christendome: Knowledging the great benefit of God, in giving the said Princes such stedfastnes & strength. And that his Majesty willed to be shewed unto them, that their wondrous vertues have so ravished & drawn his mind to their Love, that his Highnes feeled a great encrease [enclination] to their amitie, in such wise, that he is determined fully never to pass the occasion without correspondence of Love, nor any occasion that he shal think may conduce in any wise to their good minds & godly proceedings. And for to declare his mind to the Articles of their Petition,

*Cleopatra,*  
E. 6. p. 298.

The third, fourth, fifth, sixth, eighth, ninth, eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth Articles, do please his Majesty wel enough. And altho there be something in them that his Grace would grant easily to no maner Princes, were they never so great; yet nevertheles his Highnes, for his affection towards them, thinketh that they mean nothing else, but the Reformation of the Church, which his Majesty for his part desireth much, & desireth to joyn with them in the same.

In these Articles his Majesty desireth, that only the Third & Ninth Article be more amply declared: That is to say,

The third Article be these words, *Item*, That neither the Kings Highnes, without the Assent of the Princes & Estates confederates, nor they without his Graces assent, shal agree to the Indiction of any Council, that the Bp. of *Rome*, that now is, or any other, whatsoever Authority he pretend [shal indict.] And that also neither of the said Parties shal agree upon the place of a Council to be had, with-

out the agreement of the other, expressly to be given. But that the same be done by, the mutual assent of his Grace, the said Princes, and Estates. Provided nevertheless, that if al they shal perceive a lawful & Christian Free Council, to be indicted in some sure & indifferent place, that then neither of both parties shal refuse the said Council.

To the ninth Article his Highnes would have added, That neither of both parties shal permit any of their Servants or Subjects to be infold against the other part, nor to help directly, nor indirectly, such as would invade or enterprize against them.

As to the first, second, seventh, & tenth Articles, his Grace answereth.

To the tenth, his Majesty saith, that he doubted not, but the said Confederates do wel think & know, that his Grace is moved in his mind, by no maner private necessity, that he or his Realm have, nor any private profit, to join with the said Confederates in league of Defence. For He & his Realm is in good peace, & knoweth not, that the Bishop of Rome, the Emperor, or any other Prince, picketh any quarrel with him; & much less war. And altho his Grace feared some hostility of them, nevertheless by the death of a Woman [*viz.* Q. Katharin] al calumnies be extincted. And to the intent the Confederates might know his Graces good-affection toward them, & to the reformation of the Church, & abolition of abuses, his Grace signifieth unto them, that he woll in no wise refuse their Petition, but willingly contribute for his part an 100000 Crownes for the defence of the League, in case that the Confederation betwixt the said Confederates & his Grace to be made, shal be brought to any effect. And for other appendences of this Article, as touching sufficient Sureties; *Item*, That the half of the mony by them contributed should be spent, or ever they touch his Graces mony; *Item*, Concerning the Form & maner to deposit & spend the same; *Item*, To make his Highnes privy of the Sum that on their behalves shal be contributed, & of the necessity, wherabouts it should be spent; & that al things may be don by common advise & assent, because the same do require long Treaty, therefore his Grace referreth the same to his Orators, & to such of theirs, as by the 13th Article they desire to send. His Grace desireth the said Princes to send them fully instructed, & with sufficient power & authority, to treat with his Highnes; not doubting but they shal have reasonable & friendly answer.

To the first, second & seventh Articles; His Majesty hath very acceptable & agreeable the Honor they have thought to defer on him, as, above al Princes, to cal him to be *Protector & Defender of their Religion*. Which is a Declaration of the certain benevolence, & trust, that they have in his Majesty: And altho his Majesty knoweth, what envy & danger followeth such Title, yet nevertheless his Highnes is so desirous to do them plesure, & to the glory of the Gospel, his Grace is content to accept the same Honor, after that betwixt his & their Orators agreement shalbe had upon the first & second Articles. For it should not be sure nor honorable for his Majesty, before they shalbe with his Grace agreed upon a certain Concord of Doctrin, to take such a Province upon his Highnes. And forasmuch as his Majesty desireth much, that his Bishops & learned men might agree with theirs;



theirs; but seeing that it cannot be, unles certain things in their Confession, & Apology, should, by their familiar conferences, be mitigate; his Grace therefore would their Orators, & some excellent learned men with them, should be sent hither, to confer, talk, & common upon the same, according to the thirteenth Article.

Now, that his Highnes by the same Answers sheweth unto them his good heart, trusting, that they would be of correspondence therunto, his Majesty desireth three things of them, of no great cost, nor difficulty.

First, That in case any King, Prince, or other should invade his Majesty, or Dominion for the same, or for the cause of the Religion, that then they shal furnish him, at their expences, 500 Horsemen, armed of al pieces, or ten ships, wel arayed for the war, to serve his Majesty by the space of four whole months by land, or by sea. And that it shalbe at his Graces choice to have Horsemen, or Ships. And that such as his Grace shal chuse, shal be sent to him within a month after the requisition therof.

Second, That besides the same, they shal retain, at his Majesties cost & charges, such number of Horsemen & Footmen, as his Highnes shal require: So that the Horsemen pas not the number of 2000, & the Footmen the number of 5000. Or for the said footmen twelve Ships in good order furnished with men, harness, ordinance, victuals, & other things necessary. And that the Kings Majesty may hire them, & retain at his wages, as long as it shal please his Grace. And that it shalbe his Majesties choise, to have the said twelve Ships, or the said number of Horsemen & Footmen. And that such as his Majesty shal chuse may be ready within two months after his requisition.

Third, That the said Confederates woll take upon them in al Councils hereafter, & every where else, to promote & defend the Opinion of the Reverend Fathers, Dr. Martin, Justus Jonas, Cruciger, Pomeran, & Melancthon, in the Cause of his Graces mariage.

## N U M B. LXVII.

*The Council, to Secretary Crumwel; Giving Orders, for the dispatching certain persons into Germany & France.*

**M** After Secretary, After our most hearty Commendations: Ye shal understand, that having received the Letters sent unto you from Sir John Wallop, & shewed the same unto the Kings Majesty, his pleasure therupon was, that we should dispatch these our Letters incontinently unto you, concerning the accomplishment, & doing of these things ensueing.

First, his Graces pleasure is, that you shal immediatly upon the receipt hereof, dispatch Barnes in post, with Deryk in his company, into Germany; Commanding him to use such diligence in his journey, that he may, & it be possible, meet with Melancthon before his arrival in

*France.* And in case he shal so meet with him, not only dissuade his going thither: Declaring how extremely the *French King* doth persecute those that wil not grant unto the Bishop of *Romes* usurped power & jurisdiction; using in this part al persuasions, reasons & means, that he can devise, to impeach & let his said journey thither; laying unto him, how much it should be to his shame & reproch to vary & go now from that true opinion, wherein he hath so long continued: But also on the other side to persuade him also, that he may [be willing] to convert his said journey hither: shewing him as wel the Conformity of his opinion & doctrine here, as the Nobility & Vertues of the Kings Majesty, with the good Entertainment, which undoubtedly he shal have here at his Graces hands.

And if percase the said *Barnes* shal not meet with him before his arrival in *France*, then the said *Barnes*, proceeding himself further in his journey toward the Princes of *Germany*, shal with al diligence return in post to the K. H. the said *Diryk* of the certainty of the said *Melancthon*s coming into *France*, & such other occurrents, as he shal then know. And if the said *Diryk* be not now ready to go with him, the Kings plesure is, ye shal in his sted appoint & send such one other with the said *Barnes*, as ye shal think meet for that purpose.

And when the said *Barnes* shal arrive with the said Princes of *Germany*, the Kings plesure is, he shal on his Graces behalf, as wel persuade them to persist & continue in their former good opinion, concerning the denyal of the Bishop of *Romes* usurped authority, declaring their own Honour, Reputation & Surety to depend thereon. And that they now may better maintain their said just opinion therein, than ever they might, having the K. M. one of the most Noble & Puissant Princes of the World, of like opinion & judgment with them. Who, having proceded therein by great advise, deliberation, consultation & judgment of the most part of the great & famous Clerks of Christendom, wil in no wise relent, vary or altre in that behalf; like as the said *Barnes* may declare & shew unto them by a Book made by the Dean of the Chappel, [*Richard Sampson*] & as many of the Bishops Sermons, as ye have. Which Book ye shal receive herewith; the Copy wherof, & of the said Sermons ye must deliver unto the said *Barnes* at his departure, for his better remembrance & instruction.

To whom also his Graces plesure is, ye shal shew as much of Master *Wallops* letter, (which we send you also) as ye shal se drawn & marked with a pen in the margin of the same. As also exhort & move them in any wise to beware, how they commit any of their Affaires, to the order, direction & determination of the *Fr. King*; Considering he & his Councel be altogether Papist, & addict & bent to the maintenance & conservation of the Bishop of *Romes* pretended authority.

Furthermore, the Kings plesure is, yee shal upon the receipt hereof, immediatly cause Mr. *Haines*, & *Christopher Mount*, in post to repair into *France* to Sir *John Wallop*, in as secret maner as they can, & coming like his friends to visit him, & not as sent by the King. And in case they shal by him, or otherwise, learn & know, that *Melancthon* is there arrived, then his Grace wol, that the said *Haines* & *Mount* shal, in such sort, as they be not much noted, resort unto him, & for



for the dissuading of his continuance there, or the alteration of his Opinion, & the alluring of him hither; to use such reasons & persuasions as be before written, with such other as they can further devise for that purpose. To the which *Haines & Mount*, the Kings pleasure is, ye shal deliver like Copies of the same Deans Book & the Bishops Sermons, to be shewed unto the said *Melancthon*, or otherwise used, as may be most expedient for *thachyevement* of the Kings purpose in that behalf.

Ye shal also understand, that the Kings pleasure is, ye shal writ to Sir *John Wallop*, & send unto him therewith like Copies: Willing him, in case he shal have certain knowledg, that the Articles be true written in these his Letters concerning the *Fr. Kings* sending into *Germany* for the continuance of the Bishop of *Romes* pretended Supremacy, to repair with the said Copy to the *Fr. King*: & not only to set the same forth with such reasons as he can devise in that part; shewing how much it shal be against his Honor, both to give himself subject to the said Bp., & to move others to do the semblable; but also to declare unto him, that the Kings *H.* remembring his old friendly promises concerning the maintenance of his Cause, & of his Proceedings touching the same, cannot think it a little strange that the said *Fr. King* (seeing his Majesty hath in his doings touching the said Bp. of *Rome*, moved neither his, nor any Princes subjects) wil move & stir the *Germans* to condescend upon a contrary opinion, both to himself & to his Grace in this behalf. And that his Majesty must needs think his Amity much touched, in that he should move any State or Country to do that thing, which is so much against the Kings *H.* & his own promise: Using al the wayes he can to dissuade him from that dishonorable obedience, to the said Bps. See; Moving him to encline to the Kings just opinion touching the same.

Finally, the Kings pleasure is, ye shal write another Letter to the Bp. of *Aberden*, signifying that the Kings *M.* taketh it very unkindly, that the King his Nephew, would now embrace, without his advise or counsel, being his neereft friend & Unkle, & now in League & Amity with him, the marriage of *Monfr. de Vaudons* daughter: Whereunto he would give none ear at his Graces overture heretofore made of the same. In your said Letter imputing a great negligence therein to the said Bp. & others of his Masters Council; Seing their Master sheweth not, in the doing therof, such Amity towards the *K. H.* as the friendship betwixt them doth require.

And to make an end, his Grace woll in no wise, that *Barnes & Haynes* shal tary for any further Instruction of the Bp. of *Canterbury*, or any other, Having his Grace determined to send the same after by Mr. *Almoner & Hethe*: But that he, Mr. *Haynes*, & *Mount* shal with al possible diligence depart immediatly in Post without any lenger tarying, than for this their Depeche shal be necessary. So as their abode impeach not the Kings purpose, touching the said *Melancthon*. And thus fare you most heartily wel, from *Langley*, in much hast, this Monday at 4 of the clock at afternoon.

Your loving friends,

T. Norfolk. George Rochford.

N U M B.



## NUMB. LXVIII.

Secretary *Crummels* Letter to Sir *John Wallop*, the Kings Ambassador in *France*. Directing him in what maner to justify the King in the Divorce, & in the Execution of some persons denying the *Supremacy*.

To my right loving frynd Sir *John Wallop* Knyght, the kynges Ambassadour Resident in the Corte of *Fraunce*.

MSS.  
D. G. H. Eq.

After my most hartly recommendacions; These shal be to advertise you, that the xvijth day of this monthe I receyvid from you a packet of Letters; which indelayedly I delyvered unto the Kinges Highnes, & conferred with his Grace the effects both of your Letters, & al others within the sayd packet, beyng directed as wel to his H. as to me. And after his H. had with me perused the hoole contents throughly of your sayd Letters; perceyvyng not only the liklihod of the not repayr into *Fraunce* of *Philip Melancthon*, but also your communications had with the *Frenche* Kings Highnes, upon your demaund made of the kynges Majesties Pensions, with also your discrete Answers & Replications made in that behalfe, for the which his Majestie givethe unto you condigne thanks: Ye shal understand, that his H. commaunded me to make you answer in this wise followyng.

First, as touching the Kings money, his H. doubtithe not, but seeing both the *Frenche* Kyng, & also the Great Maister have promysed you it shal be depeched, ye wil, as the case shal require, not cease to cal upon theym, till it be depeched. And farther consideryng, that the said *Frenche* Kyng, upon your sayd demaunde of the sayd pensions, so sodaynlie fel into communication with you, as wel of his frendship & humanytie shewed to the K. H. alledgyng, that he at al tymes hath answered for the K. H. Specially beyng last at *Marcellis* with Pope *Clement*, with other thinges as in your sayd letters apperethe; as also concernyng the executions lately done here within this Realme: The K. H. not a litle marvaylethe therat: & thinkethe it good, that as of your self ye take somme occasion, at convenient tyme & opportunitie, to renovate the sayd Communycation, both with the *Fr.* Kynge, or at the last with the great Maister: Sayeng unto theym, that wher the sayd *Fr.* Kyng alledgethe that he hath at all tymes answered for the K. H. in his Cause, specially to the sayd Pope *Clement* at *Marcellis*, affirmyng his procedynges to be just & upright concernyng the Matrymonye, as ye do write, in that albeit the K. H. procedynges in al his affaires within this Realme, beyng of suche equite & justnes of themselves as they be, nedethe not any defence or assistance ayenst Pope *Clement*, or any other foreyne power, havyng Goddes wordes & lawes onely sufficient to defend hym: Yet in that that the sayd *Fr.* K. hathe (as he sayethe) answered at al tymes on the Kynges part, he hath done nothyng but the part of a brother, in justefyeng & veresfyenge  
the



the trewthe; & so contynuyng, shal do as apperteynieth to a Prynce of honour. Which the K. H. doubtith not he hath, & wil do, only in respect to the Verite & trewthe, besides the Amytie betwixt theym both iustlie requyryng the same.

And concernyng the executions done within this Realme, ye shal say to the sayd Fr. K. that the same were not so mervelous extreme as he alledgede. For touchyng Maister More & the Bushop of Rochester, with suche others as were executed here, their Treasons, Conspiracies & Practises, secretly practised as wel within the Realme as without, to move & stir dissension, & to sow sedition within the Realme, intending therby not only the destruction of the Kyng, but also the hole subversion of his Highnes Realme, beyng explained & declared, & so manifestly proved afore theym, that they could not avoyd nor denye it; & they therof opynly detected, & lawfully convicted, adjudged & condemned of high treason, by the due order of the lawes of this Realme: It shal, & may wel appere to al the world, that they havynge such malice roted in their hartes ayenst their Prynce & Sovereigne, & the total destruction of the common weale of this Realme, were wel worthy, if they had had a thousand lives, to have suffered ten tymes a more terrible dethe & execution, then any of theym did suffer.

And touchynge suche words as the sayd Fr. K. spake unto you, concernyng how Maister More died, & what he saied to his doughter, goyng to his judgement, & also what exhortations he shulde give unto the Kynges subjects, to be trew & obedient to his Grace (Assuryng you, that there was no such thyng) wherof the great Maister promysed you a Double at length: in that the Kynges pleasure is, that ye shal not onely procure the sayd Double & send it hither, but also sey unto the sayd Fr. K. that the K. H. cannot otherwise take it, but veraye unkyndely, that the sayd Fr. K. or any of his Counsayle, at whose hands he hath so moche merited, & to whom he hath mynystred so many great benefits, pleasures & commodities, shulde so lightlye gyve ear, faith & credence to any suche vayne brutes & fleing tales: Not havynge first knowledge or advertisement from the K. H. here, & his Counsayl, of the verite & trewthe: affirmyng it to be the office of a frende, heryng any such tales of so noble a Prynce, rather to have compressed the bruters therof to silence, or at the leest not permytted theym to have divulged the same unto suche tyme as the K. M., beyng so dere a frend, had been advertised therof, & the trewth known, before he shuld so lightly beleve or alledge any such reaporthe. Which ingrate & unkynde demeanure of the sayd Fr. K. usid in this behalf, argueth playnlye not to remayne in his brest such integritie of harte & sincere amytye towards the K. H. & his procedyngs, as his H. alwayes heretofore hath expected & loked for. Which thyng ye may propone & alledge unto the sayd Fr. K. & the Great Maistre, or to one of theym, with such modestie & sobrenes, as ye thynk they may perceyve, that the K. H. hath good & just cause in this part, sumwhat to take their light credence unkyndlie.

And wheras the sayd Fr. K. sayethe, that touching such lawes, as the K. H. hath made, he wil not medle withal; alledgyng it not to be mete, that one Prynce shuld desire another to chaunge his Lawes,  
Sayeng,



Saying, that his be to olde to be chaunged; To that ye shal saye, that suche lawes as the K. H. hath made here, be not made without substantial grounds by great & mature advise, counsayl & deliberation of the hoole policie of this Realme; & are indede no new lawes, but of great Antiquitie, & many yeres passed were made & executed, within this Realme, as now they be renovate & renewed, in respect of the common weale of the same. And it is not a litle to his Highnes marvayll, that the sayd *Fr. K.* ever wold counsail or advise hym, if yn case hereafter any such like offenders shulde happen to be yn this Realme, that he shulde rather bannysh theym, then in suche wise execute theym: & specially confidering, that the sayd *Fr. K.* hymself, in commonyng with you at that tyme, not only confessed thextreme executions, & great bruyllie of late done in his Realme, but also that he now entendethe to withdraw the same, & to revoke & cal home agayne such as be out of his Realme. The K. H. therefore the more straungely taketh his sayd advise & counsayl; supposyng it to be neyther thoffice of a frend, nor of a brother; that he wolde determyn hymself to cal home into his Realme agayne his Subjects, beyng out of the same, for spekyng agaynst the Bussshop of *Romes* usurped autorite, & counsayl the K. H. to banysh his traitours into straunge parties; where they myght have good occasion, tyme, place & opportunitie, to work their feats of Treason & Conspiracie, the better agaynst the K. H. & this his Realme. In which part ye shal sumwhat engreve the matter after such sorte, as it may wel appere to the sayd *Fr. K.* that not only the K. H. myght take those his Counsayls & Communications both straungely & vnkindly, thinkyng the same not to procede of mere amytie & frendship; but also usyng such polycie & austerite, in proponyng the same with the sayd *Fr. K.* & the Great Maistre, takyng such tyme & opportunitie as may best serve for the same, as they may wel perceyve the K. H. procedyngs here within this Realme, both concernyng the sayd executions, & al other thyngs, to be only grounded upon justice, & the equite of his Lawes. Which be no new Lawes, but auncient Lawes, made & established of many yeres passed within this Realme, & now renovate & renewed, as is aforesaid, for the better order, weale & suretye of the same.

And ye may farther saye, that if the *Fr. K.* & his Counsail wel consider, as they ought to do, that it were moche better to advaunce the punysshment of Traytours & Rebels for their offences, then to punyssh such as do speke ayenst the usurped autoritie of the Bussshop of *Rome*, who dayly goeth about to suppress & subdue Kynges & Prynces, & their authoritie, geven to theym by Goddes Word.

Al which matiers the Kynges pleasure is, that ye shal take tyme & occasion, as ye talkyng agayn with the *Fr. K.* or the Great Maister may declare your mynd, as before is prescribed unto you: Addyng therunto such matier, with such reasons, after your accustomed dexterite & discretion, as ye shal thynk most expedient, & to serve best for the Kyngs purpose, defence of his procedyngs, & the proffe of the *Fr. K.*'s ingratitude, shewyd in this behalf. Not doubtyng yn your wysdome, good industrie & discrete circumspection, for thorderyng & wel handlyng of the same accordyngly.

And



And touchyng *Melancthon*, Consideryng there is no lykelihode of his repaire into *Fraunce*, as I have wel perceyved by your letters, the K. H. therefore hath appoynted *Christofer Mount* indelayedly to take his journey where *Melancthon* is, & if he can, to prevent Mounsr. *de Langye* in such wise as the sayd *Melancthon* his repaire into *Fraunce* may be stayed, & diverted into *England*. Not doubtyng but the same shal take effect accordyngly. And as to Maister *Haynes*, the Kyngs pleasure is, that he shal go to *Paris*, there to lerne & dissiphre the opynyons of the lerned men, & their inclynations & affections, as wel towards the K. H. procedyngs, as to the Bussshop of *Rome* his usurped power & aucthorite, after such sort as the Kings sayd Highnes hath now written unto hym by his Graces letters, addresssed both unto hym & the sayd *Christofer Mount*: directyng theym what they shal do yn al thynges commytted to theyr charge at this tyme; as I doubt not but they wil put therto theyr devoires for the accomplishment of the Kynges pleasure, as apperteyneth.

And thus makyng an ende, prayeng you to use your discreffion yn the proponyng of the premysses to the Fr. K. & the Great Maister, or the one or both of theym: usyng the same as a medecyne, & after such sorte, that as nere as ye can it be not moche displeasantly taken: Adverteysyng the Kinges H. from tyme to tyme of the Successes therof, & of al other occurrants, as the case shal require: Requiryng you farther, as ye shal have convenyent tyme, to procure answer of thEmperors Ambassador Resident with you, wherof the K. H. wold be advertised with as convenyent speede, as ye can: I shal for this tyme byd you most hartily farewell. At *Thornebery* the xxiiijth day of *August*.

Your assuryd freend,

*Thomas Crumwell.*

## N U M B. LXIX.

### *The Last Will & Testament of the Princess Katharine Dowager.*

**I**N the Name of the Father, of the Son, & of the Holy Ghost, Amen. Cott. Libr.  
**I** *KATHARINE*, &c. supply & desire K. *HENRY VIII.* my good Lord, that it may please him of his Grace, & in Aulmes, & for the Service of God, to let me have the Goods, which I do hold as wel in Gold & Silver, as other things; And also, the same that is due to me in Mony for the Time past: to the Intent that I may pay my Debts, & recompence my Servants for the good Services they have don unto me. And the same I desire as affectuoussly, as I may, for the Necessity wherein I am ready to dy, & to yield my Soul unto God.

First, I supply, [i. e. *Pray*] that my Body be buried in a *Convent* of *Observant* Friars. *Item*, That for my Soul may be said 500 Masses.

Y y y

*Item,*

*Item*, That some Personage go to our Lady of *Walsingham* in Pilgrimage ; & in going by the way to *Deal*, XX Nobles. *Item*, I appoint to Maistris *Darel* XX l. for her Mariage. *Item*, I ordain, that the Collar of Gold, which I brought out of *Spain*, be to my Daughter. *Item*, I ordain to Mestres *Blanch* Cl. sterling. *Item*, I ordain to Mestres *Margery*, & Mr. *Whyller*, to each of them XL l. sterling. *Item*, I ordain to Mrs. *Mary*, my Physicians Wife, & to Mrs. *Isabel*, Daughter to Mr. *Marguerite*, to each of them XL l. sterling. *Item*, I ordain to my Physician the Years coming Wages. *Item*, I ordain to *Francisco Philippo* al that I owe unto him. And beside that, XL l. sterling. *Item*, I ordain to Master *John*, my Apothecary, his Wages for the Year coming. And beside that, al that is due unto him. *Item*, I ordain, that Mr. *Whyller* be paid of Expences about the making of my Gown. And beside that, XX l. sterling. *Item*, I give to *Philip*, to *Anthony* & to *Bastian*, to every of them XX l. sterling. *Item*, I ordain to the little Maidens, X l. to every of them. *Item*, I ordain that my Goldsmith be paid of his Wages for the Year coming. And besides that, al that is due unto him. *Item*, I ordain, that my Lavander be paid of that which is due unto her : & besides that of her Wages for the Year coming. *Item*, I ordain to *Isabel* of *Vergas* XX l. sterling.

*Item*, To my Ghostly Father his Wages for the Year coming.

*Item*, It may please the King, my good Lord, to cause Ornaments for the Church to be made of my Gownes, which he holdeth ; for to serve the Convent thereas I shal be buried. And the Furrs of the same I give to my Daughter.

*Taunton,*  
*Downton,*  
*Hendon.*

*Richard Molend,*  
*William Portman,*  
*Thomas Powlet,*  
*William Peter,*  
*Tho. Lee,*  
*Rafe Sadeler.*

These three Places are set at the End of this Will by another Hand : Which, perhaps, were the Names of the Lordships belonging to her.

These seem to be the Administrators appointed by the King for the execution of the Lady Dowagers Will.

NUMB.



## N U M B. LXX.

Ryche the Kings Solicitor, to the King : His Advice concerning  
Katharine Princess Dowagers Goods, & Jewels.

## I H U S.

**P**LEASITH your Majesty to be advertised of my poor Mind ; Cott. Librar.  
which is not specified to your Majesty by the other Letter sent  
to your Majesty by me, your Graces humble Solicitor, & your other  
two most humble Servants. Because I thought it not convenient to  
make them privy therto : Most humbly beseeching your Highnes, to  
take my Mind in good part : for I mean none other, but to declare to  
your Majesty the Truth : Affirming to your Highnes, that I shal be  
as ready to execute your Graces Commaundment, according to my  
most bounden Duty, with as much good Wil, Heart & Mind to my  
little Power, as any living Creature shal do.

Pleasith your Majesty to consider, that the Lady Dowager was a  
*sole* Woman ; having by al Lawes a ful Authority & Capacity to have  
Propriety in Goods & Cattals : Albeit her Grace affirmed, that All was  
Yours ; & that she had nothing to give without your Graces Licence.  
Wherin her Grace meant not wel ; nor yet according to the Truth.  
And she having such Capacity as is aforesaid, your Majesty may not  
seize her Goods & Cattals, unless there were other Cause, so to do,  
than I know. For by the Laws of your Realm, the Bp. of the Dioces  
in this Case shal commit the Administration of her Graces Goods to  
the next of her Graces Kindred, lawfully begotten, & being Deni-  
zons : to the Intent the Debts should be paid, or otherwise disposed of  
for the Wealth of her Soul. But whether your Majesty, being *Supreme*  
*Head* of the Church of your Realm, by your Laws may commit the  
Administration of the Goods of her Grace, dying intestate, I dare  
not therein speak precisely. The ful & determinate Solution of that  
Question I remit to your Majesty, & to others of your Graces Coun-  
cil, to debate & determine. And therefore in this wise to take & seize  
her Graces Goods as your own, is repugnant to your Laws ; &, as I  
think, with your Graces Favour, rather enforceth her blind Opinion  
while she lived, than otherwise.

But, Sovereign Lord, under your Graces Favour, I think you may  
have, take & seize the Goods & Cattals of Her by another Mean law-  
fully : Which is this : If your Graces Pleasure be so, yee may cause a  
Letter to be written to the Bp. of *Lincoln* ; Commanding him to grant  
the Administration of al such Goods & Cattals as lately were the  
Lady Dowagers, to such as your Highnes shal name. And then to  
have the Goods of them to your Graces Use, in recompence of such  
Sums & Debts, as your Highnes hath, or shal ley out for her Burial,  
or otherwise. And this, as I think, were the best way, & concurrent  
with your Graces Laws.

Signifying unto your Highnes, that now I have declared my bounden  
Duty unto your Grace, I shal willingly to the best of my Power exe-

cute your Commaundment without Fear, or respect of any man : most humbly beseeching your Majesty, to accept this my poor Information according to my Meaning ; & to pardon me, if any Thing or Matter be comprized herein, contrary to your Graces Pleasure.

And that I may be certified of your further Pleasure : Adverting your Majesty, as I think, the Plare, or other Things, comprized in the Inventory sent to your Majesty, wil amount to 5000 Mark, & rather better. And thus the Holy Trinity preserve your Magnificence with as long life as ever lived man. From *Kimbolton*, this present XIX day of January : By your Graces.

Most humble Servant,

*Rychard Ryches.*

### N U M B. LXXI.

*The Lady Brian, Governess to the Lady Elizabeth, her Letter to the L. Crumwel, from Hunsdon. For Instructions concerning the said Lady, after the Death of Q. Anne her Mother.*

*Cott. Librar.  
Otho, C. 10.*

**M**Y Lord, After my most bounden Duty, I recommend me to your good Lordship : Beseeching you to be good Lord to me, &c. My Lord, when your Lordship was last here, it pleased you to say, that I should not mistrust the Kings Grace, nor your Lordship. Which Word was more Comfort to me, than I can write, as God knoweth. And now it boldeth me to shew you my poor mind. My Lord, when my Lady *Maries* Grace was born, it pleased the Kings Grace to [appoint] me Lady Mistress ; & made me a Baronesse. And so I have been a [Governess] to the Children his Grace have had since.

Now it is so, my Lady *Elizabeth* is put from that Degree she was afore : And what Degree she is at now, I know not, but by Hearing. Therefore I know not how to order her, nor my self ; nor none of hers, that I have the Rule of : that is, her Women & her Grooms : Beseeching you to be good Lord to my Lady, & to al hers : And that she may have some Rayment ; [i. e. for Mourning.] For she hath neither Gowne nor Kirtell, nor Petticoat, nor no maner of Linnen, nor Foresmocks, nor Kerchiefs, nor Slieves, nor Rayls, nor Body-stychets, nor Handkerchiefs, nor Mofelers, nor Begins. All these her Graces Mostake, I have driven off, as long as I can, that, be my Troth, I cannot drive it no lenger : Beseeching you, my Lord, that you wil see, that her Grace may have that is needful for her, as my Trust is yee wil do. Beseeching you, my own good Lord, that I may know from you by Writing, how I shal order my self ; & what is the Kings Graces Pleasure, & yours, that I shal do in every thing. And whatsome ever it shal please the Kings Grace, or your Lordship to command me at al times, I shal fulfil it, to the best of my Power.

My



My Lord, Mr. *Shelton* saith, he is Master of this House: What Fashion that shal be, I cannot tel. For I have not seen it afore. My Lord, yee be so Honourable your self, & every man reporteth your Lordship loveth Honour, that I trust your Lordship wil se the House Honourably ordered, howsome ever it hath been aforetime. And if it please you, that I may know, what your Order is, & if it be not performed, I shal certify your Lordship of it. For I fear me, it wil be hardly enough performed. But if the Head of - - - - - knew, what Honour meaneth, it wil be the better ordered: If not, it wil be hard to bring it to pass.

My Lord, Mr. *Shelton* would have my Lady *Elizabeth* to Dine & Supp every day at the Board of Estate. Alas! my Lord, it is not meet for a Child of her Age, to keep such Rule yet. I promise you, my Lord, I dare not take it upon me to keep her in Health, & she keep that Rule. For there she shal see divers Meats & Fruits, & Wine: which would be hard for me to restrain her Grace from it. Yee know, my Lord, there is no Place of Correction there. And she is yet too young to correct greatly. I know wel, & she be there, I shal nother bring her up to the Kings Graces Honour, nor hers; nor to her Health, nor my poor Honesty. Wherefore I shew your Lordship this my Desire: Beseeching you, my Lord, that my Lady may have a Mefs of Meat to her own Lodging, with a good Dish or two, that is meet for her Grace to eat of. And the Reversion of the Mefs shal satisfy al her Women, a Gentleman Usher & a Groom, Which been eleven Persons on her side. Sure I am, it wil be (in to right little) as great Profit to the Kings Grace this way, as the t'other way. For if al this should be set abroad, they must have three or four Mefs of Meat, where this one Mefs shal suffice them al, with Bread & Drink, according as my Lady *Maries* Grace had afore: & to be ordered in al things, as her Grace was afore.

God knoweth, my Lady hath great pain with her great Teeth, & they come very slowly forth: & causeth me to suffer her Grace to have her Wil, more than I would. I trust to God, & her Teeth were well graft, to have her Grace after another Fashion, than she is yet: So as I trust the Kings Grace shal have great Comfort in her Grace. For she is as toward a Child, & as gentle of Conditions, as ever I knew any in my Life. *Jesu* preserve her Grace. As for a Day, or two at a hey [i.e. high] time; or whensome ever it shal please the Kings Grace to have her set abroad, I trust so to endeavour me, that shee shal so do, as shal be to the Kings Honour, & Hers: And then after to take her Ease again.

I think Mr. *Shelton* wil not be content with this. He may not know it is my Desire; but that it is the Kings Plesure, & yours, it should be so. Good my Lord, have my Ladies Grace, & us that be her poor Servants, in your Remembrance. And your Lordship shal have our hartly Prayers by the Grace of *Jesu*: Who ever preserve your Lordship with long Life, & as much Honour as your Noble Hart can desire. From *Honsdon* with the evil Hand of her that is your daily Bead-Woman,

*Marget Bryan.*

I beseech

I beseech you, my own good Lord, be not discontent, that I am so bold to write thus to your Lordship. But I take God to my Judge, I do it of true Hart, & for my Discharge. Beseeching you, accept my good Mind.

*To the Rt. Noble, & my singular  
good Lord my L. Privy Seal,  
be this delivered.*

## NUMB. LXXII.

*Sir Richard Moryson, to the L. Crumwel; Concerning printing the Kings Answer to the Popes calling of a Councel at Mantua.*

*Cleopatra,  
L. 6. p. 316.*

**M**Y Lord, My most humble duty premised. Whereas your good Lordship appoynted me, both to alter, & also shortly to se printed the Kings Answer touching the *Mantuan* Councel; now my Petition is, that your Lordship woll think the printing of it deferred rather upon good respects, than that I have not encreased the Book according to your Commandment. For as soon as this Answer came forth, one *Tubalde*, which now is in *Saxony*, was sent of them to *Philip Melancthon*. Many were sent into *France*. I think there be few Nations, but the Book there hath been seen.

Now, my Lord, if it shal come out as I am bidden, the most part changed, many things left out, (which be both truly spoken, & cannot but do good, being bydden bye) men of other Nations may reckon, that either we be affraid or ashamed to say as we have said. They may think things pas lightly here, that are so little while liked. If the Book had gone forth in a private name, yet they might have charged us with inconstancy, which yet leave to day that we yesterday loved. The Sentence of a Prince, the Answer of an whole Realm, either ought not to be printed, or else once printed, not to be changed.

The *Germans* have nothing in their Answer, but I am sure it is at the least touched in ours. Many Arguments are handled in this, that they leave utterly untouched. Again, if we should say simply even as they say, we might then seem to repeat theirs, & not to write our own. Notwithstanding I have two or three leaves, that may wel be added, & the Book in maner as it was. At the least they shal gather, that we be neither affraid nor ashamed to say, they intend no good Faith, that intend guile; no setting up of truth, that go about to keep down Gods word. And for the place of the Papacy given by our consent over us, & taken away by our consent, I have thus changed:

“ In time past, we being deceived by false pretence of Scripture,  
“ by whose Authority you claimed your Prerogative & Jurisdiction  
“ upon al men, did acknowledg your Primacy; & following the con-  
“ sent,



" sent, or rather error of the world, gave you authority upon Kings  
 " Subjects; Now we will be no lenger deceived: Now we justly cal in  
 " again that you have injustly extorted of our Fathers; & woll that  
 " Truth make an end of your reigne, which began by Error. It is  
 " lawful, Reason woll, yea, we are commanded to take from you that  
 " that no man can give you, but he that is deceived." And after this  
 followeth as it is in the first. " We Princes wrot our selves to be  
 " familiars to Popes, as long as we thought so: We obeyed them  
 " as our Superiors, &c.

And I trust your Lordship wil take in good part, that that I, according to my most bounden duty, have done *Se la vra. bonta*, &c.

*Il vro. humil Servitore,*

Ricchiar de Morryson.

### N U M B. LXXIII.

*The Protestation of the Clargie of the Lower House within the Province of Canterbury: With Declaration of fautes & abuses which hertofore hath, & now be within the same, worthy special Reformation.*

**I**N VERA Y humble & reverent maner, with protestation, That  
 WEE, the Clargie of the Lower House within the Province of  
 Canterbury, nother in word, dede or otherwise, directly or indirectly,  
 intending any thinge to speke, attempte or do, which in any maner  
 of wise may be displeasante unto the Kings Highnes, our most Dread  
 Sovereigne Lord, & Supreme hedd of the Church of *England*, but in  
 al thinges accordyng to the Commandement of Godde, to be mooste  
 obedient unto his Grace: To whom accordyngly we submitt our selves:  
 Mynding in no wise, by any colorable fasshion to recognise, prevely or  
 apartely, fend or maynten the same, into this Noble Realme, or Doimynions  
 of the same: But that the same Bp. of *Rome*, with his usurped  
 Authhoritie, utterly for ever with his Inventions, Rites, Abuses, Ordenances  
 & Fasshions, to be renowned, forsaken, extingwished & abolished:  
 And that we syncerly addict our selves to Almyghtie God his Lawes,  
 & unto our feid Sovereigne Lord the Kynge, our Supreme Hede in erthe,  
 & his Lawes, Statutes, Provisions & Ordenances made here within his  
 Graces Realme: Wee thinke in our Consciencs & Opinions, thes errors  
 & abuses folloyng, to have ben, & now to be within this Realme causes  
 of dissension, worthy special Reformation. That is to wete,

Fox's MSS.

That it is comonly preached, thought & spokyn, to the slaunder of  
 this Noble Realme, disquietnes of the people, damage of christen Sowles,  
 not without fear of many other inconveniences & perills; that the Sacrament  
 of the Altar is not to be esteemed. For divers light & lewd  
 persons

persons be not ashamed, or aferde to say, Why shuld I see the sake-ryng of the High Masse? Is it any thing else, but a pece of brede, or a litle pretie pece rownde *Robyn?*

- II. *Item,* That they deny extreme Unction to be any Sacrament.
- III. *Item,* That Priests have no more aucthoritie to minister Sacraments, than Lay men hath.
- IV. *Item,* That Children ought not to be confirmed of the Bussshop afore they cum to age of discretion.
- V. *Item,* That al Ceremonies accustomed in the Church, which are not clerly expressed in Scripture, must be taken away; by cause they ar menys inventions.
- VI. *Item,* That al thos ar Antichrists that do deny Ley men the Sacrament of the Aulter, *Sub utraq; specie.*
- VII. *Item,* That al thos, that be present at Masse, & do not receyve the Sacrament with the Priests, are not partakers of the said Masse.
- VIII. *Item,* That it is preached & tawght, that the Church, that is commonly taken for the Church, is the old Synagoge: And that the Church is the Congregation of good men only.
- IX. *Item,* It is preached agaynst the Leteny, & also said, That it was never mery in *England*, sythens the Leteny was ordeyned; & *Sancta Maria, Sancta Katerina*, &c. sowngen & said.
- X. *Item,* That a man hath no Free will.
- XI. *Item,* That Godd never gave grace, nor knowlege of holy Scripture to any great estate, or rich man. And that they in no wise do follow the same.
- XII. *Item,* That al Religions & Professions, whatsoever they be, ar clene contrary to Christs Religion.
- XIII. *Item,* That it is preached & taught, that al things awght to be in comen, & that Priests shuld have wiffes.
- XIV. *Item,* That Preachers woll in no wise conforme themselves *ad Ecclesiam Catholicam*, nor admitt or receyve *Canonicos & probatos Aucthores*. But woll have their awn fantasies & inventions preached & set forward.
- XV. *Item,* That the Images of Saints ar not in any wise to be revered: And that it is playne Idolatry & Abhomynation to set vp any light before any Image, or in any place in the Church in the tyme of Divine Service, as long as the Sonne giveth light.
- XVI. *Item,* That it is Idolatry to make any oblation.
- XVII. *Item,* That it is lawful to kyrson a Child in a Tubb of water at home, or in a Ditch by the way, as in a Founte stone in the Church.
- XVIII. *Item,* That the Water in the Founte stone is alonly a thing conjured.
- XIX. *Item,* That the hawlowed oyle is not better then the Bussshop of *Romys* grese or butter.
- XX. *Item,* That the Priests Crownes ar the Whores markes of *Babylon*.
- XXI. *Item,* That the Stole about the Priests neck is nothing els but the Bussshop of *Romes* rope.
- XXII. *Item,* That ymages, as wel of the Crucifix, as of other Saints, ar to be put out of the Church, & the Reliques of Saints no wise to be revered: And that it is agaynst Goddes Commandement, that Christen men shuld make curtesy or reverence to the Image of our Saviour.

*Item,*



*Item,* That it is no synne or offence to ete white metes, eggs, butter, cheese, or flesh in the Lent, or other Fasting dayes, commanded in the Church, & receyved by the Consent of christen people. XXIII.

*Item,* That it is as lawful to ete flesh on Good Friday, as apon Easter day, or other tymes in the yere. XXIV.

*Item,* That the synner offendyng in the Lent, or other high Feasts in the yere, is wurthy no more punysshment, than he that transgressith in any other tyme. XXV.

*Item,* That Confession auricular, Absolution & Penance, ar nothing necessary, nor profitable in the Church of Godd. XXVI.

*Item,* That Auricular Confession is only invented & ordeyned, to have the secreet knowlege of mens harts, & to pull money out of thair pursfis. XXVII.

*Item,* That the gostly Fathers cannot give or injoyne any Penance at all. XXVIII.

*Item,* That it is sufficient for a man or a woman to make thair Confession to Godd only. XXIX.

*Item,* That it is as lawful at al tymes to confesse to a Layman, as to a Priest. XXX.

*Item,* That Confession is but whispering in a Priests ear, & as wel to be made, a multytude being present, as secreet. XXXI.

*Item,* That it is sufficient that the Synner do say, I know my self a Synner. XXXII.

*Item,* That Bussshops, Ordinaries & Ecclesiastical Judges have none authorite to give any Sentence of Excommunication, Suspension or Censure, ne yet to absolve or loose any man from the same. XXXIII.

*Item,* That it is not necessary or profitable, to have any Church or Chapell, to pray in, or to do any divine Service in. XXXIV.

*Item,* That the Church was made for no other purpose, but other to kepe the people from wynde & rayne, other els that the people on Sondayes or Haly dayes shuld resort thither to have the Word of Godd declared unto them. XXXV.

*Item,* That Buryings in Churches, in Church yards, be unprofitable & vain. XXXVI.

*Item,* That the rich & costly Ornamentes in the Church ar rather high displeasure than pleasure or honor to Godd. XXXVII.

*Item,* That it is a pity that ever the Mass, Matens, Even song, or any other Divine Service, was made or suffered, to be redd, said or song within any Church, bycause it is only to the deludyng of the people. XXXVIII.

*Item,* That Saincts ar not to be invocated or honored, & that they understand not, nor know nothing of our Petitions, nor can be Mediators betwixt us & Godd. XXXIX.

*Item,* That our Lady was noo better than an other woman, & like a bagg of safferon or peper, whan the spice ys out : & that she can do no more with Christ, than another synful woman. XL.

*Item,* That it is as moche availeable to pray unto Saincts, as to whorle a stone agaynst the Wynde. XLI.

*Item,* That the Saincts have no moore power to help a man, than a manys wife hath to helpe her husbande. XLII.

- XLIII. *Item*, That Dirige, Commendations, Mass, Suffrages, Prayers, Almes dedes, or Oblations, done for the Sowles of them that be departed owt of this world, be but vayne & of no profit.
- XLIV. *Item*, That the Sowles departed goo strayght to Heven, or to Hell.
- XLV. *Item*, That ther ys no meane place between Heven & Hell, wherin Sowles departed may be afflicted.
- XLVI. *Item*, That if ther be a place where thei be punyshed, Godd is not yet borne, nor he that shal redeme the world.
- XLVII. *Item*, That Prayers, Suffrages, Fasting, or Almes dede, do not help to take away any synne.
- XLVIII. *Item*, That ther is noo distinction of synne after this sort, summe to be Venial, & summe to be Mortall.
- XLIX. *Item*, That al Synnes, after that the Synner be ons converted, ar made, by the merit of Christs Passiõ, Venial synns, that is to say, Synns clene forgiven.
- L. *Item*, That Almyghty Godd doth not loke for, nor yet require of a Synner, after his Conversion from synn, any Fasting, Almes dede, or any other Penaunce, but only that the Synner be sory for his synnes, Amendyng his life, & synnyng no moore.
- LI. *Item*, That hallowed Water, halowed Brede, halowed Candells, halowed Affhes, halowed Palme, & such like Ceremoneys of the Church, are of none effect, & to be taken as Trifills & Vanities, to seduce the people.
- LII. *Item*, That haly dayes ordeyned & instituted by the Church, are not to be observed & kept in reverence. Inasmoch as al dayes & tymes be lyke. And that servile warkes, as plowghing & carting, may be done in the same without any offence at al, as in other ferial dayes.
- LIII. *Item*, That syngyng & saying of Mass, Matens or Even song, is but roryng, howling, whistelyng, mummyng, conjuryng & jogelyng. And the playing at the Organys a folish vanitie.
- LIV. *Item*, That Pilgrimage, Fasting, Almes dede & such like, ar not to be used. And that a man is not bound to come to the Church, but only to the preaching.
- LV. *Item*, That it is sufficient ynough to beleve, though a man do no good warkes at all.
- LVI. *Item*, Men be not content to preach of certen abuses found in pilgrimages, in fasting, in prayer, in Invocation of Saincts, in reverencyng of Ymages, in Almes dedes, but they woll nedes have the thing self taken away, & not enough the abuses to be reformed.
- LVII. *Item*, That by preaching the people hath be brought in opinion & beleve, that nothing is to be beleved, except it can be proved expresly by Scripture.
- LVIII. *Item*, That it is preached & taught, that forasmoche as Christ hath sheede his blodde for us, & redemyd us, we nede not to do any thing at al, but to beleve & repent, if we have offended.
- LIX. *Item*, That ther is of late a new *Confiteor*, made after this Form, *Confiteor Deo celi & terra, Peccavi nimis cogitatione, locutione & opere, mea culpa. Ideo deprecor Majestatem tuam, ut tu, Deus, deleas iniquitatem meam, & Vos orare pro me.*
- LX. *Item*, That it is preached, that bycause Auricular Confession hath brought furth innumerable Vices, it is clerly to be taken away.

*Item,*



*Item*, That the Canon of the Mass is the Comment of summe folish, unlearned Priest: & that the names of the Saints ther expressed ar not to be reherfid. LXI.

*Item*, That Water runnyng in the Chanell or common Ryver, is of as grete vertue, as the halow water. LXII.

*Item*, That halowed water is but jogelled water. LXIII.

*Item*, That the holy Water is moore favorer to make sawce with than the other, bycause it is mixed with salt: Which also is a very good Medice for an horse with a gald back: Yea, if ther be put an onyon therunto, it is a good sawce for a gygget of motton. LXIV.

*Item*, That no humayn Constitutions or Lawes do bynd any christen man, but such as be in the gospel, *Pauls* Epistells, or in the new Testament. And that a man may breke them without any offence at all. LXV.

*Item*, That besides seditious preaching, lettynge unitie to be had, there are many sclanderous & erronious Bokes, that have ben made, & suffered to go abroad indifferently. Which Bokes were the moore gladly bought bycause of those words *Cum privilegio*. Which the ignorant people toke to have ben an expresse approbation of the King, where it was not so indede. LXVI.

*Item*, That where hertofore divers bokes have ben examyned by persons appoynted in the Convocation, & the bokes found ful of heresies & erronious opinions, & so declared, the said bokes are not yet by the Bysshops expresly condempnyd, but suffered to remayn in the hands of the unlearned people. Which ministreth to them matter of Argument, & much unquietnes within the Realme. LXVII.

*Item*, That Apostates, Abjured persons, & of notable yll Conversation & infamed, & without licence of the Kings Grace, or the Ordinary, have taken upon them to preach sclanderously. LXVIII.

# N U M B. LXXIV.

*The Opinion of the Clergy of the North parts in Convocation, upon Ten Articles sent to them.*

**T**O the first Article we think, that preaching against Purgatory, Worshipping of Saints, Pilgrimage, Images; & al books set forth against the same, or Sacraments or Sacramentals of the Church, be worthy to be reprov'd, & condemned by Convocation; & the pain to be executed that is devised for the doers to the contrary. And proceß to be made hereafter in heresie, as was in the dayes of *K. Henry IV.* And the new Statutes wherby Heresies now lately have been greatly nourished, to be annulled & abrogated. And that the Holydayes may be observed according to the lawes & laudable customes. And that the bidding of Beadys & Preaching may be preserved, as hath been used by old custome.

To the second, we think the Kings Highnes, ne any Temporal man, may not be Supreme Head of the Church by the lawes of God, to have

*Cleopatra,*  
E. 5.

have or exercise any jurisdiction or power spiritual in the same. And al Acts of Parliament made to the contrary to be revoked.

To the third we say, we be not sufficiently instructed in the Fact, ne in the Process therein made: but we refer it to the determination of the Church, to whom it is upheld.

To the fourth we think, that no Clerk ought to be put to death without degradation by the lawes of the Church.

To the fifth we think, that no man ought to be drawn out of Sanctuary, but in certain cases exprest in the lawes of the Church.

To the sixth we say, that the Clergy of the North parts hath not granted, nor consented to the Parliament, of the Tenth or First fruites of the Benefices, in the Convocation. And also we can make no such personal graunt by the lawes of the Church. And we think, that no Temporal man hath authority by the laws of God to claim any such Tenth or First fruites of any benefice or spiritual promotion.

To the seventh we think, that Lands given to God, the Church or Religious men, may not be taken away, & put to profane uses, by the laws of God.

To the eighth we think, that Dispensations upon just *causes* lawfully graunted by the Pope of *Rome*, to be good, & to be accepted. And Pardons have been allowed by General Councils, of *Lateran* & *Vienna*, & by laws of the Church.

To the ninth we think, that by the law of the Church, General Councils, Interpretations of approved Doctors, & Consent of Christen people, the Pope of *Rome* hath been taken for the Head of the Church & Vicar of Christ: & so ought to be taken.

To the tenth we think, that the examination & correction of deadly sin belongeth to the Ministers of the Church, by the laws of the same; which be consonant to Gods laws.

Furthermore, We think it convenient, that the laws of the Church may be openly read in Universities, as hath been used heretofore. And that such Clerks as be in prison, or fled out of the realm, for withstanding the Kings Superiority in the Church, may be set at liberty, & restored without danger. And that such books & works as do entreat of the Primacy of the Church of *Rome*, may be freely kept & read, notwithstanding any prohibition to the contrary. And that the Articles of *Premunire* may be declared by Acts of Parliament: to the intent no man may be in danger therof without a prohibition first awarded. And that such *Apostatas* as be gon from religion, without sufficient & lawful Dispensation of the See of *Rome*, may be compelled to return to their Houses. And that al sums of mony, as Tenth, First fruites, & other arrerages graunted unto the kings Highnes by Parliament, or Convocation, & due to be paid before the first day of the next Parliament, may be remitted & forgiven, for the causes & reasons above expressed.

And we, the said Clergy say, that for lack of time & instruction in these Articles, & want of books, we declare this our opinion for this time: Referring our determination in the premisses to the next Convocation.

Also we desire, that the Statute commanding the Clergy to exhibit the Dispensations graunted by the Pope, before the Feast of *Michaelmas* next coming, may be revoked at the next Parliament.



## N U M B. LXXV.

*Articles for the Lady Mary ; To answer & subscribe.*

First, Whether shee doth recognize & knowledge the kings highnes for her Sovereign & Liege Lord of this imperial Crown & Royallme of *England* : & woll & doth submit her self to his Highnes, & to all & singular Lawes & Statutes of this Royallme, as becometh every true & faithfull subject of this Royallme to do ?

MSS.  
D. G. H. Eq.

Also, Whether shee woll with all her power & qualities, that God hath endued her withall, not onely obey, keep & observe all & singular lawes, & statutes of this royallme : but also, set forth, advance & maintain the same to thuttermost of her power, according to her most bounden duty ?

Also, Whether shee woll recognize, accept, take & repute the Kings Highnes to bee supream Head in erth under *Christ* of this Church of *England*, & utterly refuse the Bishop of *Romes* pretenced power & jurisdiction, heretofore usurped within this realm, according to the statutes & lawes of this realm, made & ordained in that behalf ?

Also, Whether shee doth accept, take & freely think in her heart, without dissimulation, that the marriage celebrated between the Kings Highnes, & the Lady *Katharine* her Mother, was plainly & directly against the lawes of God, & not dispensable by eny humaine power or authorite. And that the divorce & separation therof is justly & truly done, upon a sure truthe & foundation. And relinquish all manner of remedies & meanys, as wel at the Bishop of *Romes* hand, as elsewhere, that mought by eny colour empeach or lett the said divorce ?

Also, Whether she taketh & accepteth her self to bee illegitimate & bastard by reason of the same unlawful marriage ; & wil humblie, according to the truth, recognize her self so to bee : & repent her former obstinacy & wilfulness ; & freely & frankly commyt her self to the Kings wil & plesure ?

Also, Bee she enquired & examined, for what cause & by whose motion & means shee hath continued & remained in her obstinacy so long ; & who did embold & animate her therunto, with other circumstances therto appertaining.

Also, What is the cause, that she at this present time, rather than at any other heretofore, doth submit her self, & do other the premisses. And what & who did move her therunto ?

N U M B.

## NUMB. LXXVI.

*A Memorial of such Articles as were communed & treated of between the Kings Highnes Counsailors, & Mon<sup>r</sup>. de Tarbes, & Mon<sup>r</sup>. Pomeray, the French Ambassadors; Concerning the Marriage between the Lady Mary, the Kings Daughter, & the Duke of Orleans.*

MSS.  
D. G. H. E. 1.  
Aut.

First, Whereas the said Ambassadors on their Masters behalf, required that the said Lady Mary bee given in marriage to the said Duke, & declared the great & singular desire & affection the King their Master had the same should take effect: The said Counsailors answered, that the Kings Highnes their Master was for his part no les desirous the same should succeed, than the King his brother was. Especially for that his Highnes trusted, that therby the amitie & friendship between them should bee the more augmented, established, & so derived & propagated to their posterities, to the weal of both their realms.

Second, Whereas the said Ambassadors required, that the Kings Highnes should make & declare the said Lady Mary to bee legitime; so as shee might be preferred in the succession & inheritance of this realm, before all others, the Kings daughters already, or hereafter to bee procreated: The said Counsailors on the Kings Highnes their Masters behalf answered, that hee neither wold ne cowlde do that injurie & prejudice, &c. *ut in articulo.*

Thirdly, Concerning the traduction of the said Duke of Orleans into the realm of England, there to bee educated & instructed in the tongue & manners of the people there: whereas the said Ambassadors resolutely answered, that the King their Master would in no wise consent, the said Duke his son shuld bee bound to make his abode & demore here continually: but onely that hee shuld come & tarry here for one month or two; & afterward to return again into France at his pleasure & liberty: The said Counsailors answered, that in that matter they considered specially the profit, honour & suerty, which shuld redound unto the said Duke therby: besides divers other respects: Which if the French King himself wold maturely weigh & expend, as they bee worthy; hee shuld wel perceive, that it were more than necessary, that the said Duke shuld bee brought into this realm, & so afterward make his abode here continually.

Notwithstanding forasmuche as there were many other pacts, conditions & assurances, to bee treated, concluded & agreed vpon, between the Kings their Masters; without the which the said marriage cowlde, ne might honorable, & to both their satisfactions, bee accomplished: & for as moche also as the said Ambassadors had no power or commission from their Master to treat or conclude vpon the said other articles: The said Counsailors answered, that being once the said other articles concluded & agreed upon, & such assurances made on either part, as shal bee requisite, the Kings Highnes their Master, bein never minded to detein him, the said Duke, here as a Captive in thraldome or bondage,



dage, but to use him as his own son in honour & felicity; & finally, to advance him unto the Crown Imperial of this his realm, in such case as is before specified; wold not shew himself very difficile, requiring to have the said Duke to abide here continually, but wold hereafter condescend to bee contented upon soche reasonable time for his demore here, as shalbee thought necessary & requisite for the attaining of the favour & benevolence of the people; of the language & lawes of the Country, &c.

## N U M B. LXXVII.

Roland Bishop of Coventry & Litchfield, & Lord President of the Marches of Wales, to the L. Crumwel: Upon his Letter to the said Bishop, to take care of the Welsh men. With Articles sent to him against the Bishop of S. Davids, viz. Dr. Barlow.

Right Honorable, & my singular good Lord, After my hearty Commendations, it shal be to give the same like thanks for your Lordships most loving Letters to me directed, & delivered lately by this Bearer. And as for these Partics of *Wales*, my trust is they be of as good Towardnes to do the Kings Grace service, with as good an intent, as any of his Subjects living; & to my knowledg little among them conceived of the matters in *England*. For so much their language doth not agree to the advancement therof: I wrote to your Lordship long heretofore, that at *Ludlow* was no maner of Artillery, saving a little Harness. I have gathered together from good Sir *Richard Herbert*, who doth the Kings Gr. good Service daily, & wil do. And yet, my Lord, the Earl of *Worcester*, wrot to me to redeliver the same. But I made him an Answer therein. I shal most heartily pray you to remember the Commission, that this Council hath so long sued for to your Lordship. For I have begun to repair this Castle, & wil further, if I may have the Commission; without which this Council can do no good service here, as Mr. *Englesfeld* did inform your Lordship, who hath him heartily recommended to the same. The Proclamations as yet for the Shire grounds be not come: Wherby Justice cannot be ministred in *Wales*. And what may ensue by the tract wherof, I doubt. For I am daily called upon from every part at this time, being the Time of keeping of their Courts.

*Cleopatra's,*  
E. 5.

And I heartily thank your Lordship for *Germyn*, desiring the same to have him in remembrance: & yet once again for my servant *Lewis ferme* to *Whitney*, if it may so be. And also to be good Lord to my Cosin *Robinson* at this my desire.

Also I received these Articles here enclosed, from *S. Davies*. Wherin, & in other such like in that Person, if your Lordships plesure were the same to stay for the time, the Common people would the better be content. Here is somewhat spoken towards him, that I am  
fory

fory to hear. My duty is to intimate the same to your Lordship, for that further inconveniences do not ensue. There is also a Freer *Austin*, Prior of *Woodhouse* in the *Cleeland*, which hath not only dissipated the goods of his Monastery; but also without any authority changed his Vesture, & in this ruffling time *Geo. Blount* attached him at *Baudeley*, & so keepeth him, til your Lordships plesure be known. For I have none Authority in these matters. If your Lordship would cause a substantial man to be put into that place, it would much edify to the good acceptation of that Country: Who be as tall men & handsome, as any the Kings Gr. hath, & of the honor of *Wigmore*. Other newes be none, but al in quietnes & peace here, Thanks be to Almighty God. Who send your good Lordship a merry New year, to your hearts comfort. From *Wigmor* Castle, the xv day of January.

Wee have here & in other places a great number of smal Felonies; whom we cannot dispatch, until we know the Kings Graces plesure for Shere grounds.

Your Lordships most bounden

*Roland Co. & Litchf.*

Articles against *Barlow* Bishop of *S. Davids*, and against *Tally*, a Preacher.

*Concio Meneven facta 12 Novembr. 1536.*

*Imprimis*, He affirmed & said, That whensoever two or three simple persons, as two Coblers or Weavers, were in company, & elected, in the Name of God, there was the true Church of God.

*Item*, That it is not expedient to man, to confess himself, but only to God. For he wil at al times accept, & take any Penitent Man or Woman to his Mercy, if he cannot expediently have a Priest.

*Item*, That there is, nor was any Purgatory, but only a thing invented & imagined by the Bp. of *Rome*, & our Priests, to have Trentals, and other mundane Lucre therby only.

*Item*, If the Kings Gr. being Supreme Head of the Church of *England*, did Chuse, Denominate & Elect any Lay man, being Learned, to be a Bishop, that he so chosen, without mention made of any Orders, should be as good a Bp. as he is, or the best in *England*.

*Concio Tallei habita Meneviæ coram Episcopo ibid. ac alijs palam*, the xix. of the aforesaid month.

**W**Hen & where he affirmed, that in time past, there was none that did preach, or declare the Word of God truly: Nor the Truth was never known till now of late.

*Item*, That there ought no maner of Reverence to be given to any Saint or Angel in Heaven: And in case any were given, the same Saint



Saint therewith was made an Idol; & that the same Honor or Worship was Idolatry, & nothing else.

*Item*, That if the Souls, that be departed, have any need of our Prayers (if it might do them any good) yee shal pray that Christ the sooner, at the contemplation of our prayers, may take them to the Fruition of his Glory.

These Articles were exhibited & delivered unto the Reverend Father in God, the L. President of the Kings Council in the Marches of *Wales*, 11th of Jan. the 28th year of the King, by me

Roger Lewis, Bachelour of Civil Law,  
Abiding in *S. Davids*.

### N U M B. LXXVIII.

Tonstal Bishop of Durham, to the L. Crumwel; Concerning  
a Book taken at Newcastle, called, The Souls Garden.

**R**ight Honorable, In my humble manner I recommend me unto your good Mastership: Advertiseing the same, that there is comen to my hands a little Book printed in English, called *Ortulus Animæ*: Which was brought in by some folkes of the *Newcastle*, & as I am informed, there be very many lately brought into the Realm, chiefly into *London*, & into other Haven-Townes. Which Books, if they may be suffered to go abroad, be like to do great harme among the people. For there is in them a manifest Declaration against the effect of the Act of Parliament lately made, for the establishment of the Kings Highnes Succession, as ye shal perceive more plainly in reading the place your self. Which Declaration is made in the Kalendar of the said Book about the end of the month of August, upon the day of the Decollation of S. *John Baptist*, to shew the cause why he was beheaded. When ye find the day, read the Glofs, that is set in the midst among the Dominical Letters al that side, as far as he speaketh of that matter: And your Mastership shal forthwith perceive what harm it may do, if the Book may be suffered to go abroad. Wherefore if it be so seen to the Kings Highnes, to whom it may like you to shew it, best it were that Letters were directed to al Haven-Townes, & other places, where it is thought any such Books to be, to cause them to be diligently searched, & to be brought unto the Kings hands; Forbiding the said Books to be sold. That Book that came to my hands I do fend your Mastership herewith, & have already written as effectually, as I can, to the Maier of the *Newcastle*, that he search out al such as can be found in the *Newcastle*, & to feize them in the Kings name; & to get knowledge, if he can, who were the Bringers in of them. And if the K. H. or at lest your self, would write unto him to do the same, I think it would be done with

Cott. Librar.  
Cleopatra,  
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more diligence. And surely in my mind, good it were that like Letters were sent to *Hull*, & to other Havens. The K. H. & his most Honourable Council may more plainly perceive, by reading the place aforesaid, what harme may ensue by going abroad of the said Books. And thus Almighty *Jesus* preserve your good Mastership to his pleasure, & yours, & have you in his Blessed protection. From *Stockton*, the VII day of *July*.

Your humble Bedeman,

*Cuth. Duresme.*

### N U M B. LXXIX.

*Instructions for the L. Privy Seal; Being a Letter to him, Concerning the Bishop of Lincoln, & his Archdeacon, touching the Bishops Demand for Prestations.*

*Cleopatra,*  
F. 1.

**W**Hat appertaineth to the Office of an Archdeacon, & wherupon his Revenues groweth, & what heretofore hath therunto appertained. Procurations, Synodals, *Peter-pence*, Pensions, Indemnities, Fines of Testaments, Vacations of Benefices, Installations of Abbots.

*Procurations* be due for Visitation. The Archdeacon is bound yearly to visit al his Archdeaconry throughout. Then to enquire of al Crimes, & Misgovernance of the people, as wel the Clergie, as the Lay fee, by Churchwardens & other: & to reform whatsoever they find otherwise than wel; either committed hainously against the Laws of God, or the Ordinances of the Prince, for a quiet common weal, dissonant to Gods laws, to Mans Laws & Politick order of the World: To reform the same, either by godly persuation, and good advise, by combination, or by pains & penalties, according to the humility & humble subjection of the Offendor, & repentance of his Offence. For this his Visitation he hath *Procurations*.

*Synodals* be due for the *Sene* kept at Easter by the Archdeacon, or his Officer, calling together the Persons, the Vicars & Parish-Priests; Diligently enquiring if every of the same do, & have done, their duties accordingly to the Laws of God, Laws of the Prince established, & the Ordinance of the Church accustomed; & have godly & diligently ministred al Sacraments & Sacramentals to their Parishoners at that Easter then past, & so in the year before. For this kind of Visitation *Synodals* be due to the Archdeacon. Which the Bishop would now in any wise have: because of a Decretal, that saith, *Quod Episcopo debentur Synodalia*. And for that Text now would the Bishop turn from his *Peter-pence*, calling them *Prestations*, or Pensions, & would have them now due for *Synodals*, which the Archdeacons have had & enjoy these three, six, yea eight hundred years, without Lett, Interruption, or Contradiction of any Bishop. My *Synodals* be not nineteen pounds by year. And yet must I give to my Official five  
mark



mark Fee yearly, & as much to my Register. And also bear their costs yearly in riding to the *Sene*, four or five pounds. So have I not ten pounds clear for my Synodals. But put the case, that these Synodals were the Bps., yet wherefore should I be bound to gather his Synodals? Or why should I give Twenty Nobles Fee to my Officers to serve him, & to be his Collector? *Dicat Apollo.*

*Peter-pence.* Al Archdeacons of *England* gathered *Peter-pence*, of every fire-house within every parish one peny: Which were graunted eight hundred year past by King *Hyno*, [*Ina*] & after confirmed by *Inas*; then by *Offa*, *Rex Marchiorum*, [*Merciorum*] by *Arnulphus*, by *Alerudes*, [*Alured*] & others mo so following; & by King *John* for his time. After some Antick [antique] Authors, they were graunted for a yearly preste, or a perpetual yearly Subsidy *Episcopo Romano*. *Præstabantur in subsidium Episcopo Romano*, saith divers Authors. Others say, they were given to a school in *Rome*, to the maintenance of *English* Scholars there, as *Fabian* & *Guido*, with others. But now the Archdeacon, after these Pence gathered, payd the same in part, or al, to the Collector of *Rome*, saving the Archdeacons of *Lincoln* & *Sarum*. These payd the Pence gathered, to the Bp.: & the Bp. payd to the Collector, & had his Acquittance, by the name of *Peter-pence*. The Archdeacons had their acquittance of the Bp. by the name of *Prestation-mony*. So the Bishop of *Lincoln* paid, but he gathered none: The Archdeacon gathered & payd, not to the Collector, but only to the Bp. So finally, seing the Bp. never gathered *Peter-pence*, & yet payd them to the Collector every year; & the Archdeacons gathered them yearly, & payd none to the Collector, but only to the Bp., what should the Bp. his demand other be, than for *Peter-pence*?

To prove, that this word *Prestation* is very *Peter-pence*, it is too manifestly declared in the Bp. of *Rome* his own law, in an Epistle Decretal sent *Episcopo Cantuar. & Suffraganeis suis*; (the Bp. of *Lincoln* one of his Suffragans; & perchance it was meant for him, that was then Bp. of *Lincoln*, as he were as nigh scraping, as the Bp. that is now at this present tyme) *Textus est in Capitulo de Censibus* in the Decretals, *Et quæ de Avaritia. Verba sunt hæc.* “Nè gravetis parochias & Ecclesias vestras propter visitationem Beati Petri, cum feceritis Collectam Denariorum.” *Glossator Bernardus*, one of the Bp. of *Rome* his Secretaries, expounds *hoc verbum COLLECTAM*. *Collecta*, inquit, *est Præstatio quædam, quam Anglici solvunt Ecclesiæ Romanæ, & debet esse moderata.* Nota. So that *Prestations* is taken for *Peter-pence* in the Bp. of *Rome* his own Law.

*Pensions* or *Indemnities* be these; when a Church is impropered to an Abby or a Collège, then the Archdeacon for ever lesithe the Induction-mony; & in recompence of that he shal have yearly out of the said Benefice so impropered, XII pence, or II shillings for a yearly pension, more or less, as it is agreed at the time of the impropriation. And this Mony is called *Pensions* or *Indemnities*. And like as the Archdeacon *conservatur indemnus* by this his yearly Pension payd in the lieu of the Induction; even so *Episcopus conservatur indemnus*, & hath a like Pension for his indemnity in the lieu of his Institution; which he likewise calleth his *Pension*.

*Fines*, or *Probates* of Testaments, be equally divided *inter Episcopum & Archidiaconum*, at this present time, & so hath long continued.

*Vacations* of Benefices. *Vacations* be now extinct. Wherof the Bp. had two parts, & the Archdeacon the third part. Which was worth to the Archdeacon *communibus annis* VI, VII, or VIII pounds.

*Installations* of Abbots, Priors, and Prioresses. Of every such Installation the Archdeacon had Five mark. Which although they be extinct, yet pay I the yearly Tenth therof.

Finally, to conclude of the Premises. For *Peter-pence* he can have nothing; *Quia non sunt*. For *Procurations* nothing: For *Synodals* nothing: For *Fines* of Testaments he hath half: For *Vacations* nothing: For *Installations* nothing: For my *Pensions* & *Indemnities* nothing. And so I pray you conclude that he have nothing. For al the Books, that he hath exhibited & shewed to your Lordship, they be of his own Register. And al those containing no more, but that the Archdeacon pay'd him yearly *Prestations* in time past: & that he had that mony as an Annual rent this hundred year. And al that is true; & should yet have had it, if *Peter-pence* had continued. But now *Cessante causa cessat effectus*.

#### NUMB. LXXX.

Starky, to Pole; For his Answer to two points relating to the Kings Cause.

Cleopatra,  
E. 6. p. 364.

SIR, You wrot before in our Princes Cause of your own Motion: Wherin you showed lovingly the dangers that might of his Cause follow. But the matter it self, as it is here by the King sharply judged, you did not almost touch. Wherfore now the King, as I have written, requireth your learned judgment; & that you should leave your prudent & witty Policy, til you be required. The Points be these, which tho you right wel of your self know, yet I wil put them a little after my mind before your eyes.

I. *An Matrimonium cum Relicta fratris, ab eo cognita, sit jure divino Licitum.*

In this, & in the rest also, tho the Kings plesure be you should give place to no mans persuation, nor authority, as I am sure you wil not; yet for the love that I bear unto you, & for the desire that I have, that you should se the judged truth, I wil note certain places of weight, after mine opinion, in these things to be considered, ever leaving your own judgment free.

And first for the Point, Consider, how this Law is rooted in Nature: Ponder it by this Rule, if it seem to you good: Al things which bind man to the Observation therof: Al Laws written, put aside convenient for the Conservation of the Civil Politic life, universally convenient to the Dignity of the nature of man; Al such I think is rooted in the law of nature. Apply this Rule without affection, & with a right ey examine it in this cause.

And



And then for the second Point, *An liceat Dispensare*. Easy I think it shal be to find the Popes power extendeth not therto. And tho it were expedient for the worldly policy for to have Dispensation, as it was peradventure in the King his Cause; yet it is not expedient any one man to have such power, to break such law so rooted in Nature. And upon this ground it appears to me further, the Pope should not have power, not only to Dispence with any Laws so rooted in Nature; but also, that he hath not power: (Nor convenient is it, that he should have: Yea, tho he were made Head of the Church) to Dispense with Laws made in General Councils, Catholic Laws, & Universal grounds, ordained for the Conservation of Christian life in al Christs church. Tho he hath used the contrary, It is, I think, a mis-use & usurped. By the reason wherof now it is spied, now it doth fal, now it is plucked justly away.

Look also & ponder this, Whether ever the whole Authority of Making, of Abrogating, of Dispensing with Catholic Laws, & Universal grounds of Christian living, were ever given, & translated to the Pope by any Law written in General Councils. Which were necessary to find, if we should attribute such Authority. As to the Emperors, we find *Legem Regiam, qua Potestas Senatus & Populi erat in Principem collata*.

II. The second principal matter, *An Superioritas, quam multis in Sæculis Romanus Pontifex sibi vindicavit, sit ex jure Divino*.

Here you must weigh the places of the Gospel & Scripture. Wherin I think you shal find none manifestly proving that. The common places you know, how that they are understood. Contrary therto divers & many. As when the Disciples of Christ contended for Superiority, you know what Christ said. You know, how S. Paul confesseth, he knew only Christ for Head. Civil & Politic Heads he confessed many, *Sed jure Divino nullum*.

Further, Look to the beginning of the Church, when the Truth therof was better known, than it is now. In the *Acts* of the Apostles, you shal find no such thing. And after the Apostles dayes, the four Patriarchs, of Jerusalem, of Antioch, of Constantinople, of Rome, had among them no Superiority.

Look futher, how the Greeks fel from the Church Catholic, as we cal now: Chiefly, for because the Bps. of Rome would be chief Heads. You know what is to be given to the judgment of the Greeks in the interpretation of the Scripture better than I do.

The contention between Peter & Paul, takes away such Superiority as is given to the Successor of Peter. Ponder, why more from the Bp. of Antioch, than of Rome; such Superiority is taken away; seing Peter was Bp. of both.

These certain Poynts I now write to you, *Non quia præjudicium aliquod afferrent*. The Kings plesure is, you should, without any prejudicial affection taken of any man upon one part or other, with a sincere mind, & with that light that God hath given you in Scripture, & in learning, give your Sentence.

And as touching the Policy of both the Matters, & of bringing them to effect, (which his Grace hath now done) whether it be wel done or evil, he requireth no judgment of you, as of one, that in such things have

have no great experience, as yet. As whether it be convenient, that there should be one Head in the Church, & that to be the Bp. of Rome. Set these aside. And in the case of Matrimony, Whether the Policy he hath used therein be profitable to the Realm, or no, leave that aside. Only shew you, whether if the first Matrimony were to make, you would approve that then, or no, & the Cause why you would not. And thus weigh the thing in it self, as it is in his own nature, & put apart Fear of al danger, Hope of al good, which should succede, & hangeth upon worldly Policy: & so clearly, without affection either of King or Queen, briefly give your Sentence.

And this you shal first honor God and Truth; &, second also, satisfy the King: Which said to me these words, *That he would rather you were buried there, than you should, for any worldly Promotion & Profit to your self, dissemble with him, in these great & weighty Causes.*

This you have my mind, & the Kings Pleasure withal. And if case be, that you reach to the judged truth, you need not to fear, after my mind, that men should lay to you, Lightnes of mind & Changing of Sentence. For as far as I can conjecture, you did offer me nothing in the Cause, but only put before his eyes the dangers that hanged upon worldly Policy. If I remember, this you did. I cannot wel tel. For I never se, nor read your Book but once, as you know wel. At which time it seemed to me you wrot so profitably, that it put me into a fear of dangers too. But, I trust, the goodness of God, & Providence of our most wise Prince, shal avert & turn al such calamities, by mans conjecture foreseen, from this our Country.

Direct your knowledge, if you se need, by Master Gaspero, the Bp. of Chete, with other such men of high learning & judgment.

#### N U M B. LXXXI.

Starky, to Pole; *Expostulating with him for his Book against the King.*

*Cleopatra,*  
E. 6. p. 373.

**M**UCH I have mervailed, Master Pole, al this year past, both of your seldom & short writing to me; Considering the continual diligence used upon my behalf ever towards you. And tho of late at the first coming of your Servant, when he brought your Book, I judge, that you peradventure wrot not, because you were so occupied in the first setting out of your matter, in writing to the Kings Highnes, wherein you had been before time somewhat slack; & so had little leisure: Yet now at his second return, when you wrot to divers others of your friends, I looked to have had some one word written unto me. For that methought our friendship required. Wherefore then I began plainly with my self to judge your mind without cause alienate, as methought; & most justly I might accuse you of unkindnes, which used toward me such continual silence. For this I have ever reckoned, that Diversity of opinion in such things, which pertain not of necessity to mans Salvation, should never break love & amity betwixt them, which



which have judgment & discretion; no more than doth dulnes or sharpnes in the sight of the ey: Wherin one friend to be angry with another, because he seeth further, or not so far as doth he, is very final reason. For as the one should cause no anger, so the other should breed no envy. So that tho I varied fro you in the judgment of the matter, yet your silence declared much Ingratitude towards me.

And this Count I made before I read your Book. But after such time as I did read the same, & weighed your judgment therin, I was nothing sory of this your silence, but rather glad, that you so used your self towards me. For his Letters to read, who hath so little regard of his Masters honor, & so little respect of his Friends & Country, (as in your Writings you plainly declared) I have little plesure. Wherefore though of late I had determined never to write to you again, yet after I had read your Book, I was so affected, & with your ingratitude towards your Prince & Country so offended, that I could not temper my self, nor satisfy my mind without some Declaration therof, by writing to you, shewed. And so now even as you seemed to me, *Illa tua oratione Principem & Patriam, tuo quidem judicio, pereuntem, extremis quasi verbis compellare*; so shal I *Te insanientem, mea sententia, amicum extrema quasi voce salutare*. For this I purpose shal be the last Letter, that ever I shal hereafter to you write, *donec resipiscas*. Wherin I wil not enter to dispute the ground of the matter, which requireth rather a Book than a Letter; but only I shal a little open to you the great imprudence & folly, the detestable unkindnes & injury, shewed in your Sentence both toward your Prince & Country. By the reason wherof, except you shal take heed & consider the matter in time with better judgment, you shal be utterly cast away your self with this Contempt of your country, & this arrogant despising of al the judgments therin. Wherefore, Master *Pole*, I shal pray you by al such love, as I have ever born to you, which I promise you is greater than ever I bare to any natural brother, to hear me a little, & weigh my words indifferently.

And first, Master *Pole*, how I was affected with reading of your Book, I shal a little touch. At such time as your Letter was delivered to the King, tho you wrot not to me, I forgetting not the office of a friend, requested that your Book might be committed to the examination of them; which both had Learning to judge, & to weigh the matter indifferently. The which I promise you was done. And to them I as your friend, was joyned also. In the reading wherof, altho we loved you al intyrelly, yet your corrupt judgment in the matter, & your detestable unkindnes towards your Prince, so offended us al, that many-times our ears abhorred the hearing. And as for me, I promise, at the first reading I was so amazed & astonied with the matter, that I could not wel judg, I wist not with what spirit it was written withall; & ever methought it should be some dream, or at the least no Oration of Master *Pole*. Whom I ever noted to be the most addickt to the honor of the Prince, & wealth of his Country, that ever yet I knew. Wherefore I obtained your Book to over-read my self alone: yea, & after yet with my Lord of *Durham*, I read it most diligently, observing & noting the whole order & proceſs therof. And when I had read it after this maner, I was more astonied than I was before. For the  
comparing

comparing the head to the end, & considering the whole circumstance of the matter, plainly to say to you ever as I think, therein appeared to me the most frantick judgment that ever I read of any learned man in my life. For herein lyes the sum of your Book: Because we are slipped from the obedience of *Rome*, you judg us to be separate from the Unity of the Church, & to be no members of the Catholic Body, but to be worse than *Turks & Saracens*. Wherefore you rail upon our Prince, to bring him *ad Pœnitentiam*, more vehemently than ever did *Gregory* against *Julian Apostata*, or any other against such Tyrants, as persecuted Christs Doctrine. Upon this point you have pretended, al that sharpnes of your Oration to spring of Love. Yet be you assured, none are so blinded but to judge it a very foolish love, which bringeth forth against a Prince such a bitter, sharp & slanderous Oration.

Wherefore, Master *Pole*, weigh this cause yet a little, & despise not the Consent of your Country, & of al the learned men therein, with too much arrogancy. Byld [Ponder] your vehement & frantic Oration. But alas! Master *Pole*, what a blindnes is this in you thus to judg your Master upon so light an occasion? For tho we be slipt from the obedience of *Rome*, denying any Superiority to be due therto from the law of God, yet we be not slipt *A Fide Romana, nec a Petri Cathedra*. We observe & keep the same Faith, which from the beginning hath been taught in *Rome*. The which whosoever keepeth, never slippeth *A Sede Petri*, tho he never hear of any higher power, or Superiority, to be given to the Bp. of *Rome*. You therefore abuse your self mervailously, to judg us to be separate from the Unity of the Church, because we have reject this Superiority. I mervail that you consider it not, how the very Christian Unity stands upon *S. Paulys* Doctrin, in the Unity of Faith, & of Spirit, & in a certain knitting together of our hearts by Love & Unity: Which may rest in al kind of Policy. For doubtless this Superiority of *Rome* sprang first of Policy, as it is evident by old story. And *Constantine* was he that gave therto first Authority of al - - - - - power to Superiority - - - - - which by others was confirmed, increased. So, as it began by mans wit & institution, I think it should end by like reason. For in the exprefs Wil & Word of God it hath no such root & ground, as to you it appeareth, following & cleaving more to the consent of the Church, than to the words of Scripture, or to any reason drawn out of the same. Wherin I wonder much at your simplicity, to think that the consent of the Church maketh things necessary to Salvation. For hereby you might confirm al the Rites & Customes of the Church used from the beginning, to be grounds of our Faith, & of necessity to be received to our Salvation. For by one consent many of them have been approved this thousand years, I think, & more. Wherefore by your ground the alteration of any one of them shal cause separation from the Unity of Christs church. The which to affirm, I trow, be an extreme madnes. And so tho the Bp. of *Rome* hath been Head of al Bishops this 500 years, *Consensu totius ferè Ecclesiæ Occidentalis*; yet I suppose, that this Consent can no more make him *Caput Universalis Ecclesiæ*, than the Consent of us in *England* hath made the Bp. of *Canterbury* to be the Head, & Primate of al other Bishops with  
us,



us, by Gods law. The which Primacy I think you judg not to be grounded in Gods word. But even as this Primacy, for an Order of Synods & Councils among us, was by man devised ; so was the Primacy of *Rome*, by man ordered & invented at such time as a Council General of al Christian Nations was first convocate & assembled. Wherefore by this reason I wil as wel confirm the one, as you shal the other.

And as touching places of Scripture, wherby you confirm the Primacy, you follow the vulgar Train of the latter Doctors, which violently draw them to the setting forth of the See of *Rome* : Forgetting the purpose of the Antient Doctors of our Religion: The which exalting *Sedem Romanam* & *Cathedram Petri*, ever meant therby *Fidem, quæ Petrus præ cæteris professus est*, & *Romæ docuit* : & for because the Faith of Christ there took most notable increase, & from thence was derived to the West parts of the World. Therefore was thither in al doubts chief recourse, and that See was most praised, & preferred above others, as a place of Council, & not of higher power & authority. This testifieth *Jerome*, *Cyprian*, with al the Antiquity. But I wil not now further enter to dispute. Howbeit I cannot but mervail, how you could (letting these things fal out of your consideration) suffer your self to be blinded by such simple & slender grounds, neither rooted in Scripture, nor reason deduced of the same. But run out with Tragical exclamations against the Prince, as though he were a *Turk*, because he taketh upon him to be Head of the Church of *England*. Wherin also you deceive your self by a false ground wonderfully. For in the comparing of the office of a Prince, and of a Bishop together, you appoint the Prince to the Cure of Civil things, & Worldly alone ; Leaving Christs Doctrine to the Bishops only ; as tho the Prince were no Christen man. You consider not, how the office of a Christian Prince is to build al his Policy upon Gods word, Directing al his Actions to the setting forth of his glory ; & is a Minister of Gods word no less, than the Bp., & rather more, to say truly. For whereas the Bp. hath no further power by the vertue of the Gospel, but only to exhort men to follow the same diligently, the Prince may not only exhort, but also compel his Subjects, to the order of Christs doctrine, violently.

Wherefore when I read your slanderous & abominable words against our Prince in this behalf, as tho he had subverted, by this Title, al the whole order of Christs law, preferring Worldly things above Spiritual ; I judged you either to be mad or frantick, forgetting to whom you wrot ; so to slander your Prince most unkindly ; or very ignorant, which could not consider, how that a Christen Prince, by his very Office & Duty, hath not only Cure & Charge & Oversight of things pertaining to the Worldly life, & Civil order, but also of the Heavenly Doctrine & Spiritual policy. For in the joyning of these two Lives together, which you seem to separate, stondeth the chief point of true Christian Civility. And blinded they be, which judge in Christendome to be *Binas quasdam Politias* : Wherin as Bps. reign in one, so do Princes in the other. This Division deceiveth many one. For in Christs Religion there is no such necessary distinction. For albeit that I think it nothing convenient, that a Prince should exercise the Office of a Bp., but leave that to his Subjects, which

profess themselves thereto; nor meet it is that a Bp. should exercise the Office of a Prince, but wholly to be intent to the setting forth of the truth of Gods word: Yet I see no such Repugnance, nor contrariety in this matter by the Law of God, but that a Bp. might be a Prince, & a Prince a Bishop, as you know it was in the old time before Christs coming. And at the least this I dare boldly affirm, that it is nothing against Gods word, a Christen Prince to take upon him, as an Head of the Common wealth, to oversee his Bps., & to procure that they do execute their office truly. The which thing only our Prince, Master *Pole*, taketh upon him by his new Title, the which you so abhor by your folly.

So that al your sharp words used in this matter, contrary to your Masters honor, declare in you a marvellous blind, & a corrupt judgment, with wonderful ingratitude towards your Prince & country. Wherof, Master *Pole*, what sorrow I have conceived, if I should here be about to open unto you, I should, I think, labour in vain, & of you, peradventure, be little believed. Howbeit yet this I wil say, That few there be among al your Lovers & Friends, which are privy of your judgment, (tho I promise you they al fore lament) that hath conceived more sorrow than I have. For besides the private bands of Love, wherby I have been long above others knit unto your friendship, I have openly, sith I came home, at sundry times so praised your learning & judgment, not only to our Prince, but to many others, which therof were not fully persuaded, that now the contrary being shewed, my sorrow above others is much encreased: Yea, & al such hopes, which I had of your Vertues, almost vanished away. The which I assure you, for our friendship, grieveth me sore. For ever as methoughts I saw in you a desire to the ensarching of the truth & verity, so such constant love towards your Prince & Country, that I could not but think, that these Vertues, (which I esteemed to be in you) should at the last bring forth some Noble fruit to the honor of your Prince, & to the Ornament of our Country. This hope I had, wherwith, I testify God, I comforted my self as much as I did with few other worldly things.

And this, Master *Pole*, was not my hope only, but it was common to many other, your Lovers & Friends, which knew you beside me. Wherfore what sorrow both they & I have taken, by the drowning of this our hope, sith we have perceived, how that by a foolish ground, foolishly of you conceived, you have turned al your Learning & Eloquence to the dishonoring of your Master, slandering of your Country, & which is most of al, to the obscuring of the Truth; I shal leave, Master *Pole*, to your consideration, because my pen serveth me not to expresse the thing fully. And thus I shal - - - - - requiring you by that infinite love, which you say you bear towards your Prince & Country, to consider the matter with your self a little more groundly. And to cal to remembrance yet once again a little more diligently the tenor of your Commission: Which was, " That you should, al worldly " respects set aside, & al dangerous success, which might succede of the " same, ponder the nature of the thing indifferently; & then, I doubt not, but that you shal yet see, how far wide from the matter you have shapen your Oration, which have here right slenderly touched



touched the ground of the matter, filled your Book with lamentable complaints of false grounds conceived : As, that we be slipped from the Unity of the Church ; that we be Heretics ; that we unworthily put to death the best men in the Realm. Upon these grounds moved, you make marvellous digressions, full of venomous words & great vehemency ; as tho they were as true as any word in the Gospel : The which be all false ; & by light credit of you believed.

For nether we be slipped from christian Vnity, which depend upon our Head Christ, coupled together by perfect Love, Faith & Charity : Nother we be infected, as you think, with heresy, which stond in all the grounds of Scripture stedfastly : Nother yet have unworthily put to death the best men of our Realm, tho *More, Rochester, & Reynolds*, with divers others suffered by their own folly. Which dyed nother for their Vertues, nor for the Profession of any such matter, which pertaineth to Christ's glory : but only for the Superstitious Defence of that thing, for the which I think hereafter never wise man wil-do ; & I would to God they also might have been induced, as the goodnes of the Prince greatly desired, to leave their foolish & superstitious obstinacy. Whose example, as I perceive, hath also blinded you as much, peradventure, as any one thing besides, & caused you to fall into this abominable rayling against your Princes actys ingratfully.

But, Master *Pole*, lift your eyes a little higher in this matter, & regard the order of the Primitive church at the beginning. Wherin you shal find, contrary to these mens judgments, that *Rome* never had the Primacy of the Universal Church through the World, but from *Constantines* time only it hath beginning. And have not your eyes so much fixed to the trade of the Church in these latter dayes, & to the sentence of these latter men, which have drawn Scripture therto violently. That which if you had done, & prudently compared the one time with the other, I think you could never have run so headlong to this extreme sentence, & never should have stond so stiff in the defence of that which in Gods word hath no sure ground. But you have shewed your self, Master *Pole*, to be led *præjudicijs* ; & by the example of them, which were in the world in great reputation, you have suffered your heart to be over-run with affection. The which is plain by the Vehement Lamentation, which you make of the death of those men, which foolishly did chuse rather to dy, than to live in their Country, delivered from the Popes cloaked Tyranny. Methought, when I read that part of your Oration, I saw your heart so oppressed with sorrow, that you considered not well what you said. Yea, all the process of your Oration, methought you forgot to whom you spake, & directed your Oration ; tho you oftentimes called him *Prince*, you remembered not, I think, how that he was your Sovereign Lord & Master, which hath confirmed to you such incomparable benefits, as hitherto don to no other of his Subjects. You never considered, how that he is a Prince of high judgment, and great experience. You never set before your eyes his Princely stomach, & Noble courage. For if you had, I can never think, that ever you could have showed such detestable ingratitude, nor have ever been so blinded with affection, as to think, that by your words & sudden Oration, you might induce such

a King to abrogate al such Actys & Deeds, before don with mature Counsil & Deliberation, with such railing, & declaring so corrupt a judgment by affection, to move a Prince from his stabled purpose. Then you were plain mad & frantic. And especially now at this time, when al things were settled in quietnes: that woman being taken away by the Providence of God, by whom was feared of wise men much trouble & adversity. For at such time as your Book was brought to the King, I promise you al men rejoyced in the present State, putting the Pope in utter Oblivion. There was of him here no regard, or mention, but al things brought to good Order with Conformitie.

Alas! Master *Pole*, what lack of learning & prudence was this, so corruptly to judg the matter; without all respect of time & person, so foolishly it to handle? For if you had but considered a little your own person, how much you are above al others bounden to our Prince for your Education, you could never have distorted your Wit & Eloquence, unworthily to spot your honor & name, & therby to shame your self: & judging a Princes Act so unadvisedly without al learning, honest respect & prudence. And I wot not, whether you did this, moved with a certain indignation, because you have been before time of some men much noted to have over much respect of worldly circumstance, & therby to lack the true judgment of things: & so for the avoiding hereof, for you never loved to be noted to lack any part of judgment, but of al things you most abhorred that name, you are therefore now run to the contrary, & have no respect of wordly things at al. You seem now neither to regard King, Friend nor Country, but, as much as lyeth in you, dishonor them al. Insomuch that this I think of you plainly, that if you would set out to the World your Sentence to the King written, I would judge you to be one of the most extreme enemies, both to the Kings Honor, & to al your friends, & to our whole Nation, that ever was bred in our Country. But I shal never think you to have so little prudence & honesty, nor never to be so mad & frantic, as to do any such detestable deed. But this I judge of the writing of your Book, that you being fully persuaded in the contrary opinion, thought frankly to open your judgment therin, & put it to the Kings secret consideration. But that you wil common abroad such a Venomous Book, so ful of Defamation to your Sovereign Lord & Master, so slanderous to his Actys established, I can never be persuaded; but rather I think. And if you had seen, how that here *Omnia Christi Dogmata, & Fidei nostra Sacramenta* be observed, & how al old & honest customes & rites of the Church be kept & maintained, & how christianly God is honoured here among us, I am sure you would never have written so slanderous a Book.

But persuaded I am, Master *Pole*, by common fame & false report, your judgment is corrupted. For I know well how we be with you wrongly reported. In so much that at my coming home, if I had found al such things to be true, which before my departure thence I heard there openly commoned, I would rather have fled from my Country, than have tarried here among such corrupt opinions & heresies. But after I had been here a while, & observed the fashions here of living, christianly used, I perceived then the Vanity of fame, wherby



wherby for the most part al things are misreported. And this at sundry times I remember I wrote to you most diligently, to the intent I would have had you delivered from such suspicion: Certifying you that here among us was little Alteration, beside the casting down of this Primacy; to which every honest & christian mind may, as I think, wel be obedient, without any offence of Gods law, or injury to his Word.

Wherfore, Master *Pole*, I shal yet once again require you, by the love that you have placed in your heart to your Masters honor & natural Country, to weigh this matter a little better, & cleave not so stiffly to your own opinion: Suffer not your self to be blinded with such extreme folly, to judg it necessary to mankind to have but one Head in Earth, as there is but one God in Heaven. The which, by your Opinion, must needs follow, if al men were christned, as we believe once they shal be. At the which time I think there shal no man be so mad, as to think, that from one Bp. of *Rome* al Spiritual power shal be derived to the rest of the World; & that of his judgment al Mankind shal depend, as upon the only Vicar of Christ. For tho<sup>it</sup> hath been long suffered in this West part of the World, as a thing convenient to the conservation of a certain Unity; yet to say, that it should be likewise required in the whole World, if it were christned, appeareth to me an extreme folly. The breaking therfore of order is but a politic matter; like as the institution of the same was at the beginning. Wherfore, Master *Pole*, blind not your Conscience with such simplicity. Suffer not your self to be deceived by a light persuation, of the which sort your Book is ful. For plainly, to say to you even as I think, your arguments in the matter are but vulgar & common, set out with a more fair face & colour of Eloquence, than with any deep & sure ground of truth & equity. In so much I wonder manytimes with my self, how you fel into this extreme sentence of the Primacy. Wherin I thought you would have considered the matter with some higher judgment, than doth the common sort of men of weak capacity. I never thought you would have so followed the common error of the World, & left the weighing of the nature of the thing with an indifferent ey. But here I find the Proverb of the *Greeks* to be true, *Τοις τοις ὁμιλῶντες*, &c. *Every man lightly drawes much of the maners of them & judgments, with whom he is gladly conversant.* The *Italian* judgments are much bent to defend the Honor of their Country; which by the Primacy of *Rome* hath been much upholden. By the reason wherof you peradventure have been somewhat more hard to receive the truth of this matter indifferently.

But I trust, Master *Pole*, hereafter the love of your own Country, your bounden duty to your Sovereign Lord & Master shal so prevail in your stomach, that you, in time retracting your Sentence, shal to your great comfort enjoy the same quiet. For sorrowful I shal be to se you persist in any such sentence & folly, wherby you should refuse to come to the presence of your Prince, & perpetually to lack the fruition of your natural friends & Country.

And wheras of late I hear the Bp. of *Rome* hath invited you to consult with him upon a Council General, I would advise you as  
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one of your most loving friends, to consider the Cause wel, before you apply ; & look wel to the office which you owe to your Prince : & suffer not your Conscience to be bound with a superstitious knot, conceived by foolish scrupulosity. For if you judge your self more to be bounden to that foreign Bp. than to, your natural Sovereign Lord, you shal, of al Wise men, I think, be judged to lack a great part of Wit, & more of vertue & honesty. You shal be judged plainly to be blinded with some great affection, & to be an untrue subject unto your Master, & an open enemy to your Country : which you say you love so intyrelly. Consider therefore this matter with your self earnestly. For there hangeth more therupon, than I fear me you conceive. For this one thing I shal say to you, which I pray you fasten in your breast, Thât if you follow the Breves of the Pope to you directed, & busy your self to set forth the Sentence, which you have written to the King, Blowing up that authority with arrogancy ; you shal be noted in the Christian Common weal as Seditious a Person & Minister, as great a breach to Christian Unity, as ever hath don \* any others in our dayes, by their rashnes & temerity. For as seditious is he, which al old Customes & Usages of the Church, defendeth over obstinately, as he that without discretion subverteth al rashly.

\* In the room  
of these Words  
was first writ  
Martyn Lu-  
ther, but blot-  
ted out.

Therefore, Master Pole, revolve this thing wel in your own mind ; & let not the advice of Cardinal Contarini, nor yet of the Bp. Chete, (if you have comitted your Counsils with them) so weigh your stomach, that you forget al humanity : Regarding neither Prince, Country nor Friend, for a peevish Popish matter. *Nec tibi, Pole, ita imponas, ut cum tuearis hanc Pontificis auctoritatem, negotium Christi te agere putes. Ego certè vereor, ne dum hoc agis, Christum planè deseras. Quid enim aliud est Christum deserere, quàm legitimo Principi, qui in bonis artibus te liberaliter educavit, in honestissimis mandatis non obtemperare ? Quid dulcissimæ Patriæ, quæ te aluit, operam tuam denegare ; Parentibus & charissimis amicis humani hominis Officia non præstare ? At dices, Et Princeps & Patria Christum deseruere. O Pole, quàm insanis, si proptem unum Pontificem desertum, nos Christum deseruisse arbitrèrè. Ego profectò spero fore, ut post hanc a Pontifice defectionem, arctius Christo hæreamus.*

And yet I wil not despair, but that you shal hereafter, as a more obedient person to your Prince than to the Pope, help to set forward at home the truth of Christs doctrine, to his honor & glory. For the which I shal never cease to pray : And that you may se such light of Truth, wherby you may both in this case, & in al other truly serve your Prince & Country : & that both you & I, with al other, which make profession of Christs name, may also at the last agree together in concord of opinion & unity.

*Lapsus es, Pole, ab officio humani hominis, qui ob tam levem causam, patriam & Parentes & optimum Principem deseris : Sed ignorantia planè lapsus es ; cui ego omnes omnium errores, juxta Platonem, tribuere soleo.*



## N U M B. LXXXII.

*Mr. Pole, to the King: Who had commanded him home, to explain his Book.*

**P**Leaseth it your Grace to be advertised, that I have received your <sup>Cleopatra,</sup> most honorable Letters, bearing date the 14th of June, delivered <sup>E. 6. p. 334.</sup> me the last of the same. Whereby your Grace doth give me to understand as wel of the receipt of my Book, & Letters addressed to your Gr. & sent by my servant, as also declare your pleasure touching the said Book, & me the Author therof. That whereas there be divers places that cannot so vively be perceived by writing as they should be by conferring the same presently with the Writer, your Gr. having the desire in al points the Book comprehendeth, to penetrate into the right meaning & sentence therof; Therupon you declare your pleasure, that al excuses set apart, I should with al diligence repair unto your Presence. So that as far as I can learn by your Graces Letter, (but much more by Mr. Secretary, stirring me more vehemently, & yet most of al by the Bearer of both, informed of your pleasure by Master Secretary, which hath been most fervent of al touching the suasion of my Return,) your expectation at present is, not for any letter of mine, but rather for my person, to appear presently, without delay, afore your Gr. for the causes rehearsed. Wherin now, if I testifying God, that seeth the hearts of men, should this affirm, that there was never thing that I more desired, than to obey your Graces Commandment in this behalf, & that with al diligence, whereby I might, beside al other commodities of my Return, have this one great pleasure to be Interpreter of mine own Writing, (which not sincerely understood, might be cause of many inconveniences) surely I should say none otherwise, than afore God I do think in my heart. But because my Coming ensueth not hereof, I should no fail have the less credence, unles that I did declare some great cause, why my Will agreing with your Graces Commandment, Nevertheles I do not put the same in execution.

Which Cause now I shal shew, wherein needeth no further proces to be used, if I say briefly, That he that calleth me, wil not let me come. Then if I say, your Gr. that called me, hath put such an Impediment in my way, that letteth me, I cannot pas to your Gr. except temerariouly I should cast away my self. This surely & truly, afore God & Man, I may say, that being in that case I might go, or run, your Gr. calling me unto you. There is no Let in this World were able to retain me from coming to your Gr. but only that procedeth of your self. Your Gr. alone may stop my coming: No man of what condition soever he be, Prince or Private, no other cause beside. I being as I am now at such liberty, as for ony let in these parties, I might come. But now how, & in what maner do I say this, that your Gr. doth let me, stop me, & utterly exclude me from coming to you at this time, your Gr. having read ony part of my Book, I need no great Declaration. For this I have there expressed by a  
long

long procefs. But this briefly in plain words. To shew now the same to your Grace : It is the Law, the which your Gr. wil shal stand in strength, that is in no Realme in Christendome used, but in yours ; that we never had in yours but now alate, sineth the time you cast your love & affection to her, which as her Deeds declared, never bare Love & Affection towards you ; by which Law every man is made a Traitor, that wil not agree to give you Title, to make you Head of the Church in your Realm, & so to accept you. This Law, so fore in appearance against them that do not agree therunto, with such extremity executed, & put in effect with so fore severity against the best men of your Realm, both in vertue & learning, put to execution of death for the same, & suffering the pain of Traitors ; which in heart & mind, as al their deeds show from the beginning of their life to the latter dayes, had ever been your most faithful Servants : This Law, being stil in vigor & strength, against the which in a maner is al the Procefs of iny Book, your Gr. without any further discourse here may soon perceive, if it be a sufficient Impediment, that I do not come at this present.

And here your Gr. seeth, how I use no excuses for delay of my coming, which you command me utterly to set apart, albeit surely for the hastines of my coming at this time I had many reasonable excuses, as the time of the year is, in these extreme Heats so unreasonable for me to journey, especially as I found my body affect, when that message was brought me, with divers just causes beside. But utterly if I should have run through fire & water, tho I had been sick in my bed, when the message came, I think nothing could have let me, but I would have ventured to set forward at your Calling. But this Cause I have now reherfed must needs take away al such purpose, except I would be accounted a Traitor of my own life. For the which I am more bound to answer, than for any other mans beside. My body being not so much mine own possession, as it is of God & Christ, that hath redeemed me. Which I am bound to keep to his plesure, & not temerariouly to cast it away. So that in this your Gr. now hearing what a great cause I have to let me, or any of my opinion to come, where such Laws be executed, I trust I need to make no further procefs in justifying my remaining in these parts, albeit your Graces Letters cal. To the which, I testify God, my mind is more prompter to obey, than your Gr. to command, if this great Let were not unto me ; wherby I cannot but with grievous offence to God put my mind in execution.

And now as touching the Cause why your Gr. doth cal me : which is for better information & understanding of those things written in my Book ; I cannot tel how much your Gr. had read therein ; but this I wil say (which I think your Gr. reading the same shal find true) that for understanding of things written there, I have handled them in such plainnes, clearnes & copiousnes, that there needeth very smal Comment therof, other of me the Author, or of any other, for the clear understanding, this being my chief purpose to make al things clear. And so I doubt not, but I have performed, in such maner whosoever understand any thing therein, that hath the least practise of such matters, he shal understand the whole. And if there lack any thing



thing for the understanding of my true sentence & meaning, the which your Gr. writeth your desire chiefly to be enformed of, surely it is that thing, the which I cannot give, that is an indifferent mind in the Reader, such a mind to the Reader as I had, when I writ it, delivered of al Affection, but only of the Truth, & your Gr. Honour & Wealth: This mind I had when I writ. But whofo wil se that same in me, he must bring the like with him, & read also the whole course of my Book. For he that readeth one part alone, he may both deceive himself, & more be deceived in the true meaning of my sentence. For in some part he shal think by my Words, I am the greatest Enemy your Gr. ever had, & that I mean more the undoing of your Honor, than the maintaining therof. But he that wil compare one part with the other, beginning with the end, & confer the whole Process together, tho in some part he shal se the matiers were so fore handled, yet he shal perceive the ground of that sharp handling was rooted of most ardent love, & tended to a most laudible & loving end: & that there was never Book written with more sharpnes of words, nor again with more ferventnes of love & affection, to maintain your honor & wealth both in this world, & in another.

Wherefore, as I said, here lyeth al the difficulty to understand my true meaning in the Book, to bring an indifferent mind both to your Gr. to the Cause, & to me: Which had, of the understanding the Book, whosoever hath any smal practise in that kind of Letters, there can be no doubt. For he hath the very key to open the whole secrets of my mind. And as touching my self, this I wil say, taking on my side to record God himself, who knoweth my mind, (which I count he gave me) my whole desire is, was, & ever shal be, that your Gr. might reign long in honor, in wealth, in surety, in love & estimation of al men. And this I do say again (remaining those Innovations your Gr. hath of late made in the Church) that the desire that I have, & al that love you, was nor is not any thing possible to take effect, but rather to be contrary to that I desire, with great los of honor to stand in great peril divers wayes, not only afore God, but in the face of the World: Beginning here that same, which hereafter should be more terrible. This any man of any smal prudence might judge, & this was in the mouth & judgment of al men, that ever I could speak withal in such matters, that were at liberty to speak, where they might shew their mind. But this men did not only judge as of a thing to come, but of that they might se dayly, how your Honor & Estimation is decreased in every mans Opinion, & therewith your peril must needs increase. This I testify God, I have not read a Prince spoken of more universally with more dishonor, when your Actions come abroad to be known, then I have heard with my ears in divers places, & generally whersoever I have come, to the greatest sorrow that ever I bare in my mind: Your actions giving matier to every matier of communication, for the strangenes of them, that in no other Realm hath been used. Infomuch that if I should say, that I found my self sometime in place, where I was not known my self, nor your Gr. but by those Actions; taking upon me, as I have been wont, openly to defend your Cause, if I should say I was in jeopardy of my life among them, to your Cause pertained nothing unto, only

incitate by the injustice they judged therein, surely I should say none otherwise, than the truth is. And this is most true, that unto this day, touching these Innovations, & the Acts following, whereas I have spoken with divers, & many of all sorts of men, to find but one, that did praise them or allow them, this afore God I never did.

But to let this pas now, & to give count to your Gr. of my Writing, which is my principal intent. The matier being in this case in the estimation of all men that ever I spake withal, cometh then your Commandment unto me by Mr. Secretaries Letters, that I should write in the matier and shew my Sentence in that principal matier, which was ground of all Innovation, touching the old Ordinances of the Church, when you take the name of the highest Head of the Church in your Realm. Here first was all my care, because your Gr. grounded your self of certain places of Scripture, which divers Books written in justification of your Cause did expresse.

The first that ever came to my hands was of Doctor *Sampsons*. To that I made Answer; taking away (as I doubt not, but whosoever read my Book shall clearly perceive) all the Reasons & Arguments (as nothing concluding) that he putteth. Which done, I entered to confirm in his place, that Head of the Church, whom the Church so many hundred years hath confessed to be institute by Christ himself, the first Institutor of the whole Church. And herein I do confound all such reasons as Dr. *Sampsons* Book bringeth to the contrary. Which done, because sometimes the verity & justice of a Sentence is not only known by way of argument, as it is by the fruit that followeth thereof, which fruit standing in the Acts, which followed of this Title taken, albeit all came by your Graces Authority, yet I could never persuade my self, that your self did well see or know what they were. For I could never think, that remaining a spark of that generosity of nature, that I ever judged to be in you, that the Deeds being of such sort, as every man knoweth they be, you could ever have found in your heart to have done them, or suffered them to be done in your Realm. Which Deeds, with the maintenance of your Sentence, bringing not only great dishonor to your Gr. but manifest jeopardy & peril divers wayes, both afore God & Man, touching your self, & your whole State: To remedy this in any part there could be taken none other way, but so to manifest the qualities of those, that you might your self see what you had done, to what dishonor, in what peril you had cast your self & the whole Realm. For this known, it were not possible, remaining any sparkle either of goodness of nature, or grace of God, but you should abhor them, more than any other man, & seek forthwith for remedy: Which standeth only in returning to the Ordinances of the Church.

But all resteth in making you to know what you have done; Considering that he that was counted the wisest of all Princes, either afore him, or after him (which was *Solomon*) made divers great errors & offences (whereof the grievousness & jeopardy he saw) & at the doing being blinded by the same, that took also knowledg from your Grace, which was by inordinate affection, which he bare to women. Wherefore as I say, all the whole matier touching the recovery of your Honor, & deliverance of all jeopardy & peril, both afore God & man, it  
dependeth



dependeth vpon this, how your Gr. might be made to know, what you have don. Which not brought to pass, there was no hope of any goodnes. Nor there was never man yet, Prince or other in this world, that by offence was forth of the grace & favor of God, that ever returned without knowledging the same to do amiss. For whoso continueth defending his Act, he augmenteth his dishonor, & what peril dependeth therof, by that means to make it greater : So that I say in al such al resteth, that the Delinquent do know he hath don amiss.

But now here is al the difficulty in a Prince, Who is he that wil tel him his fault ? Who is he that hath more need, having a thousand part more occasion to fal than other ? Who is he that wil not rather maintain by words & say, it is wel, when it is amiss ; fearing if he should other, he should displease his Prince ? Or if there be ony man, that hath that zeal & love to his Princes wealth, above his own private profit, yet where is the Prince that wil hear him ? So that of this fort there be very few ; which is the forest lack that Princes can have. And if there be ony, they are so excluded from the Princes hearing, that their good mind can take but little effect. Howbeit in your case, as tho God had provided that your Gr., for lack of one to manifest your State with God & Man, should not utterly fail, he first provided to put your faithful Subject in such place that he might be at liberty to speak : & afterwards putting it in your mind to ask his Sentence, gave him occasion with al liberty to say, & occasion with that to be heard better by writing, than by present communication. And this occasion I have not, I trust, let pass. But seeing the danger your Gr. was in before God & man, for certain Deeds that God suffered you to fal into, for this end & purpose, as yet I trust to recover you, is higher Honor again.

This only ground of al your Wealth I have so manifested unto you, that there never was Physician nor Surgeon so sought a wound to purge it from rankling, as I have sought, explained, & pondered your last Deeds. Wherby I reckoned your Soul sore wounded : infomuch that if I did not with al Vehemence of words both set forth your Deeds, as they were, set forth your peril, that doth ensue, both afore God & Man, of those Deeds, with al plainnes : so that if ony rancor remained in your Deeds, that I had not touched, ony peril ony way, that I had not detect unto you, surely so much I thought my self culpable of pernicious negligence towards you. Which for to escape, this caused me to let nothing untouched & unsearched, which might be found in your Deeds ; which I sought to the very bottome of your wounds. No peril that might ensue of them, which I found great both at home, & without forth, except those wounds were healed, but I found it out. And in conclusion drew al the Process of my Book to shew how al things past might be amended, how al those wounds might be healed, al perils extued [eschewed] & you to live in more Honor & Wealth, than ever you did hitherto. This is the end of my Book, & here I leave.

But in this course to bring my matier to this conclusion, because your Gr. heareth many sharp & sower words, which may be thought signes rather of enemy than friend, touching your Fame so neer, if you wil, as soon as you hear them in reading, say, this is my great

Enemy, afore you know to what end they draw, your Gr. doth like as though one lying wounded in his Chamber, & having great need of the Surgeon, after that one is brought to him, which prepareth his Instruments, & draweth his knife, to cut the dead & superfluous flesh, according to his Craft; the Patient, as soon as he seeth his Knife drawn, would cry against him as against his Enemy; & wil not abide to let him use his craft, wherby he hurteth himself most of al: Being most enemy unto his own health, which by these means he doth lett. In like maner your Gr. seing my sharp words, & not abiding to hear the end, how they be applied to your wealth, why they were so sharpned, shal of a light sign mistake him (that meaneth nothing but your wealth) for your enemy; & be hindrance to your comfort, to the which al my sharp words do draw, & for that purpose were uttered, & in your wealth do finish.

But the final conclusion of al these Discourses is this, to make you se the Troth in al these matiers. This is a true ground & sure. It lyeth in no mans power, wit, learning or eloquence: This lyeth only in the goodnes of God; to send you of the light of his Spirit, that if so be his Goodnes & Mercy be such, that he wil give you his Spirit in that degree of knowledg which *David* prayed for to be restored unto him, after his great blindnes he was stricken withal by his sin, when he prayed, *Redde mihi latitiam Salutaris tui, & Spiritu Principali confirma me*; then this is plain, you shal not only take no displeasure with my rough Writing, in manifesting to you your offence to God, but think it was the greatest benefit that ever ony Prince, after such Deeds, could obtain of God; & be more sharper & rougher Judge against your self & your Deeds, than ony man beside, & say plainly, I have not said the third part that might be said in reproof of them. But this judgment & severity of your self, touching your self & your Deeds, shal end in such gladnes & joy, feeling the knowledg of the mercy of God entring into your heart, that no joy surely in the World beside could be compared therunto.

This, if God inlighten you, shalbe the very end of al; wherin no mans labor is worthy to be thanked, but only the goodnes of God. And that it shal come to this conclusion, whatsoever I hear or know to the contrary, surely I cannot despair, seeing God hath rid you of that Domestical evil \* at home, which was thought to be cause of al your errors; & with her Head, I trust, cut away al occasion of such offences as did separate you from the light of God. And the better I am [in hope] that God wil shew his great goodnes towards you, because I understand already, that in place of her, of whom descended al disorders, the goodnes of God hath given you one ful of al goodnes, † to whom I understand your Gr. is now married. Wherof I beseech Almighty God send you great & long comfort, as I doubt not but shal follow. And surely there is none other lett now, only your Gr. would put off that great burden of your *Head*, which preffeth you so fore, that you have born awhile, to be Superior Head of the Church in your Realm; which no other Prince beside in their Realms, feeling the displeasure of God, dare venture to take upon them, nor ever did, syneth the Church began.

\* He means  
Q. Anne Bo-  
len, lately  
executed.

† Jane Sei-  
mour.



This I wil not deny hath a great appearance of a great profit & revenue coming into your Coffers. And I can say nothing at this present, but infinitely wish that there were no lett, but I might confer with your Gr. presently of this matier. For this I would not doubt to make plain, that your Gr. should see it, as it were afore your eyes, that no profit gotten this way were worthy to be in any part compared with the profit, the honor, with al surety, that may be got by leaving off this Title; as the Time & Occasion doth make for your Gr. now: which if your Gr. doth let pass, it is most to be feared it wil never come to such a good point again.

Peradventure your Gr. wil think I speak like a yong man. I cannot deny, but that I am that Yong man, that have of long time be conversant with old men; that have long judged the Eldest that liveth; at these dayes too yong for me to learn wisdom of, that have learned of al Antiquity, of the most Antient, that ever were afore me, & of my time hath had most acquaintaunce, & most longest conversation with those that have been the Flowers of Wisdom in our time. Which I have sought in al places; & most enjoyed that Wisdom of any Yong man of my time. So that if I were a stock, I must needs know somewhat. And of al my Knowledg, for one the surest I have now, that God hath sent you such an occasion, whatsoever hath been amiss hitherto, your Matiers may be so handled, that your Recover may be more Surety, more Honor, more Profit to your Gr. than if you had gotten *Asia* out of the *Turks* hands; or don any other Act beside, which is counted most honorable among Christian Princes. For your Person alone may be the occasion of the Reformation of Christs church both in Doctrin & Maners; which is one the highest honor that could be wished for in this World.

Wherefore, this is the time, Sir, to cal to God that he wil not suffer you to let pass this so noble an occasion: Which if it be let slip now, there is nothing more to be feared, than the fore hand of God, & his great punishment. Which for to extue, & for to enjoy this honor, now is the time for your Gr. to put al your endeavours, & to hear every mans Counsil, that can say any thing in this matier. Whereby, your antient years now growing upon you, you may finish your time in al honor & joy, not only of your own Realm, but of al Christendom, according to the hope, that every man had of your Noble qualities & gifts of Nature, that they saw with great comfort in you at the beginning of your Reign. To whose Expectation your Gr. hath now most opportunity to satisfy, making the end respondent to the beginning: Changing in a maner nothing of that life you lead now, if that please you, except it be to encrease to more honor & joy. Only that your Gr. wil not leave this mervellous occasion, which you have given unto you now by the goodnes of God. Which cannot be exprest in few words as it is in deeds. But if God give you the grace to give ear hereunto, then he wil also find the means, that it may be performed to his honor. Wherin is encluded al your honor, profit & surety, to the comfort of al your Subjects, & the whole Church beside.

For the which is my dayly prayer, & of al desires in this World in my heart the greatest, as knoweth God, the only Seer of al interior motions.

motions. To whom my daily prayer is to make you know my heart, as he seeth it. And to his protection with al humble petition I com- mit your Grace. Written at *Venice*, the XV of July,

By your Graces most faithful Servant,

*Reynold Pole.*

N U M B. LXXXIII.

*Pole, to the Bishop of Durham ; In answer to that Bishops former Letter to him.*

Cott. Librar.

**R**ight Honorable, & my singular good Lord : In my humblest maner I commend me to your good Lordship ; Adverting the same, that I have received your Letter, bearing date the XIIIth of this present at *London*, the XXVIIth of the same. Wherby I perceive, as my Letter is come to your hand, which I directed to your Lordship, touching the declaration of my mind & purpose, that I had in writing & sending a Book alate to the K. H., as also that the Book should be showed unto you, by the large expressing of your mind & judgment in the one & the other. And this was my chief desire, for the assured opinion that I had of your vertue & learning, that it might so be. Which our judgment you do so expresse, specially touching the Book, that in few words you conclude, *To have had great heavines at your heart in reading thereof, & much more, when you had read it through.* The cause wherof you do alledg to be *the Vehemence & sore eagernes therof in al parts, & in no part attaining to the Truth.*

Surely, my Lord, if it be so, the more ye show to favor me, the more cause ye had to be fory, especially to se me so vehement & eager, & where I have no true ground to write therof. But here lyeth al, whether the proof you bring of your Saying be of a sure ground, or no, to show this. Surely the first of al you bring is very feeble, which is bycause you say, *Al the purpose of my Book is, to bring the Kings Gr. by Penance home to the Church, as a man clearly separate from the same already.* And of his *Recess from the Church* you write, *I bring none other proof, than by the same & common opinion of men in these parts : Which, you say, be far from the knowledg of the affaires of the matters in England, blindly judging of things unknown to them.* This is the first entring you make in answering my Letters, & refelling the purpose of my Book. Which I perswading my self that you do not write, but of such a mind, as the rest of your Letter showeth, desiring to have me perswaded, as one that you love & favor in that that seemeth Truth unto you, & to have a more clearer judgment of mine own Writing ; I trust you wil pardon me, if for more Manifestation of this Truth, in such words, as I know not my self worthy of blame, but I have a just cause to defend my self in, I do utter the same : promising you afore God, wheras I have no right cause



cause in such matters, as you lay great errors unto me, I wil never go about to defend it, but utterly & plainly grant I have don amiss, & desire also pardon of them I have offended.

But I afore I answer, & examine better your proofes, this first of al, my Lord, I must desire pardon of you, if I deny the first thing you write, & say, that in my mind I think you have not thorowly read my Book, albeit you write *You have perused it through*. Thus I durst not say, except you your self did minister a just cause for me to say so. The which is this, bycause in alledging some things of my Book, you alledge those that cannot be found there, as I shal show anon. Besides this, wheras you make reasons contrary to mine Opinion, you bring such as I have answered already in my Book. Which I know wel you wold never a done, if you had read the Answer, but rather reply against my Answer, showing that to be of no value, than to reherse the first Answer, wherunto there is already an Answer made. This must needs induce me to think, that you have not read the Book; except peradventure it might be, bycause you write you saw the Book with others, that you might so read it in company, as I have seen twain say Service in company together, wheras they have said divers Psalmes, that none of them both remember, whether have said or no, & one ask the other, whether they had don such a Psalm, or no. Under this maner you might read my Book. This may salve your first Saying, that you had read it after a maner. But after such a maner to make judgment therof, there is no man can say you read it.

But that I speak not this without proof, & a sure ground, this first I shal show, that you lay first to my charge. Wheras you write, that in my proof to declare the Kings Recels from the Church, I *take none other reason, but the same & common opinion of men in these parts*. This, my Lord, you shal not find in al my Book. Neither that I take such an Argument by the voice of men here, to show the King hath separate himself from the Church, nor yet any other. And the cause why, is, for seeing the Kings Acts, the which al Christendom seeth as wel as I, it were a great madnes of a Writer to prove that to be other in word or deed, which he seeth with his eyes, or heareth with his ears. As if a Chirurgeon or Physician, comeing to one lying wounded afore him, should go about to prove the man is wounded. This no man that hath sense would do. But he that is expert in such things, after he hath searched the wound, would say the wound is perillous, is great, hath need of great care. And so I, my Lord, findiug the King already separate from the Church, in refusing to be obedient to him, whom al his Ancestors unto this time, & he himself the best part of his Reign, & al other Princes Christned, doth obey as unto the Vicar of Christ in earth; I showed by divers similitudes & reasons joyned withal, the greatnes of this Wound, & peril therof. But that the King by this means hath separate himself from the Church, of this I put no proof: for this was open to al them, that either saw or heard the Acts, or yet doth know them.

So that to return to that I said afore; you reciting of my Book, which was not there, this bringeth me not only suspicion, but rather a sure knowledg, that you have not read the same. Being surely persuaded

persuaded that if you had, you would not say otherwise than you found, which must needs come of malice. The which I can never suspect in you neither towards me, nor no man beside. But this letteth you not, to go forward in reproving the handling of my self in the Book; as tho you had read it earnestly & with diligence; returning to that again which you first accuse, which is my *Vehemency*. *Wherby*, you say, *I make many plagues, but lay little or no salve to heal them*. To this, my Lord, I do say again, that which every man reading my Book shal see; that in very deed I make never a plague, when I discover those that be made already. As if one had many wounds that were kept close, the Chirurgeon coming did open them, & with an Instrument search them to the bottome. Under this maner I did make wounds & plagues. But howsoever you cal that, you say, *that I lay little or no salve therunto*. This you would never a said, if that you had read my Book through, which spend one great part of my Book in magnifying the Sacrament of Penance. What other salve would you have, my Lord, than this, which is the only comfort of Mankind, to heal al fores of the mind? And in this I spend twenty leaves of Paper, not putting one sharp word: but with al force of wit, & such learning as God hath sent me, did bend my self to make open by reason, by example & by experience, what joy, what comfort, what honor, what wealth was hid under this sharp name, that seemeth to contain none of this. But, my Lord, if God would give him grace to tast but one tear of pure penance in that maner I have described, he would say, al the plesure & comfort that ever he had from childhood, & al the whole world could give, were not to be compared to the sweetnes therof.

But stil you say, *I shew in my Writing to be stirred & incensed in my spirit*. Truth it is, my Lord, it is no time for me to sleep, when I saw the Head of our Realm, to whom I owed as much reverence as ever did Subject to his Prince, whom Nature bound me to love, & his Benefits in that way, which I esteem above al other Benefits, that ever he did for any (wherby he shal have more merit of God, than ever for any that I know he hath done) in causing me to be brought up in vertue & learning. Which is nevertheles afore God, how little soever I have profited: Al this together considered in him, whom I see in the greatest peril both afore God & man; attempting such things, & bringing to effect, as never did Prince, sineth the Christian Faith was received of Princes of the World, to the perturbation of the order & state of the whole Church; what should I do, my Lord, if I bare but one sparkle of love towards him, seeing him falling into this deep danger? Wherby, beside God, he did al that lay in him, to make twain, the greatest powers in earth, his enemies, as the Pope & the Emperor.

What should I do, those that should give him best counsil, & did, taken away by sword, for their right opinions, contrarying his plesure? Was it not time to cry out to him, in remembrance of that he had don; to set afore his eyes the wounds he made in his own Soul; to show him his peril, & withal to show him the way to recover himself with honor? Here is al my *Sharpnes*, that cannot be born, that I have shewed in my Book. What would your Lordship in this case?

I cannot



I cannot believe your mind is, other than because he is a Prince he cannot do amiss, or he doth so amiss, that al the world cryeth out of it, that no man should tel it him. If *Solomons* Wisdome could not save him from greatest error ; nor *Dauids* favor of God did not make good, but God, to know himself better, did permit him to fall grievously ; & so grievously with such blindness, that he, being a Prophet, knew not his own fault, until he was admonished of another Prophet ; Let not this seem strange to our Prince, that he may grievously erre, & yet so erring, not know the hanioufnes therof, when he hath done. And if after his grievous offence, because he is a Prince, you would have no man so bold to tel him his fault, you make Princes in the most miserable state of any men living : al other men having a mean after their Fall, by the admonishing of such as love them, to recover. And from al Princes take away such remedy as those, if chance were so, they should fall into a River, where without help they must needs drowne, you forbid any man from laying hand on his Majesty to touch him.

But you would have men *touch him softly & gently*. But if that cause him tary longer in peril, & put him in more jeopardy, what would you then his Lovers should do ? How many years be past, when every man hath used that way with the King in these innovations of laws & customes, & what have they profited, but set him more forward ? That if so be at the beginning, those men to whose office that did appertain, whose Sentence the King did demand, had roundly, without any color of words, set the danger of such things, his Gr. did attempt, before his eyes ; Declaring the inconveniences following therof, & Brutenes of the things ; surely it is to be thought, that goodnes that ever he shewed of nature, could never have gone further in those purposes. But before, every man took contrary way, fearing private displeasure of their own part more than the Kings wealth : The matters be brought to this point now, that not only the King thinketh not that he hath don any offence to God, but rather that he hath don so, that no Prince can do better ; the which is the most perillous state of a Sinner. And this he thinketh, albeit his Deeds be such as never Prince in the World attempted afore, nor none that is alive, for the Brutenes therof, wil follow his example. Here now what should an intyre favourer of his Honor & Wealth do ? Any thing, than by al means bring them to his knowledg, that he may se them as they be ? How can they be seen, except they be plainly told ?

But that same *Plainnes is too sharp*. Surely if there be nothing but Words, it is a Sharpnes, may soon be washed away ; & more to the Writers shame than otherwise. But if the Deeds, joined withal, express & bring in al this acerbity in them, is al the fault, (which is not mine,) my doing there is rather cause of thanks, which show how al may be amended & turned to good. Which is the conclusion of my Book, & al mine intent in writing therof.

You wish, I had rather comprized in a short letter my whole opinion, that the King alone might have seen it, rather than in a long Book : Wherby the King is forced to commit the Reading therof to trusty persons of his Councel. If they be Trusty, my Lord, what inconvenience

followeth of committing the reading to them, I cannot see. But to comprize mine Opinion in a short Letter, his Acts by that means he could not see; which was my chief purpose he should see; having that trust in the Noblenes of his Nature, that seeing them as they were, after the ensample of *David* & others, he would abhor more them, than those that writ against them.

After this, you *condemn me of great temerity, to send such a Book so long a way; which if it had perished, it should a been great slander to the King; but most of al great infamy unto me for the writing therof.* If there be no other fear but of my slander, let me be punished that way, & cause them that be displeased with me to put forth the same my slander. I promise you I wil never accuse them for my part. But you say it should a been great slander to the King & to the Country. Wherefore, my good Lord? For manifesting of such Deeds as I have written in that Book to other Nations And what Nation think you is there that is ignorant of any Deeds written in my Book: & not only not ignorant, but that hath them not so prompt, reherfing them with more slander, than either I, or any man else with Writing can exprefs? I would to God they were no better known than my Book might shew, I promise you there should not pass a quarter of an houre, but I would brenne my Book. But as I saw, afore I set pen to Book, they were better known & reherfed with more dishonor, than a pen can exprefs. They be written, my Lord, *stylo Adamantino*, as the Prophet saith *de peccatis Judæorum*, in hearts of al Christendom. Which never shal be abolished, but only by that Salve, you say, was little shewed in my Book, which is, by Penance. That is the thing that ever I exhort the King unto.

You write, *Your heart was cold, when you understood of two Quayres of my Book, that were out of my hands.* You may be now of good courage again; for I promise you they be recovered. And those surely were one great Cause, beside others, that moved me more, which was the Death of her that was Head of this disorder, why I sent my Book at this time. For I doubted they had been conveyed of some that would have uttered them unto either the Kings displeasure, or my hindrance. Wherin I sincerely (because the King should not travail his mind, if those Quayres came to his hands, as written of me, to the supplanting of his honor,) sent him the whole Book. Which I think was the Wil of God I should do. For the Quayres afterwards were found among other Quayres in another Book.

And wheras your instant desire is, for the sharpnes of my Book, that *I should brenn the Originals*; if it be so, my Lord, the Kings mind be so debile, not able to digest the acerbity therof; (which if he might, al were turned to sweetnes, & to more honor, than al the Books that ever were written in his praise directly; but if he have not the heat of Spirit within him, which must come only of the high gift of God) I wil be content examining the Book, to separate the matter from the Person. For the Verity therof must stand, which I intend not to abolish; nor to do that injury to Catholick Books, that is just for Heretical.

You write further, Declaring your mind, *What dishonor would be to me to exercise my style against him,* meaning the King, *whom I ought in*



*in al points, by al my Learning & Wit to defend.* In this, my Lord, you write very wel what I should do, & no other than that I have ever followed. And if you judge otherwise of this Book I have now written, you be a very evil Interpreter of my mind in that Book, if you take the same as written against the King. Which if it had been my mind, I would not a sent it after such circumstance, as I did, to his Gr. nor a tempered it under such maner, as to shew how to avoid with his Honor al dishonor of such Acts as were first known in the face of the World, afore they were expressed in my Book. But this is plain, the King may make it against him, as al truth is against them, that do not accept it. As the Gospel of God is *Scandalum* to them that hear it, & doth not admit the truth therof. But if his Gr. obtain that grace of God to return to the light of the Truth, there was never Book that should be more unto his honor written.

After this, you come in more to the particularities of my Book, to shew, *How my whole Book, as you write, runs wide from the truth.* The which you begin on this maner, *Because, you say, I presuppose this ground, the King to be swarved from the Unity of the Church.* Now you say very truth, I take it in my Book for a ground, & that is the cause, as I wrot above, that I put no proof therof, as you reherse I did. But now, my Lord, that this ground is not true, can you prove? I wish you could, or that we both could prove the same, there was never thing, I wil put my hand unto gladlier. But I promise you, Considering the Kings Innovations in the Church, taking upon him the name & office of him in his Realm, the which in the whole Church doth keep as Head the Unity of the same, I am ashamed to say he doth not separate himself from the Unity of the Church.

And now what proof bring you to this? You say, *First, That albeit the King be Supreme Head in the Church, yet he doth not take upon him the office of a Priest, as to minister the Sacraments, & to preach & teach.* What proof is this to shew, that he doth not separate himself from the Unity of the Church, I cannot tel. Because he doth not utterly break al the whole Order of the Church, do you mean therby he breaketh not the Unity? You seem to cal Unity to agree in Rites. Which indeed helpeth to unite, meaning by Unity, Concord & Peace. But this Unity helpeth not, except he agree in the Head of the Church, that the rest of the Church doth follow; wherby *Ecclesia* is *una*. And this you granting the King doth not admit, how can you defend [*i. e.* deny] that he is divided from the Unity. But because you write, the King doth not take upon him to minister the Sacraments, nor to preach, which be the offices of Priests, tho he be *Supremum Caput Ecclesie in Anglia*: How this agreeth together I cannot se; but after such maner, as al those that be founded on a false ground. Which neither agreeth with other truth, nor yet with it self. Good my Lord, how is this convenient, that this name *Supreme Head of the Church in England*, hath not annexed unto the same the Supreme office that is excised in the same Church? How is it, that an Inferior member shal exercise an higher act in the Church, than is granted to the highest? Is there any higher act in the Church, than the administration of the Sacraments? And this you wil the Priests, of whom you make the King Head, to exer-

cise; & the Head himself, you will not shall meddle with the same. After this you go about to prove the King hath not separate himself from the Church, *Bycause [of] the good purpose his Gr. hath to reduce his Church of England to the Primitive state.* As touching his Graces mind, it is not my purpose to judg but the best; nor otherwise I wil not. But this I wil pray, that God send him light of the truth, & strength of mind withal, to execute the same, which in great part the Acts that be don in the Realm, (that be so strange, that no Realm in Christendome nor approveth, nor followeth the same) giveth many men cause to think otherwise.

But I mervail much how you can deny the King separateth himself from the Unity of the Church, in as much as you cannot name him, as you would have him named, the Supreme Head of his Church in *England*; but withal you shew, he taking the same upon him, that the Unity is broken. And where is this ever found in the Primitive Church, that Kings were Heads of the Church? This, my Lord, you, that say the King would reduce al things to the good order of the Primitive Church, shal never find, that it was at any time in the Church. And bringing in so strange a thing in so great a matter, I mervail that you wil ever speak of reducing things to the Primitive Churches Order; except you cal in this to be reduced to the Primitive Churches Order; bycause at that time the best men were foreest persecuted, Churches plucked down, their Goods taken from them. Here might be a similitude of the times of the Primitive Church. For thus Princes, that were alienate from the name of Christ, did order the Christen part: But Christen Princes never.

After this, you make mention of viij Universal Councils, which you wish greatly that I had read, afore I had written defence of the Popys Authority: Wherin I should a seen many things contrary to that I intend to prove. How so, good my Lord? I would to God you had expressed wherin: for this you do not specify: but that there be many things which the Pope doth not observe. And so, my Lord, be there in the Gospel things of more weight, than those of the Councils, which the Pope himself wil grant he doth not observe. But is this against any thing that I have written? Do you think my Book goeth to defend [deny] the religious observance of the Laws of the Church in the Popys, according as they be bound by the laws of God, & their high authority & office? I never took that matter in hand, my Lord, nor never wil. Nor is it this Popys or that Popys Authority in particular, that I defend. But in general, that there is such an Authority in the Church founded by Christ: Which as he was *Caput Super omnem Ecclesiam*, being in earth; so leaving to be conversant by his Humanity in Earth, left his Vicar in earth: Willing that no man in earth there should never lack of men, that should bear his room, as be Pastors to his Church, as he was; & willing this Order should ever continue in the Church as it hath done. Which *S. Augustin*, considering at his time in the Succession of the Bishops of *Rome*, beginning of *Peter*, & numbering by Succession the Bishops unto his time; said, *He could not mervail too much at the high Providence of God in so great persecution, how yet he maintained that Church: Which, he granted, was one great thing confirmed him in his Faith.* Against this, my Lord, you that



that have read the General Councils better than I, you should have brought somewhat, if you think they be against that I have written. But whether I have read them or no, this I can tell you, neither you, nor no man else, not only out of such holy Councils, can bring no such thing against mine opinion: nor yet, I will say, out of no one mans Writing, that ever was counted a holy man, sence the beginning of the Church, no such thing can be found.

Further you write, *That if those places of the Gospel that I alledge do prove, you say, that the Council of Nice must needs erre, which ordained the contrary.* This is a straight argument, my Lord, if it were as you say: But because you show not wherein the Council of Nice ordained the contrary, I can say no more, but deny the same, until the time that you show the place of this contrariety, which I know you shall never. And I remember to read in the Council of Nice written in Greek in S. Antonies Library at Venice, where Sylvester, the Pope of Rome, left by impediment of sickness, as I remember, could not be there present: who sent in his place the Bishop of Corduba in Spain, with two others of the Senior priests of Rome, which be there also named; & that Bishop bare chief Authority in that Council.

Your reason forward, *Bycause, you say, I stick so much to the custome of the Church in confirmation of my opinion, you will, that Custome should be contrary to that is used now by the Bishop of Rome.* In many things, my Lord, there is no doubt; but that it should be contrary, that there should be one Head in the Church, this was your part to show; & in some manner you might have shown it, because of the persecutions in the Church. This left many times & many years also, that this Head could not so appear, to exercise his power in all points, according to that authority God had given. This likewise might be showed. But for all this, it remained ever in the consent of the Church, that there should be one Head-Pastor of the whole. But, my Lord, here is the cause, why I may say surely, I know that you have not with any Advertisement read my Book; for this & other Arguments, which I have answered to there. The which if you had read, you would not reherse without some new replying. I may say withal, that you do not take my mind, what I mean by the Custome & Consent of the Church; which is a higher thing, than your Lawyers, wherein I perceive your studies hath been more exercised, doth intreat of, which I have by a long Process intreated in my Book; & now to repeat the same it were too long a Process. I would think to satisfy you, if you read my Process there, to take the same as the Divines do take it, that be most practised in these matters Spiritual. Your Lawyers may entreat well, but not after such a manner, which is a great ground to know the strength of the *Dogmata* in Divinity. Wherewith if you had been as well exercised, as I know your diligence in your Profession, you would never have made these arguments of the General Councils under such a manner as you do, nor yet that that followeth: Wherin you declare your mind on this manner, Saying,

*Whosoever shall go about by the Primacy of Peter, which was in preaching the word of God, to establish the Worldly Authority of the Bishop of Rome, which he claimeth in divers Realmes in worldly things for profit temporal; he shall no more couple them together, than light & darknes.*

Good

Good my Lord, against whom speak you this? In al my whole Book there is no such discourse. I never descend there to speak of the Popes Authority for Temporal profit: for it was nothing my matter. These be the matters wherupon the Law-books much do run: & that causeth you at this time, I think, to encline to think, that wheras Authority is defended; it must needs touch Temporal profit, or else it is of no value. And this is one thing that I have noted in al those Books that have been written of these matters against Authority of the Pope, that they put no difference between the civil order, that is in Realmes & Cities, & that is in the Church; but take these two Bodies as one, which be further asunder than Heaven & Earth; & in their Ends & Purposes like distance. Wherefore the imagination of this to be one of those, that cannot wel perceive this difference, must needs be cause of great errors, in entreating such matters, as I have at large intreated in my Book, being a matter most necessary to be known.

Another ground is, wherein they do greatly erre, Bycause they read, in the Gospel, the preaching therof to be committed equally to al the Apostles; therefore they say *Peter* had no power superior to others. Howbeit you, meseems, write contrary to those men, & yet the matter is not mended therby. For your words be speaking of the Primatie of *Peter*: Which was, you say, in the preaching of the word of God, contrary to others. But their Reason faileth in the concluding, yours in the principle. For this is not so, that *Peter* had his Primatie for the office of preaching; for in that the other Apostles were equal with him, Christs words being indifferent to them al, *Ite & prædicate Evangelium omni Creaturæ*. But the Conclusion followeth not, that thereby he had no Superior Authority: for he was made *Pastor Ovium Christi*, & set in that room, *Ad confirmandum fratres in Fide*. And to him alone was said, *Petre, pasce oves meas*: And it is another office to be Pastor, & another to preach the Word of God. Which I would not doubt to make so plain, that it should be wel perceived, if it were not that I thought my Letter somewhat too long already.

Wherefore now I wil come to your Conclusion. But first, wheras you write, I am deceived in the mind of the people, thinking that they should not well bear the abolishing of the Popes power; which rejoyce much, you say, at the taking away therof, as of a great burden. To this I wil say no more, but that those that have perverted the peoples minds, if it be so, hath more burden on themself afore God to answer for. *Qui scandalizat unum de pusillis istis*, you know the rest what followeth of Christs words. But they that scandalize a whole Nation, what shal follow? If the first be true, the second is more plain. But if there were such a burden, as you write of, could there no means be found to relieve that, without taking away the Popes Authority spiritual, that the rest of the whole Church so many ages of men hath agreed unto, & yet doth, you only except? But let the Spirituality say plainly, as they feel it earnestly, whether al the Popes together, that ever exercised their Authority in the Realm, hath pressed them so sore as they have been this little time, syneth the Authority of the Pope was suppressed.

At last you come to answer to the fault, that I layd unto you, That you fainted to follow those Captains to Heavenward, for the testification  
of



of Christs doctrin: to whose Vertue, Learning, & Wisdome you were ever conformable, until the time came of making up their life with so noble a conclusion. To this you make answer under such manner surely, that if you had cause afore to say, I gave you occasion to be heavy in your heart in reading my Book, a thousand part more just cause you give me, for the Reverence & Love I have ever born unto you, to mourn & lament that mind, which you shew by your Answer. For, Good my Lord, what answer is this, where you say, *You never thought to shed one drop of blood in that cause, for you were sure that those that have had most advantage by that Authority, would not have lost one penny to save your life; nor wil not, you say, for me, if I were in like necessity.* Wherefore you exhort me to keep me from trust of such succor. Good my Lord, tel me, my Lord of *Rocheſter*, or Master *More*, did they hope of such succor? Did they think the Pope would send an Host to deliver them from death? What words be these in so great a matter, for the gravity of such a man as you ever have been esteemed? Make you the matter as light as you wil, there was never a greater matter entreated, of more importance to the wealth of the Realm, & the whole Church, than this. And this same that you go about to take away, the Authority of one Head in the Church, was a more principal & groundle Cause of the loss of the Orient, to be in Infidels hands, & al true religion degenerate, than ever was the *Turks* sword, as most wisest men have judged. For if they had agreed al with the accidental Church, they had never come to that misery: & like misery, if God have not mercy on us to return to the Church, is most to be feared in our Realm, & in al other where such Discession is made. And if you wil not suffer in this cause, except you be sure, those to whom it most appertaineth, wil again allow with you; look wel upon the matter, my Lord, & you shal find, that he to whom this Cause most belongeth unto, is the same, that not only hath suffered for you, but dyed for you, to redeem you body & soul. It is Christs Cause, my Lord, & for his sake dyed these great men, your great Friends; whom you may not think of so little spirit, nor so vile mind, that they saw not wherefore they dyed, or that they dyed for any respect, advantage or thing, to be looked for in this world.

But you say, *There be now as great learned men in Divinity in the Realm, as be in other Countries.* But how much more greater than my Lord of *Rocheſter*, or Master *Moore*, or other holy learned men that dyed for this Cause? I can say no more, but God send you a more lively spirit, than you shew now to his honor.

Now I come to the last Conclusion of your Letter: Where by another fashion of reasoning, as by *the Honor, Reverence & Love I bear to the Kings Highnes, my Country & Friends*, you do exhort me, *to leave the Opinion that I have so much advanced in my Book.* And first of al you alledg unto me the Estimation of my whole Country, what they would think of me, if they, delivered out of a great Bondage, meaning by that the Obedience to the Pope, I should go about to reduce them to Captivity again. Here, my Lord, I cannot tel what I may more lament; your Words set under this manner, or the misery of the time in our Country, giving place to your Words. Which hath continued now some years in such manner, that, meseemeth, the time of the building

ing the Tower of *Babylon* is come again, when no men understand other. For so it is now. This Captivity you speak of, & this Liberty, I understand not what you mean. But if Sentence compound of Words, having Deeds conformable to the words, making al seeming true, this I find indeed, & in this I wil not take record of one man, or one City or Town, but of one whole state of the Realm, which is the Spirituality, which should have most ease by this renouncing of the Popes power, the same most extending over them. And now, my Lord, you be one of them, you may answer for al. But here needeth no answer, your sweet Liberty you have got, syneth you were delivered from the Obedience Papal, speaketh for it self. Wherof the rest of the Realm hath such part, that you be without envy of other Countries, that no Nation wilheth the same to have such Liberty granted them. But thus I speak, we be brought to such case, worse than *Babylon*, that no man nnderstandeth another in his own tongue. That that one calleth Captivity, another calleth Liberty; that one saith is against the King, another calleth with the King.

And this began at such time as the practise of the unlucky Mariage was brought in: when the King would leave the Noblest & Best Lady in the world, & would needs couple himself with the Vilest, as the Cause of her death shewed. Then came this Confusion. For then being divers Sentences, the one that the King had lived xx years together in an Incestuous life, a Life against nature & beastly, as they said; meaning the Conjunction that he had with Q. *Katharine* so long time; therefore he must leave the same. In another part, Defending the contrary, (which was also my Sentence) that the King was a Prince of Honor, & married with greatest & weightiest Counsil of two Noble Realms, both *England* & *Spain*. Wherunto agreed the Consent of the Pope, which took away al spots, if there were any of illegitimate coupling. And this might wel be maintained by good Learning. Every man looking what the King would do, the Conclusion was, he agreed to the former Sentence, that defamed his life, al the flower of his Yoingth; & so agreed to it, that they that were on the other part for good wil, seeing their Sentence, wherewith agreed al good Learning, were first called *Adversaries to the Kings cause*, afterwards, I trow, *Traitors*. And none of those Mens Writings might go abroad, that defended the Honor of the Kings Mariage, & his whole life, but those that most defamed him, that were thought most strongly to prove his unnatural, incestuous, & beastly life, these were had in most Count; these were printed & read of every man. This, my Lord, seemed monstrous unto me, & to al the world beside, & yet doth, & ever shal.

But to return to my purpose, here began the great Confusion, that no man could understand other, but that that was aforetime called Constancy in them that would not let themself be turned from an assured knowledg of the truth, this was called Obstinacy. Those men, of whose Vertue, Learning, Wisdom, Fidelity, & Love to the King & the Realm, where had such sure proofes, that never of any born under the Rule of a King, could be had more: Those were called first ignorant, & afterwards condemned as *Traitors*. But to conclude, my Lord, touching first my Country, that you write would have so il opinion of



of me, if I follow that Opinion I am entred into ; This Conclusion, if men cannot discern their friend from their foe, shal not lett me, my Lord ; but *Per infamiam, & bonam famam*, as *S. Paul* saith, I wil do them good, where I may have occasion. As touching the King, this wil I say, if he be left & desolate of al counsil, that maketh most to the wealth of his Soul of al other, if every other man for fear, or some private respect, leave to meddle in such matters, surely I wil never leave him, but, whersoever I have occasion, shew my mind grounded on the truth. And here is the Bond you speak of towards him, of my bringing vp in Vertue & Learning. Which I wil ever keep, whatsoever peril or jeopardy to me privately depend therof. And that you write, *My Lady, my Mother, & other my Friends, should take discomfort hereby* ; I know, my Lord, they love the King too wel, if they se the purpose of my mind, to take any discomfort therof. But al the Discomfort I take my self is this, that this mind towards the King, which I do knowledg to procede of the high benefit of God, taketh so little effect : Knowing my Cause so just, so profitable, so honorable, so sure for his Grace.

You wish, that you *might be but one day with me, to confer these matters*. There is nothing, my Lord, I would more desire, if it might be ; for I know your faithful heart towards his Gr. & se your Opinion, tho it be not wel grounded, yet the root of your meaning is good. And that you swarve from the height of this truth, it cometh rather for long continuance in other studies, that baseth the mind too much, where the light of the truth cannot be known, than of any malice.

And wheras you write in the end of your Letter, that *I returning to the new received Opinion of my Country now, whatsoever I have written, you doubt not, but the means to be found, that I should be as wel received in the Kings mind, as ever I was*. Surely, my Lord, knowing as I know, if I should now change, then it were better time to cast me out of his mind, if I were ever in afore. And as touching the Kings favor, this be you assured, for any Advantage that ever I did or wil look therof to my self, I wil never desire it. I cannot but knowledg the benefit of God herin, that syneth I came to any sense of mans knowledg, I cannot remember I ever esteemed any thing, that the King, or any Prince beside, was able to give me : And if I had come to his Court to serve him, I had come to give, not to receive ; & to give nothing of mine own, but al that God hath given me to serve him withal to his Honor. Whose fortune, if it had been to have had my service, beside the comfort that he should have had, served of one of of his own bringing up, of his own choise, (whom God had ever furthered to that end he could desire of me ; whom Nature also had joyned with him ; ) if I had not brought to pass to kindle his love in the hearts of al his Subjects, with such honor & reverence, that no power in earth could abolish, to the admiration of al foreign Nations, Surely, I would never a thought to have done the third part of my Duty. Wherin I doubted not to have obtained of God al that might help to such an end. But the hope of this now, meseemeth, is past. I had trusted, that Woman that had been cause of al these Dishonors, had taken away al Dishonor with her ; Especially hearing what a

\* June 2.  
1536. to be-  
gin May 23.  
1537. at Man-  
tua.

good Lady the King hath now taken. So that my hope was, redressing al that was past amiss, his Gr. in his latter dayes might better tast of the fruit of true honor, to the better Contentation of himself, & al his Subjects. But if the ire of God, which hath been fore provoked, be against this, I can say no more, but cry to him to turn his just ire into mercy, tho we deserve none. And the more fervently it maketh me cry, the more I see approach the General Council: Which already denounced \* when it shal take effect, the King remaining in his opinion, several from other Christened Princes, must needs make him great dishonor, great fastidie. And what shal follow, God knoweth. For his Hand most of all surely I do fear. Wherefore this must needs give me great sorrow at my heart, the more I see also now so great Opportunity, divers wayes, if God give him grace to return this time, how with recovery of his honor he may be also a great instrument of God to the reformation of the whole Church.

† July 26.

The day afore † I received your Letter, furr I insure you beyond my Expectation, I receiued a Brief from the Pope, of which the Copy I have sent to Mr. Secretary, wherein he declareth his good intent for better preparation of the future Council already denounced, to have a Congregation this Winter at *Rome* of the best learned men of every Nation. Among whom, albeit most unworthy, he calleth me thither, binding me with as sure a bond, as I have sure Opinion, he may do so for such a good purpose, by the Authority granted of Christ, that I shal not refuse to come: Whereunto, God willing, I wil obey, tho with great sorrow remembring the King & my Country; whom it may please God of his infinite mercy to salve, & to joyn Sentence & Opinion with them, whose service is most acceptable afore God, to his Honor, & the Wealth of the Church. Who also may illuminate your Spirit to follow the same. And thus to his protection I commit you. Written in a place in the Country beside *Padoa*, where I lay this hot season, the first day of August,

By your good Lordships assured Orator,

*Raynold Pole.*

#### N U M B. LXXXIV.

*Cardinal Pole, to the L. Crumwel; Upon his Attaindor,  
& retyrement out of France unto Cambray.*

*Cleopatra,  
E. 6.*

**M**Y Lord, If afore time it could not be surely & clearly perceived, what affection I have ever born to the Kings honor & Wealth, which in my whole life never gave the least occasion, why ony man should think; but with them that tendred the same most, I might chiefly be numbred, if my Deeds were truly & indifferently examined: But howsoever it be, if ony Deed afore perversely interpretate, might  
rise



rise any scruple to surmise the contrary, these Letters that I write now, as the Time & Case requireth, (bearing that tenor as in reading you shal know,) be sufficient not only to abolish al former doubts, shewing those to be perversly surmised; but that make clear, that a more constant & stable mind in observance of a Prince hath not been found, neither in subject, nor other person beside. And the cause hereof is, that there never happened like occasion, as this is that causeth me now to write, whereby my mind might be so wel known, which occasion is given of the Kings part under this maner: that he procuring against me by such mean to my undoing, as was never heard of the like in Christendom, against any that bear that person, that I do at this time: If my mind after this remain stable, to procure al things that may be to his Honor & Wealth, as ever I have professed afore time, what can be more surer token of a deep & a profound grounded love & affection? Whether I do so I shal afterward show you. If I declare first to him, that knoweth it best, the Kings Act against me, to the intent you may know, if I after that remain in myn old state of observance, it is not for ignorance that I know not what is machinate against me. And surely, tho I knew afore both by your letters & others, in what displeasure the King had me, without the least cause showed of my part, I take God & my Conscience to judg: which thing, (if I had born but a mean affection) might have been sufficient to alienate also my mind from thence, where I saw, whatsoever I did for the best, I be ever accepted in the worst part:

But this I wil not have now take for any proof of my mind, but to procede of the Kings displeasure towards me. The less I know the cause to be, the further I was from al imágination to suspect, that his Gr. should be so incensed against my person, that for to have me in his hand, he would be content to break & violate both Gods law & mans, to disturb al Commerce between Country & Country, between man & man. And this I would never a thought, but finding the same to be so indeed, I could not but find withal, how his Gr. was bent withal to my utter undoing. Against the which if I remain in my old purpose to procure his Wealth & Honor, he that wil seek other proofes after this, or wil not be content with this Declaration of a mans mind, he declared withal that with no proof he wil be content, but wil have one his Enemy, whether he wil or no.

And of this mind of the King towards me, I had first knowledg at mine arriving in *France*. Of the which, to show you the ful motion of my mind herein, I was more ashamed to hear, for the compassion I had to the Kings honor, than moved by any indignation, that I coming not only as Ambassador, but as Legate in the highest fort of Ambassage, that is used among Christen Princes, a Prince of honor should desire of another Prince of like honor, Betray thine Ambassador, Betray the Legate, & give him into my Ambassadors hands to be brought unto me. This was the dishonorable request, as I understand, of the King. Which, as I said afore, to me surely regarding mine own part, I promise you was no great displeasure; but rather, if I shal say truth, I took plesure therin, & said forthwith to my Company, that I never felt my self to be in ful possession to be a



Cardinal, as when I heard those tidings, whereby it pleased God to send like fortune to me, as it did to those Heads of the Church, whose Persons the Cardinals do represent; which was to be persecuted most of them, whose wealth they laboured for most busily. In this case lived the Apostles. And the same now being happened to me, afore God I promise I felt no displeasure, but rather was glad thereof, specially considering hereby I had the better occasion to declare & justify my mind more than ever I had before. Which was ever in my mind.

But touching the thing, if we had no other Religion, but lived as Pagans & Infidels, yet *Jus Gentium* should ever teach us what Demand this was. The law of nature alone might declare, how abominable it were to grant to such a request, & no less to desire it. This I reherse now to this intent, that you might the sooner perceive, that if there had been but one spark of a mind alienate from the King, this were enough to set the same in such a fire, that first considering how al regard of honor was set apart, & the Law that maintaineth the Commercement betwixt men, purposed to be violate, so that it might turn to mine undoing, first of al on my part I should abstain from al Commercement with that party, either by Word, Writing or Deed: Secundarily, Procure by al honest wayes, if I would not by dishonest, to repair this malignity, to the uttermost damage I could devise, towards me, of whose malign mind towards me I had so great experience.

And yet after al this, first of al you may se forthwith, by writing at this time, I do not abstain from the first act to practise & entreat with them, that hath been Authiors \* thereof; & to practise yet to his Honor & Wealth, which would utterly extinguish both in me, & if I be heard herein, to put the same also in execution. Which thing tho I do surely of mine own purpose & mind, yet some occasion hereof, how it cometh otherwise I wil not deny, nor keep close. Which is this. That whereas the Bishop of *Verona*, that was sent of me to the *French* Court, to intimate those affaires, that for the wealth of *Christendom* the Pope had committed unto me, to intreat with his Majesty, in his return, passing by *Abbeville*; where were lodged my Lord of *Wynchester*, & Mr. *Bryan*, (whereas he could not but greatly mervayl of this Act of the King towards me, my whole Legation purposing no other, but his honor & wealth) & desiring therefore to confer the same with the Ambassadors, for the better Declaration of the truth of the matters to be known as they were, my Lord of *Wynchester* & Mr. *Brian* both abstaining, for respect, from al Communication, yet sending unto him their Secretary, after the Bishop had in part declared the effect of my Legacy, that touched in any part the King, it seemed to be open to both parties, that al the King had don against me, was of the sinister & false reports of others, that by false conjecture of things they knew had evil informed the King of my purpose of coming into these Parts. Which the Secretary thought, onys cleared & declared either by letters or Messengers, the King would turn his mind as his Gr. saw the Deeds to justify themselves. This the Bishop of *Verona* at his return shewed me; which I accepted in that part to be true also: that al came of evil Information, & that

\* Secretary  
Crumwel.



that his Gr. being ascertained of my mind, as it is & ever hath been, it were not impossible in some part to knowledg rather my gratitude, than to machinate any thing contrary. And that it might be so known, for al parts it cannot be but wel.

But, as I shewed the Bishop, by letters I had attempted often the same, but al could not prevail. My Messenger I had sent often for that purpose, could never be admitted to have Audience of the King. And without one of these wayes were found, there could no conclusion be had in these matters. Where in reasoning with him, I asked, if for the love & service that ever he hath born to the King, & shewed, indeed, when he was in that place, where his service might be in stead to the King, & love also he hath ever to me, having assured knowledg of al my Affaires & Purposes, not only these last, but al synyth my departing from the Realm, whether he could be content, the Kings plesure first known, to acquiet the Kings mind in this behalf, by going to his Gr. & enforming him of the whole, wherein afore said he should do a deed most charitable. Wherin also I did alledg unto him for to bind him withal, because after such demonstration of the Kings mind made unto me, few men would be content to practise with his Gr. in any thing belonging unto me; For this cause I did reherse to you mo things to induce him hereunto; & among others this chiefly, the purpose of his coming to me, which afore God was this, that the Pope intending by al means of benignity to practise with the King, having the *French* King so joyned in amity with the King, & with his Sanctity also, devising for a meet Instrument between both; if any Person, for this degree newly taken were not accepted, the Bishop of *Verona* was thought most meetest; being, for his old deserts to both Princes, as long as he was in that place, where he might do them serviceable plesure, as it was to be thought grateful to them both, & contented for his goodnes the best Bishhop of *Italy*.

So that al things considered in matter of the Church, to entreat with these Princes, none was thought like: Therefore the Pope bound him to take this journey with me for this purpose. And this Bond among others I reherfed unto him, when I moved him to go unto the King.

To the which he made answer, If there were none other Bond, nor respect in this matter, but of Gods knowing my Matters as he doth; & seeing what inconveniences might follow, if they were not at last wel accept, besides the Service he hath ever owed to the King, & love towards me; Knowing what comfort it might be to al parts, if my true & faithful dealing were wel intimate to the King; He would be content at al time, the way onys found afore, how with Commodity he might come to the Kings presence, to take this charge upon him.

This, my Lord, you may now perceive, that if I had any part that mind, that the King, procuring against me, doth show to be persuaded I have, it could not be possible I could have any confidence to attempt any meddling with his Gr. under such maner. But because nor my Confidence, nor affectionate mind yet is not taken away, therefore



therefore this I do declare unto you by these Letters, to the intent you may intimate the same to his Grace. And now you see by a great proof what my mind is: You may also see, how all Suspicion may not alone be cleared, many things appeared, that peradventure might turn to greater trouble; but also many things be brought to light, to the Kings most assured honor & wealth, than any thing is, I think, thought of hitherto to make for the same. For all this I dare promise to follow, if the Bussshop be heard with that mind, as he is sent, & content for to go.

Other Declarations of my mind by Letters I intend not to make, than my Letters agreeing with mine actions, sent afore, do make Testimony; & that the Bussshop, which is privy to all, may declare presently. But this I will say, if I bear in any part that mind the Kings Act against me doth show his Gr. is persuaded I should have, surely I would never have done as I have done, in all mine Acts & Processes [that is] by Letters, made the King, & you privy unto them (this I did at my first coming to *Rome*) & cause of my Legacy now, & the Cause of my coming to these parts. Such Advices Rebels be not want to give unto those, from whom they Rebel. But especially at *Rome* (being there when the time was precious for the King in his Realms) letting them the sending forth of the Censures, (which might have caused more trouble) & sending at that time my Servant purposely to offer my service, to procure by all means his honor, wealth & quietnes: Animating besides those that were Chief of my neere kin to be constant in his service. This Rebels be not wont to do. And I know at *Rome*, if any man had been premiate to do him service, none could have done more.

In so much that men judged me half a Rebel to God & my Country, because I would not assent to divers things, that had been little to the Kings quietnes. But especially having in my hand those Writings, that, put forth, peradventure might a cause most trouble of all: These instantly, being desired of those, which had in a manner Authority to command, & yet ever finding means, that they never came into their sight nor hands; & to this hour suppressing the same. Bethink you well. But as I say, my purpose is not to justify my mind by these Letters at this time in no acts than one, which is of this present time. Nor if it be not justified of such an one as the Bussshop is, that knoweth them assuredly, I do neither intend hereafter to labor any more herein: afore God & all men, that will be indifferent Judges of the truth, I will not doubt at all times to justify my self towards the King. I would to God I could so well justify my self afore God, & the Catholic Church, for negligent service in this behalf, because I would not offend the King.

Now I will say no more but pray unto Almighty God to put that in the Kings mind, that may be most to his Honor & Wealth, with grace to follow the same; & to take from all other such occasion, why they should think, if they serve the [Church or Pope] according to their Conscience, they should be constrained to offend the King: And so hereby to separate the one from the other.

Which



Which surely to no man should be more grief, than to me. But  
Gods plesure be fulfilled above al, to whom I now commit you.  
Written at *Cambray*, the second day of May,

Your Loving frend,

To my Lord Privy Seal.

R. Card. Legatus.

N U M B. LXXXV.

Lee *Archbishop of York*, to *Crumwel L. Privy Seal*; Con-  
cerning *Friers, Preachers in his Diocese*.

Right Honorable, After my heartiest Commendation : I have  
received the Kings most Honorable Letters, & Yours, by the  
Kings Messenger, named *Adams*, the xxij of this Month : By which  
I perceive, that his Highnes plesure, & Yours is, that I shal do my  
best endeavour, first to avoid, that no contrariety be here suffered in  
preaching against the *New Novelties* : By which I suppose you mean,  
No Opinions be pronounced or taught, without wise & discrete Qua-  
lification. And thirdly, To repress the temerity of al those, that  
odre privily or apertly, directly or indirectly, would advaunce the  
pretended Authority of the Bishop of *Rome*.

*Cleopatra,*  
E. 5.

Wherin lieke it you to understand, That surely in my conscience  
I know no man here, that in any maner goeth about to avaunce the  
said authority ; & what I have done to set forth the contrary, you  
partly know. And if I shal hereafter know of any such thing, I shal  
with al diligence put him to silence.

Contrariety in preaching I have not suffered ; ne have heard of any,  
saying that one Friar in *York* preached of Purgatory, whom because  
he did it, the Kings plesure not known, I forthwith discharged of  
preaching. Wherof a [I] wrote to you by my brodre, Treasurer of *York* :  
& one oodre contention betwixt the Vicar of *Doncastre*, & a light  
Friar there : Wherupon I charged the said Vicar, that he in no wise  
should preach of any Article mentioned in the Ordre taken by the  
Kings Highnes. And because I was credibly informed, that the said  
Friar preached some of the said Articles, & that after such sort, as  
the people were much offended, I commanded the Vicar that he should  
not suffer him to preach. And forsomuch as the said Vicar, & oodre  
layd certain Articles against the said Friar, which he had preached,  
I sent for him first by a gentle Letter, but he would not come, but  
answered me plainly, he would ask counsil ; & so went to *London*.  
Afterward at his return I caused him to be cired, but he would not  
appear. And now I have given Commission down to examine his Ar-  
ticles ; & if he hath preached much slanderously to the offence of the  
people, I shal discharge him of preaching. There is also another  
Friar of the *Gray* fort ; of whom I am now informed, whom I shal  
also discharge. For he preacheth New things, & that very slander-  
ously

ously to the offence of the people: & whether he hath commission of me or not, I do not yet know. I admitted some at the request of Dr. *Brown*, pretending to me, that they were discrete & wel learned, & should do the King good Service. Oodre Preachers of Novelities here be none, that I know of, ne hath been, saving two or three that pretended to have the Kings Authority. With one of whom I spake. Of whom afterwards I heard no great complaint: & he shortly after departed. The toodre hath preached since at *Polls Crosse*, as we hear, & there declared his Learning, which is liek his life: both nought, as the common clamour of this Country is.

Al the Kings Matters the people hear reverently & obediently: but at such Novelities, especially handled without charity or discretion, the people grudge much: wherof heretofore I have advertised you by my Letters. I trust there shal be no default found in me, but that I shal se the Kings Commandment fulfilled to the uttermost of my power. And if hereafter [any] shal come with the Kings Licence or Yours, I trust you wol be content, that I shal put them to silence, as wel as oodre, if they preach any such Novelities. I sue stil to you for my Commission, in which I trust I shal do good service for the Kings discharge & Yours, if you give it me. Truly we have, & shal have great need therof for many causes. And thus in my heartiest maner I commend you to the keeping of our Lord. From *Cawod*, the xxiiij January.

Your own ever assured

*Edowarde Ebor.*

## N U M B. LXXXVI.

*The University of Cambridg; Their Congratulatory Letter to the King.*

*Cleopatra,*  
E. 6. p. 242.

**O**CTAVIUS *Augustus*, Princeps Inviſtiſſime, cum Veteranus quidam illi pro Tribunali ſedenti libellum timidiuſ porrigeret, Quid, inquit, trepidas, Commilito, tanquam ſi ſtipem Elephanto dares? Ægrè nimirum tulit modeſtiſſimus Imperator, quod quam lenitatem & animi moderationem toto Orbe notam illuſtrémq; eſſe voluit, eam ejus miles ita timidè reformidaret. At Nos immenſa Clementia, meritórumq; Magnitudo tuorum, & ardens illa, atq; inflammatus in Pietatem Amor, quem in tua Majeſtate cernimus, ita conſolatur, & ad ſe invitat, ut quod alioqui ne optare quidem aut ſperare fuiſſemus auſi, id, Tuæ Majeſtatis in Virtutem ac Religionem animi impetu & ardore abuſi, etiam petere audeamus. Acceptis enim duobus a Tuâ Majeſtate beneficijs, quibus nihil majus aut populus accipere, aut melius Princeps dare, aut omnino uberius Homo Homini conferre præſtareve poteſt: Pace nimirum & pura purgatq; Religione. Nova quidem & alia petere, cum quæ dediſti ſint maxima, nec volumus, nec debemus. Quæ autem



autem ad hæc defendenda, & facta testâ conservanda pertinent, si postulaverimus, & velle illud Tuam M. & jubere speramus. Quanquam alteram ita Tuâ Serenitate tutatam fuisse cernimus, nihil ut quisquam amplius exoptare possit: Alteram tanto studio inchoatam vidimus, ut omnia jam sperare queamus. Nam cum initio faustissimi Tui Regni, Subactis *Scotis*, *Gallos* ad Conditiones pacis adegisti, illa tum fuerunt fundamenta Pacis & Quietis jacta, tot ut jam annos ad hunc usque diem non nemo fortasse cupijt, nemo tamen ausus est eam convellere.

Ad Religionem vero corrigendam, quæ longè a prima puritate recesserat, serò animum adegisti; non profecto serò, si quantæ res, quàm parvo spacio, in illa emendanda & corrigenda, transactæ confectæque sunt, reputemus. Sed nimirum certè serò, si quanto desiderio veræ Religionis T. Majestas, quanto amore jam agnitæ Pietatis Populus flagret, velimus considerare. Illa quoque quæ ingenti labore magnoque studio in Vineâ Domini repastinandâ refodiendâque peregeris, non solum paranda, sed etiam fruenda fuerant. Utque tanquam excellens Artifex, non modo speciosum præclarumque opus ederes, & ad exitum perduceres, sed Operis etiam tui pulchritudine diu multumque oblectatus anteaactorum laborum fructus jucundâ factorum Memoriam retineres. Quanquam Sublimitatis Tuæ labores & defixas in Evangelium propagandum cogitationes respiciens Deus; ut resipiscerentem populum, & ad suas leges conversum, aliquo magno bono afficeret, tandem, tandem, inquam, aliquando pignus illud amoris erga nos sui, Principem EDWARDUM infantem, tali Parente dignum, ad nos demisit; ut esset, cui non solum florentissimi Regni, sed etiam sinceræ tuæ Fidei, germanæque religionis, hæreditatem relinqueres. Hujus Te causâ noctes ac dies studere intelligimus, omnemque operam Tuam ac sollicitudinem eo conferre, ut quod in Religionem purganda, feliciter fortunatissimèque sit inchoatum, quodque adhuc relinqui videtur, id, Christo bene secundante, perficias quam primum & absolvas.

Quid igitur inchoatum dicimus, quid relictum? Annon *Romanus* Pontifex rejectus est? Ejicitur. Annon ejus Diplomata, Condonationes, Indulgentiæ, cæteraque Bullæ & Nugæ sunt explosæ? Exploduntur. Annon bona Monachorum pars, quorum Vita superstitiosa, Religio vana, Ritus monstrofi fuerant, sublata est? Tolluntur. Annon indignus Cultus imaginum, & Sanctorum prohibitus est? Prohibetur. Annon Fraterculorum gens, Natio ex fraudibus & mendacijs concreta, *Romani* Pontificis Idolum, Papisticæ vanitatis Seminarium, & veterum Pharisæorum & Philosophorum reliquiæ, exactæ sunt? Exiguntur. Intelligimus nos jamdiu abuti Tua patientiâ, Clementissime Princeps, nisi quod hæc recordatio pulcherrimorum factorum Tuorum, quæ nobis est jucunda, est, ut speramus, & Tuæ M. non ingrata. Quid igitur desideramus? Quid petimus? Quæ hætenus facta sunt, ea sunt omnia summo consilio, summâque prudentia gesta. Quicquid enim fuit errorum, & nebularum, id omne Serenitatis Tuæ vigilantia pepulit, disturbavit, dissipavit, evertit.

Et erat hoc quidem primum. Sed tamen intelligit illa Tua M. non semper satis esse adversam aciem profligare & fundere, nisi Tuam quoque diligenter munias & conserves. Non sufficit quantum libet procul effugasse Hostem, nisi dispositis præsidijs, & per stationes idoneas collocato milite, quam longissimè a tuis muris eundem coerceas. Magna res est

quam es exorsus. Divinum est, & non humanum incæptum, Religiosissime Princeps. Christus ipse primus hæc jecit fundamenta : secuti Apostoli. Et tamen quàm brevi tempore zizanium succrevit, adolevit Superstitio, Pontificia Tyrannis imposita est ? Etenim umbra quamvis longe abigatur, nisi accensis identidem luminibus assiduè repulsa fuerit, quam mox revertitur ? Et hominum fere genus magis tenebris delectatur, quam luce. Quamobrem enitendum est sedulò, & omni ope in id incumbendum, non solum ut ea quæ nunc tua Serenitas habet totius Orbis Lumina, puros ac sinceros radios emittant ; sed ut siquid illis humanitus contingat ; novæ ut Lampades, noviq; faces possint accendi : Qui quanto sint copiosiores & densi magis, tanto majorem veræ lucis proventum, tanto debiliores fore tenebras, oportet sperare. Neq; vero committendum est, ut ex agro Dominico malæ tantum herbæ, vitiosæq; stirpes evellantur, sed adhibenda est opera, ut etiam bonæ magno numero foveantur, & conferantur.

Quid igitur anticipamus Consilia tua, & quid faciendum sit, ipsi præibimus ? Minime vero : Neq; enim ignoramus ista Tuam Sublimitatem agitare, & tota mente revolvere ; quomodo de Pietate vera quam optimè merearis, & Christianam religionem quàm latissimè exaugeas, neq; id parçâ & malignâ, sed liberali ac magnificâ, verèq; Regiâ manu. Sed siquid tale Tua M. cogitarit, aut animo destinaverit, nostri fuit officij submovere, suppliciterq; petere, ut huc ad nostram Academiam flectas oculos. Quæ cum semper sinceriori Religioni maximè faverit, talem Principem, qui in succernenda, depurandq; doctrinâ Christi tantum laborem collocaverit, non potuit non eximiè præter cæterorum Subditorum conditionem amare. Movet nos Fraterculorum nostrorum ruina : Non quidem quod eos exertos dolemus, quos non solum mutiles, sed etiam perniciosos Christianæ religioni fuisse duximus : Sed ut exoptemus, & vehementer cupiamus, quæ Domicilia superstitioni olim, & vanæ Religioni dedicata fuerunt, ut eadem Doctrinæ Christi, bonisq; literis edocendis aliquando inserviant. Atq; illud quidem supremis precibus a Deo O. M. Tuaq; Majestate petimus : id in summis votis, atq; optatis nostris habemus ; quibus ex ædibus quum Cœnobîa dicebantur, ignavus fucorum grex, & magnus Impostorum numerus, evolare solebat, ut eadem Collegia facta, vel Juvenum præclaras indoles ad discendum, vel Seniorum eruditam turbam ad concionandum, videamus emittere.

Quibus nostris precibus, si Tua M. annuat, cum omnia feceris, quæ non solum ad conservandam, sed etiam ornandam Tuam Remp. pertinent, tamen ad innumerabilia Tua in Religionem Christianam beneficia, quod fieri jam posse non videbatur, maximus hoc tuo facto cumulus accedet. *Jesus* Christus, Serenissimam M. Tuam diu servet ac tueatur. *Cantabrigiæ.* E Senatu nostro, duodecimo die Octob.

M. T.

Deditissimi Servi ac Scholastici,

*Vicecancellarius & Academia Cantabrigien.*

N U M B.



## N U M B. LXXXVII.

The University of Oxford; Their Congratulatory Letter  
to the King.

*Serenissimo Principi, Henrico ejus nominis Octavo, Angliæ & Franciæ Regi, Dno. Hiberniæ, Fidei Defensori, necnon Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ immediatè post Christum in Terris Capiti Supremo, Cancellarius & Universitas Oxoniensium catus, Salutem.*

QUUM alia sunt permulta, Henrice Regum Clarissime, quæ Sa- Cleopatra,  
E. 6. p. 245.  
cræ Majestatis Tuæ nomen Orbi commendant, illud tamen com-  
muni omnium sententiâ cum primis illustrat, quod nihil jamdiu tibi sit  
antiquius, uel magis quicquam in votis habeas, quam Angliam Tuam,  
non multis ante seculis barbaram prorsus ac incultam, a fœda barbarie,  
resuscitatis ubiq; meliorum literarum studijs, vindicare, ac ab umbratili  
ac falsâ quadam religione, quæ paulatim Romanorum Pontificum impo-  
situris irrepsit, ad pietatem ac verum Numinis cultum reducere. Nam  
quum non aliud constet esse munus, quod magis Christianum Principem  
deceat, quàm in hunc totis nervis scopum incumbere, huc laborès  
omnes omniâq; consilia referre, ut Subditi fiant non tam claris Literis,  
quam Pietate insignes, quis jure negarit Te optimi Regis officio abunde  
perfunctum esse; Cujus potissimum operâ tantus ubiq; Bonorum pariter  
ac Literatorum proventus per omnes Regni Tui partes exoritur,  
ut Britannia, in qua, Patrum nostrorum memoriâ, omium ferè bona-  
rum artium studia frigeant, sic, Te Principe, sinceriores disciplinas  
colat, ut in ea non parum multi sint, qui cum Veteribus ipsis Litera-  
rum proceribus jure optimo queant de Eruditionis palmâ concertare:  
sic Pietatis studium amplectatur, ut nusquam omnino magis ad Christi  
regulam, ac puræ Religionis Præscriptum hodie vivatur.

Nec mirum sanè in regno Tuo Virtutis ac Literarum segetem passim  
renasci, quam a Te, penes quem rerum summa est, hæc imprimis colun-  
tur: sic ut Subditis Tuis vel Calcar esse possis, quo hisce rebus acrius  
insistant. Quodq; facile maximum est, quum harum rerum studiosis,  
ita ex animo faveas, ut non alios libentius ad summos provehas hono-  
res, quàm quos vitæ integritas, vel eximia Literarum peritia, vel  
utrûmq; horum, tibi commendant. Accedit etiam, quod Academies,  
quæ sunt veluti Fontes Virtutis & Literarum Seminaria, sic Régia Au-  
thoritate tueris, sic inaudita Liberalitate foves, sic deniq; melioris Li-  
teraturæ professoribus ornas, ut unus ipse multorum beneficia Regum,  
qui easdem, primitus in publicam utilitatem instituere, tuâ penitus mu-  
nificentia obscuraris.

Quare nè singula persequamur, vel unum illud argumento est sanè  
quàm luculento, Te Virtuti ac Literis promovendis esse natum, quod  
tam benignè nuper Decimarum pariter ac Primitiarum solutionem Tua  
ac Senatus Authoritate, eisdem condonâras. Quod sanè tam benignum

facinus, ita Sacratissimæ M. Tux nomen Immortalitati commendatum consecrarit, ut nunquam, salvis literis, ullâ vel Ætatis vel Oblivionis injuriâ intercidere poterit.

Quod vero nostrarum est partium, sedulò quidem ac pro virili conitemur omnes, ut tanta demum beneficentia digni judicemur : Hoc est, ut pro Tuis maximè Votis Literis finis juxta ac morum probitate, insigniter conspicui. Atqui in tales poterimus viros minori cum negotio evadere, si Tua nunc tandem Celsitudo non gravabitur, simul & litigijs istis, quæ nobis jamdiu cum vicinis nostris intercesserint, finem imponere, simul & privilegia nobis restituere, quæ ab Illustrissimis olim Majoribus Tuis nostræ, in publicam studiorum utilitatem, Academiæ sunt concessa. Quæ ut propediem restituas, Tuam Sublimitatem tam vehementer obsecramus, quàm ijs ad communem Studiosorum tranquillitatem maximè indigemus. Quod si Sacratissima M. Tua nostris annuere precibus, vel querelis potius justissimis, pro suâ bonitate dignabitur, quod unum præstare possumus, Deum Opt. Max. pro tua Solute perpetuis interpellare precibus non cessabimus. Inquo valeat Tua Celsitudo quam diutissimè. *Oxonia*, pridie Idus Novembris.

#### N U M B. LXXXVIII.

*The Judgments of divers Bishops & Doctors in Commission,  
Concerning Confirmation, under these three Questions ;*

First, Whether this Sacrament be a Sacrament of the New Testament instituted by Christ, or not ?

Secondly, What is the outward Sign, & invisible Grace, that is conferred in the same ?

Thirdly, What Promises be made, that the said Graces shal be received by this Sacrament ?

*The Judgment of Edward Lee Archbishop of York.*

*Cleopatra,  
E. 5.*

**T**HAT the Sacrament of Confirmation was institute by Christ, we be induced to think, for so much as the Apostles used the same, & that with diligence, as appeareth in the *Acts*, the 8th & the 19th Chapters, & gave the same by Tradition to the Church. And that the Apostles durst not have taken upon them, as of themselves, to institute any Sacrament. And this is the Opinion of S. Clement, in the 4th Epistle : whose words be these :

*Omnibus ergo festinandum est sine mora renasci Deo, & demum consignari ab Episcopo, i. e. Septiformem gratiam Sp. Sancti percipere ; quia incertus est uniuscujusq; exitus vita. Quum autem regeneratus fuerit per aquam, & post modum septiformi spiritus gratia ab Episcopo, ut memoratum est, Confirmatus, (quia aliter perfectus esse Christianus nequaquam poterit,*



*poterit, nec sedem habere inter perfectos, si non necessitate, sed incuria aut voluntate remanserit, ut a B. Petro accepimus; & ceteri Sancti Apostoli, precipiente Domina, docuerunt.) Deinde ex operibus bonis ostendat in se similitudinem ejus, qui eum genuit, Patris.*

By which words of S. Clement the first Question is answered, that is, That this Sacrament is institute, *Præcipiente Domino.*

And by the same Words appeareth Answer to the second Question, That the Outward Sign is *Consignatio facti ab Episcopo*; And that the Graces conferred in the Sacrament be the Graces called, *The Seven gifts of the Holy Ghost.*

And hereby may appear the Answer to the third Question, That forsomuch as the Seven Graces be given in this Sacrament, that these Graces be his Promise, by whose Commandment the Sacrament is institute.

Again S. Dionyse, whose Book, *De Ecclesia Hierarchia*, is wholly grounded upon the Traditions Apostolic, as himself avoweth, maketh mention of this Sacrament, as had in use in the time of the Apostles, after the rite of the Church, that is used now with Chrismation. Wherefore since the said Apostles, as afore is said, durst not institute any Sacrament, we must needs think, that the Institution came from Christ, the Declaration & Tradition from the Apostles.

And to the second Question Answer may be made by the words of S. Dionyse, which saith, that this Sacrament is, *Unctio perficiens & Confirmans post Regenerationem, & quod conjungit perfectum & consummatum spiritui Sancto: & quod per hoc Sacramentum datur Sp. Sanctus.*

And so answer may be made to the third Question, as afore, That since the H. Ghost is given by the conferring of this Sacrament, that the proces of grace in this Sacrament cometh from him, by whose Authority it is institute.

S. Augustin also writing *Contra Petilian. unum Donatistam*, saith, *Quod Sacramentum Chrismatis in genere Visibilia Sacramentorum est Sacrosanctum, sicut & Baptismus.* Which cannot be true, unles the Sacrament of Confirmation be institute by Christ.

Also S. Dionyse, S. Clement, & S. Fabian say, that the Sacrament of Confirmation is a Sacrament performing [perfecting] the Sacrament of Baptism. And S. Dionys saith, that he that is baptized is but initiate, that is, entred, & that by Chrysmation of the Bishop he is made perfect. And so also S. Clement, S. Melchiades, & S. Urban say, that afore the receiving of this Sacrament, *Baptizatus non est plenè Christianus.* By which thing it appeareth, that the Sacrament of Confirmation cannot be institute by mans Authority. For no man can perform the Work of God.

And need must hereof follow, that the said Sacrament being institute of Christ, the effect therof must be Grace. For he doth nothing institute, but for our ghostly wealth. And therefore he doth assist his Sacrament, as S. Cyprian saith, *Hic omnibus Ecclesia Sacramentis interest, quæ ipse efficit & consummat.* But forasmuch as S. Clement, S. Melchiades, & S. Urban say, that *Baptizatus non est perfectè nec plenè Christianus, priusquam confirmetur ab Episcopo*; least any men should hereof conceive error, that if (without contempt of this Sacrament)

crament) any man already baptized, & forthwith dying, should not be taken for a full & perfect Christen man, as to the effect of the Sacrament, the holy Bishop of Rome & Martyr Melchiades words do well avoid. Which be these, "The H. Ghost which descended upon the Waters of Baptism, gave full innocency at the Font: but in Confirmation it giveth increase to grace. And for because while we live in this world we must pass among our Invisible enemies in great danger, therefore in Baptism we be regenerate to life; After Baptism we be confirmed & strengthened to fight: In Baptism we be cleansed; After Baptism we be strengthened. And altho to them that shall strait pass out of this World the benefit of Regeneration doth suffice; Yet to them that shall live, the helping of Confirmation is necessary. Regeneration by it self saveth; Confirmation armeth & strengtheneth to fight," &c. And after this manner the saying of the Council of Orleans be understood, That *he that is baptized shall never be a Christen man, unless he be Chrismed by the Confirmation of the Bishop.* And so by the words of the same, S. Melchiades among other things doth appear, that one special benefit of the Sacrament of Confirmation is ghostly strength to fight. Which effect is also shewed by divers other Writers.

### *The Judgment of Tho. Goodrich Bishop of Ely.*

#### *I. Whether this Sacrament be, &c.*

AS touching this Sacrament of Confirmation, as it is now used, there is no express mention made in the N. Testament of the Institution thereof by Christ. But the holy & antient Fathers hath taken it for a Sacrament of the N. Testament; grounding themselves upon the Acts of the Apostles.

#### *II. What is the outward Sign, &c.*

The Outward Sign is Imposition of hands, or the Anoynting with Chrism, & the Prayer. And yet it is not to be doubted, but the Receivers of this Sacrament receive such Graces as be necessary for them, according to the Promise of Christ made unto the Church, & to the Ministers of the same. Even as it pleaseth him, *Qui dividit singulis prout vult*, as saith S. Paul.

#### *III. What Promises be made, &c.*

*Responsum est supra.* Altho that Confirmation, as it is now used in the Church, hath no special promise of God expressed in Scripture therto annexed, yet certain it is, that Imposition of hands was a Sacrament ministered of the Apostles to them which were baptized; whereby they received the gifts of the H. Ghost invisible, & to the Confirmation of their Faith, & strength of that which they had professed before in Baptism.

Which Imposition of hands derived from the Apostles times, was not only given to men of years & discretion, first examined by the Bishop, before the Congregation, of the Articles of their Faith, & Promptnes



Promptnes to profes the same against al persecutors therof: but also to Infants & Yonglings: Following the example of Christ, which put his holy Hands upon the Infants, prayed for them, & blessed them.

As touching the Ministry of this Sacrament, Forſomuch as in the Acts of the Apostles it appeareth that the Apostles *Imponebant manus*: & not *Philip*, which baptized the *Samaritans*; Therefore I think, that the Bishops, which be called the Successors of the Apostles, be the Convenient Ministers. For so the use hath obtained from the beginning, saith *Innocent*; which was long before *Gregories* time; which seemeth rather to permit that unto Priests for the avoiding of slander, than that it should be their Office indeed to Confirm.

*The Judgment of Hilsey, Bishop of Rochester.*

Laus Christo.

FOR as myche as the Elder Fathers of the Catholic Chyrche hitherto hath takyn these Sacramental Rites & godly Ceremonies, that ys to say, *Confirmation*, *Order*, *Wedlock*, & *Extreme Unction*, to be Sacraments of the New Law, & to be ordenyd by Christ, unto special effects of Grace, the which ys required in every Sacrament; & now, through more diligent search of Scripture than hertofore hath byn used, are brought in Question; lest peradventure between these two Opinions, the Catholic Chyrche mought fal from the upright & true knowledg of God, & his Ordinance, hyt can be no les than our dutys, to whom ys committed the Charge Spiritual of the said Chyrche, to search the truth herof, & to set out syche Doctrine, that the simple & unlearned people may be instructyd, what & wherein standeth the Verity of the said Rites & godly Ceremonies: Considering that hyt hath pleased the Kings Highnes to command us to the same.

Christ yn the xi Chapter of *Mark*, wheras he had put out Buyers & Sellers out of the Temple, & said, *Nolite facere Domum Patris mei domum Negotiationum*; Then came unto him the High Priests & the Scribys saying, *In qua potestate hoc facis?* And he said, *Interrogabo & Vos unum Sermonem. Baptismus Johannis e caelo erat, an ex hominibus?* At the which Question, as astonied, they thought yn themself, *If we say, that hyt came from hevyn, he shal or wol say, Why do not you beleve yn hyt? If we say, yt came by the techynge of men, then the people wyl be offendyd & slawnderyd, that taketh Joan as a true Prophet.* Now let us expownd thys Text. First, the Text techeth us, that afore we can enter to this Question, *Baptismus Johannis*, &c. the Word of God must drive out of the Temple al buyers & sellers of Dignities & Benefices, Promotions & Advantages, that they may perceive the power of God speaking to us & them yn his Scripture, as the high Priests did then perceive him in his deed. Then shal you soon perceive them that shal say, *In qua potestate hoc facis?* To this purpose your Question *Baptismus Johannis*, &c. The Baptism of *John* was not a Sacrament of the new Law ordeyned to endure from tyme to

to tyme, but ordeyned & sent from God by hys Prophet to bryng the Infant Chyrche to the knowledg of Christ, to be the readyer to beleve his hygh Mysteries & Sacraments, that he afterward openyd not only to the only Jews, but to al that beleved or shuld beleve in hym. And for thys was imposition of hands ordeynyd, not to contynue in that effect as it dyd in the begynning of the Infant Chyrche, but to bryng the Baptizyd people unto a ready dysposition to receive the gifts of the H. Ghost in visibler synys. The which visibler synys are now so far out of sight, that we nother se them, nother fele them by ony Confirmation, that we reseve now in the Chyrche. More, saith *Durand*, that *Baptism is sufficient in time of Peace. Although Confirmation were requisite in time of Persecution, yet we read of many that without this Confirmation the Chyrche useth in oyl, as Peter, Paul, & other the Apostles, yea & many others, that without Confirmation hath stande to death before the Persecutors, Baptized in their own blood. As for example, loke on Emerenciana, &c.*

Then this Sacramental Rite or godly Ceremony, the which is to be judged no less than a godly Ordinaunce, was not of sych necessity, nother of sych effect, as it is taken for this time, as afterward shal be shewyd. Wherefore as Christ moved this Question to the High Priests & Scribeys, so is thys Question purposed unto us, Whether that Confirmation in oyl, with this Word, *Consigno te*, &c. be of Christs or of Mannys techyng. Yf yt be of Christs, beleve yn yt; yf of mannys techyng, say not *Timemus plebem*. For Truth must be Truth, & though the World wholly resist yt, & the Headers of that Truth that God techyth cannot escape just judgment. But that yt ys of Christ, *S. Tomas* in the third part of hys Summs Q. LXXIIa. Ar<sup>o</sup>. 1<sup>o</sup>. ad 7. saith, *Christus instituit hoc Sacramentum non exhibendo, sed promittendo*. Where he grauntyth that Christ did not indeede institute this Sacrament, but did promise yt. For the which he bryngeth a Text of *Joh. 16. Chap. Si non abiero, Paracletus non veniet ad vos*, &c. - - - - - this, how much yt makyth for this purpose that Confirmation in Oyl, &c. is a Sacrament of the new Law, & that yt geveth *Augmentum gratia*, or strength against Persecution; there is nothing les meant therein.

Truth yt ys, that the H. Ghost geveth thys, but we daily see that they that are now confyrmyd lackyth much of the Strength, that dyvers had that never recevyd sych Confirmation. And where he & *Durand* with others alledgeth *Melchisedech, Ad Hispaniarum Episcopos*, though he be denyed of some, yet graunt yt, that he sayth so, then have you provyd, that a man sayth so, & not Christ. But he alledgeth the *Acts* of the Apostles, that *Peter & Johan* leyd their hands upon the people of *Samaria*, that had recevyd Baptism, & therewith they recevyd the H. Ghost. Truth yt ys, that they dyd so; & so was the holy Ghost gevyn: But there ys no promyse, that as often as we do thys, that then he or she, that we do so unto, furthwith al shal receive the H. Ghost with sych gifts as the *Samaritanes* dyd. And yet yt ys necessary, that we have sych promyse afore that we should make a doctrine to the people, that they shal beleve, that every man that ys confyrmyd, shal inevitably (al thyngs done that ys usyd to be done by mynisters of the Chyrche) receive the H. Ghost in such effects.

More



More, yf we stand in contention herein, & say, that though we have no expres wretyn word for thys, yet we have the unwretyn Verity; Surely then have we a large garden to gather what we lyst, & approve al thyngs for Sacraments, that the Fathers hath receved, & beryth a signification of Holynes; as holy Affhs, holy Plame [Palm] holy Water, &c. & shal so increse to an infinite number without nede of Sacraments.

And more, Where there ys alledgyd *S. Denys in Qto. Cælestis. Hierarchyæ, Est quædam perfectiva Operatio, quam Duces nostri, quos Apostolos vocant, Chrismatis hostiam nominant*; I graunt that *Denys* there speakyth of the Creme, but not of syche Sacrament of Creme, that the Chyrche now usyth. Wherefore I graunt, that the use of Creme came from the Apostles, but not with Doctrine, that whosoever recevyth yt, recevyth yn it *Septiformem spiritum*.

Wherefore, I suppose, that thys holy Rite & godly Ceremony began by holy Fathers, to examyne the Feith of them that were baptized infants, when that they shuld come to yeres of discretion, as my Lord of *Harfords* [*Herefords*] boke more evidently [sheweth;] And then, *Per Verbum & Orationem, & impositionem manuum*, confyrmyd that Feith, which they did confes with their mouths. And thys ys in my judgment not to be dispisyd, but to be allowyd & approved, yea although that syche Mynisters take therunto holy oyl, as they do now at thys day.

### *The Judgment of Longland, Bishop of Lincoln.*

**A**D primam Quæstionem. Confirmatio est Sacramentum novæ legis, & institutum a Christo.

Probatio. Primò, Testimonio *Fabiani Martyris, Clementis & Dionysij*.

#### *Confirmatio dat Gratiam.*

Secundò, Quod conferat gratiam, docent loci *Act. 8. & 19. Quos omnes Interpretes de Confirmatione intelligunt. Et præterea Origines Lib. 1. Peri Archon, Capite 3. Augustinus li. 15. De Trinitate. Cap. 26. Beda, Act. 10. Chrysostom & Theophilactus, Super initio G. cap. ad Hebraeos. Augustinus li. 2. Contra Literas Petiliani Donatistæ. Cap. 19.*

#### *Signa Externa.*

Ad secundam Quæstionem. Impositio manuum. Consignatio Crucis in fronte, adhibito etiam Chrysmate.

Probatio. Manuum *Impositio* habetur expressè ex *Actis Apostolorum. Consignationem* cum Chrysmate, *Fabianus & Dionysius* aiunt se ex Apostolis accepisse, ex Traditione divina.

#### *Promissio.*

Promissionem Sanctam huic Sacramento citat *Petrus, 2. Act. ex Joële, Cap. 2. Et erit in novissimis diebus, dicit Deus, Effundam de spiritu meo super omnem carnem, & prophetabunt filij vestri, &c.*

*The Judgment of Capon, alias Salcot, Bishop of Bangor.*

1a. Quest. *Whether this Sacrament be of the N. Testament, instituted by Christ, or not?*

Thanswere. **T**HIS Sacrament is a Sacrament of the N. Testament; thus meaning instituted, (since the tyme of the N. Testament preached) not of Christ so far as we can know by Scripture, but of the Fathers of the Church.

2da. Quest. *What is the outward Sign, & what be the invisible graces promised in this Sacrament?*

Thansw. That the outward Signes be the Unctions with Chrism, & certain words therunto appointed. The invisible Graces promised by Scripture, we can find none: but by Doctors we find, that thereby is given a ghostly strength to confes boldly Faith, & to resist the Temptations of the Adversaries.

3ia. Quest. *What promises be made, that the said graces shal be received by this Sacrament?*

Thansw. Promise made by Scripture we find none. The Doctors write, that by this Sacrament be received the graces above mentioned.

*The Judgment of Stokesly Bishop of London.*

The first Question, *Whether the Sacrament of Confirmation be a Sacrament of the N. Testament? &c.*

**T**O this I answer, That it is.

The second Question, *What is the outward sign, & the invisible graces? &c.*

To this I answer, That the words *Signo te Signo Sanctæ Crucis, & confirmo te, &c.* with the Consignation, with the Cream, Imposition of hands of the Prelats, be the Signes: & the Increase of the gifts of the holy Ghost, & especially of Fortitude, to speak, shew & defend the Faith, & to suffer for the same in case need be, [be the Invisible graces.]

The third Question, *What Promises be made of the said Graces?*

I answer, That the Facts & Deeds, that be expressed in the Books of the Apostles, with the effects ensueing, by the Imposition of their hands upon them that before had received Remission of their sins, joined with the Promises of Christ made to his Church, & the continual belief of the University of the same Catholick Church, from the time of the Apostles hitherto, without contradiction of any man (Ignorants & Suspects of Heresy only excepted) maketh us, & in  
my



my Opinion, (without prejudice of other mens Opinions) ought to suffice to make al men, that hath promised to believe the Catholick Church, assuredly to think, that God hath made the Promises of the said Grace.

*Ergo Joannes London. sic respondeo, fretus autoritate, & testimonio Antiquissimorum, eorūmq; Doctissimorum pariter ac Sanctissimorum Virorum, & præcipue Sanctæ Matris nostræ Ecclesiæ Catholicæ: Cui etiam in non expressis in Sacra Scriptura, non multo minus quam Scriptis, fides adhibenda est: Nisi tam de Baptismo Parvulorum, quam de perpetua Deiparæ Virginis Integritate, & id genus compluribus, quibus sine salutis periculo nemo discredet, licebit Salva fide contradicere.*

### The Judgment of Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury.

*Whether Confirmation be instituted by Christ?*

**Respon.** **T**Here is no place in Scripture, that declareth this Sacrament to be instituted of Christ.

First, For the places alledged for the same be no Institutions, but Acts & Deeds of the Apostles.

Secondly, These Acts were done by a special Gift given to the Apostles, for the Confirmation of Gods word at that time.

Thirdly, The said special gift doth not now remain with the Successors of the Apostles.

*What is the External Sign?*

The Church useth *Chrisma* for the Exterior Sign, but the Scripture maketh no mention thereof.

*What is the efficacy of this Sacrament?*

The Bishop, in the name of the Church, doth invoke the H. Ghost to give strength & constancy, with other spiritual gifts, unto the person confirmed. So that the efficacy of this Sacrament is of such value as is the prayer of the Bishop, made in the name of the Church.

\* This is writ with the Arch-Bishops own hand, the rest above is the hand of his Secretary.

\* *Hæc respondeo, salvo semper Eruditionum & Ecclesiæ Orthodoxæ judicio.*

### The Judgment of Dr. Wotton: sometime Dean of Canterbury & York.

**T**O the first part of the Question I say, That Confirmation is a Sacrament of the N. Testament.

To the second part I say, That other it is instituted by Christ, or else Not inspired the Apostles by the H. Ghost.

To the second Question I say, That the outward Sign of Confirmation is the Touching & Marking of the forehead by the hand of the Minister to that Sacrament deputed. And the Invisible Grace is a Corroboration, or a strengthening & encouraging of him, that receiveth the said Sacrament, to resist his Ghostly enemy; & the more willingly & boldly to confesse the Name & the Crosse of Christ.

The third Question dependeth on the first & second.

*The Judgment of Dr. Barbar: sometime Advocate in the Arches.*

**A**D primam. Credo non liqueré ex Scriptura de Institutione; sed ex Apostolicis Ecclesiæ traditum existimo.

Ad secundam. Credo inanus impositionem esse Signum; Oleum additum esse, quemadmodum fit in Baptismo, non ad Sacramenti essentiam.

Ad tertiam. Credo non apparere certam promissionem gratiæ in Scripturis. Nihilominus Sp. Sanctum dari credo, & ita credere piissimum duco.

*Hac respondeo, salvo Ecclesiæ Orthodoxæ judicio. A qua recedere non intendo, si quicquam responsum sit aliter, quam ista judicaverit.*

*The Judgment of Dr. Bell, Archdeacon of Glocester.*

**F**irst of the first. That Confirmation is a Sacrament of the N. Testament to me appeared most true, not only by a Decree of Melchiades, De Consecrat. dist. v. c. 2. cum alijs ibidem. And many other great & antient Authors; S. Jerome contr. Lucifer. Basil. De Spu. Sancto. Euseb. in Hist. Ecclesiastica, li. vi. c. 34. But also by the universal consent & use of the holy Catholick Church; so receiving, observing, & even from the beginning to this present time continuing; & finally, for that, meseemeth, it is hole graunted without Controversy of this honorable Council.

And that furthermore it is institute by Christ, I take it; thinking verily that none other might institute a Sacrament, as we here take & use the name of a Sacrament, to be a sensible sign, having an infallible assistance of grace of the H. Ghost: & so hath both the Sign, & the very Cause therof.

To the second. The *Outward Sign* of this Sacrament is the Sign of the Crosse in the child's forehead by the Bishops [hand] with holy creame; & the form of the words, viz. *Ego Confirmo te*, &c. then spoken, as more evidently appeareth & fully in ca. - - *Sacr. Unctione*: according in all parts to some parts of the Scripture.

Where also is declared the *Invisible grace* given thereby. And I believe verily the seven yests of the H. Ghost.



To the Third Question. Meseemeth, that the general promise, that our Saviour made to his Disciples, might for an Answer suffice every good Christian, although there were no oder, as indeed many is. For the general promise is this,

[The rest is wanting.]

*The Judgment of Dr. Wolman, Archdeacon of Sudbury, & afterwards Dean of Wells.*

*Urbanus.* Omnes fideles per manuum Impositionem Episcoporum Sp. Sanctum post Baptismum accipere debent, ut pleni Christiani - - - - - mantur Quia cum Sp. Sanctus infunditur - - - - - ad prudentiam & constantiam.

*Melchiades.* Sp. Sanctus, qui super aquas Baptismi salutiferas descendit, lapsu tribuit ad innocentiam in conformatione, augmentum præstat gratiæ. Et quia in hoc Mundo victuris tota ætate inter visibiles hostes & pericula gradiendum est, in Baptismo regeneramur ad vitam, post Baptismum confirmamur ad pugnam. In Baptismo ablui-mur: in Confirmatione roboramur. Et quamvis continuo transituris sufficiant Regenerationis beneficia, tamen victuris necessaria sunt Confirmationis auxilia. Regeneratio per se salvat mox in pace Baptismi vel Seculi recipiendos. Confirmatio armat ad Agonis hujus Mundi prælia reservandos. Quiverò post Baptismum acquisita innocentia immaculata pervenerint ad mortem, confirmantur morte, quia jam non possunt peccare.

*Quidam.* Sacramentum non ab alijs, nisi a Summis Sacerdotibus perfici possit. Nam si aliter præsumptum fuerit, irritum habeatur & vacuum, & inter Ecclesiastica nunquam reputabitur Sacramenta.

*Rabanus.* Baptizatus ungitur in capite & fronte: in Capite per Sacerdotem, in fronte per Episcopum. Prima est in Summitate Capitis; & per eam significatur super ipsum Spiritus Sancti Descensio ad habitationem Deo consecrandam: & hoc in Baptismo. Secunda per Impositionem manuum Episcopi; per quam septiformis gratiæ per Sp. Sanctum cum plenitudine Sanctitatis & scientiæ & virtutis venire in hominem declaretur.

*Ambrosius de Sacramentis.* Accepisti mysterium, hoc est, Unguentum super caput. Quare super Caput? Quia Sapientis Sensus in capite ejus. Sequitur Spirituale signaculum, quod audisti legi hodie, quod post fontes superest, quo perfectio fiat, quum ad Invocationem Sacerdotis Sp. Sanctus infunditur.

*The Judgment of Dr. Marshal, Archdeacon of Nottingham.*

Confirmatio est Sacramentum novæ legis a Christo institutum, & traditum Ecclesiæ per Apostolos.

Datur per Impositionem manuum, hoc est, Consignationem; Confert septiformem gratiam, & præcipuè robur, ut resistatur peccato.

Habet & promissionem generalem, qua Christus adfuit suis Sacramentis.

*The Judgment of Dr. Cliff, Chantor of York, afterwards Dean of Chester.*

1. **E**ST Sacramentum novæ legis, Institutum a Christi Apostolis id tradentibus.

2. Exterius Signum est Impositio manuum Episcopi signantis Confirmandum signaculo Sanctæ crueis in fronte cum Chrismate.

3. Per hoc Sacramentum anima fidelis roboratur & confortatur adversus inimicos spirituales per septiformem gratiam Sp. Sancti tunc Confirmato infusam.

*The Judgment of Dr. Edmunds, Master of Peter House in Cambridg.*

**C**onfirmation is not a Sacrament of the new law, instituted by Christ by any expressed word in H. Scripture, but only by the Tradition of the Fathers.

Confirmation hath not any Outward Sign expressed by H. Scripture. But Doctors saith, that the holy Chrisme, & certain words said by the Bishop, that is to say, *Consigno te signo crucis, Confirmo te Chrismate salutis in nomine Patris & Filij & Sp. Sancti*, be the outward Signes.

Confirmation hath no promise of any Invisible grace by Christ by any expressed word in H. Scripture. But Doctors saith, By it is received strength to fight ayenst the spiritual enemies.

There be no promises of Grace made by Christ to them that receive Confirmation.

*The Judgment of Dr. Downes, Chancellor of the Church of York.*

**C**onfirmatio est Sacramentum novæ legis, Institutum a Christo, Traditum per Apostolos.

Et per illud confertur septuplex Sp. Sancti gratia, & præcipue Robur, ut resistamus peccato.

Cui signum est Impositio manuum, & Consignatio.

Promissio generalis, quod Christus assistit ijs qui per ipsum instituit sunt.

*The Judgment of Dr. Marmaduke.*

*Whether this Sacrament, &c.*

**T**his is a Sacrament of the N. Testament: Institute of Christ.

*What is the Outward Sign? &c.*

The outward Sign is Imposition of hands, & the Sign of the Cross with holy Oyl in the forehead. And the Graces Invisible

is



is the H. Ghost, in whom is al Graces, & especially Consolation & Strength.

*What Promises be made? &c.*

Christ promisseth the Church to be with them, & to assist them to the end of the World. And in the 8th Cap. of the *Acts*, was by the Apostles given the H. Ghost; And also in the 19th of the *Acts*. Which places & Christs promise no Christian men need doubt, but ought to believe the Graces & Gifts of the H. Ghost to be given in this Sacrament.

### *The Judgment of another Divine, nameles.*

#### The first Article.

*Whether this Sacrament, &c.*

**T**Hat Authority that it hath must needs be of the N. Testament, or else it could have no place among Christen men. Forso much as al Ceremonies of the Old are abrogated. And as to the second necessarily it followeth, that needs it must have its Institution of Christ. For the New Testament is only of Christ. The Institution of Christ may be either by expresse Scripture, or else by the Authority of Scripture it may be institute, though that the Scripture by expresse words do not institute the same. And this appeareth not only by al the old Fathers in divers matters, but also by the words of *Melancthon* in his Article of the Baptism of children. When as he hath for the proving of the said Article this Formal Rule, that is to say, *Tho that by expresse Scripture it be not instituted, yet it is received & used by the Authority of Scripture, joining with the same the perpetual Consent of the Universal Church: Which in al things hath been at al times of a great estimation by the Doctrin of al the Fathers,* as *Melancthon* approves before, not dissenting from the old Fathers, as he protestes divers times.

The place of Scripture, that giveth Authority to this Sacrament, seemeth to be the viijth Chapt. of the *Acts*, as *Bede* expressly understandeth the same, & *Rabanus* after him, & *Erasmus* also.

Wherefore tho it have not so great Mystery, nor yet be not of so great necessity & vertue, as the other Sacraments are; yet is it reverently to be observed.

#### The second Article.

*What is the Outward Sign? &c.*

The Outward Sign is the Imposition of the hand, for that is expressed in Scripture. The Oil or the Chrism are the Institutions of the Fathers, as I suppose, for the good signification that Oyl hath in Scripture, that is to say, Comfort, Gladnes, the H. Ghost, & the Gifts of the H. Ghost.

The Invisible Graces are Gifts of the H. Ghost; Gifts of Constancy, Strength, & such other: But in what measure is only in the knowledge

ledg of Almighty God. The H. Ghost, that is to say, Gifts of the H. Ghost, were given by the Imposition of the hands at that time visible; as Gifts of Tongues, & such other. As at that time it was necessary to have extern Gifts & Miracles, to teach expressly, & confirm the Faith, which now are not necessary. The Imposition of the hand with Prayer of the Bishop, (as without fail in my opinion there was never Imposition of hands without Prayer) by virtue of Gods word, giveth the former gifts.

And as I suppose to give a Form of a Sacrament, because there should not want *Elementum*, required peradventure in such a Sacrament, as in Baptism Water, the Fathers added Oyl.

But I suppose as in the Sacrament of Penance, witnessing so *Melanchthon*, the Absolution which is don by Imposition of the hand with the Word, is the Sacrament in that case; so in this Case the Imposition of the hand, with the prayer of the Minister, is the Sacrament.

### The Third Article.

#### *What Promises, &c.*

I know none other Promises than are made in the said viijth Chap. of *Acts*, supposing the Apostles executed that thing. By the which there were at that time apparent tokens of the gifts of the H. Ghost, so taught by Christ their Master, that it might remain a perpetual Doctrin to their Successors in like maner to use the same.

### *The Judgment of Dr. Robinson.*

#### *Confirmationis Institutio.*

**C**onfirmationem, Consignationem, sive Sacramentum Chrismatis, a Christo institutum esse, Autores *Fabianus* Martyr, & *Clemens Comes Pauli*, *Dionysius Pauli* Discipulus, *Aug.* 15. De Trin. cap. 26. *Bed.* Act. 10. *Cyprianus* in Sermone De Unctione Chrismatis, & alijs Sacramentis.

#### *Signa externa Confirmationis.*

Oratio, Impositio manuum, Signum crucis impressum fronti, adhibito etiam Chrismate.

#### *Signum.*

Signum quid sit docet *Aug.* 2. De doct. Christian. Cap. 1.

#### *Oratio.*

Quomodo datur Sp. Sanctus per Orationem docet idem *Aug.* lib. 15. De Trin. cap. 26.

#### *Impositio manuum.*

Hæc multiplex fuit. Nam imponebantur manus Confirmandis *Act.* 8. Ordinandis Presbyteris, 1 *Tim.* 4. Infirmis curandis, *Marc.* 16. Et Hæreticis redientibus ad Ecclesiam; Et Correctis, ut est apud *Cyprian.* & *Aug.* Et hæc Traditio Apostolica est.

#### *Impositio*



*Impositio manuum in Confrmandis.*

Per manuum Impositionem gratiam dari satis declarant Loci, *Act.* 8. & 19. *Origines* li. 1. *ἀρχαῖον*. cap. 3. *Aug.* li. 15. De Trin. cap. 26. *Beda* *Act.* 10. *Chrysof.* & *Theophylactus* super initio 6. cap. ad *Hebræos*.

*Signum Crucis in Fronte.*

De hoc *Aug.* in Dialogo Ecclesiæ & Synagogæ. A quo vocatur *Signum Salutis*, ex *Ezech.* 9. Et *Apoca.* 7. 13, & 14. Et *Hieron.* super *Ezech.* 9.

*Sacrum Chrisma.*

Hoc a *χρῖσμα* nomen habet, quod significat *Ungo*. Unde & *Christum* dictum esse Autores *Cyprianus* in Sermone De Unctione Chrismatis, & *Aug.* lib. 2. Contr. literas *Petilianus* Donatistæ. Ubi & Confirmationem Chrismatis Sacramentum appellat. Quin & gratia Sp. Sancti 1. *Jo.* 2. ter vocatur *χρῖσμα*. Christus ipse docuit fieri Chrisma, ut est autor *Fabianus* Martyr in Epistola ad Orientales Episcopos: *Cyprian.* in Sermone De Unctione Chrismatis; & *Dionysius* de Ecclesiastica Hierarchia. Cap. 4.

Christum aut Apostolos usos fuisse Chrismatis unctione, nec constanter, aut convinci potest aut negari, quando in Sacris literis non habeatur expressum; Quum tamen *Fabianus* Martyr, & *Dionysius* asserant se ab Apostolis per manus accepisse. Testatur & *Joannes* Cap. ult. *Multa esse quæ fecit Jesus, quæ non Scripta sunt*. Præterea, quæ *Lucas* in *Act.* Apostolicis ab Apostolis gesta scribit, acta sunt ante annum 30<sup>um</sup> a Passione Christi; cum tamen aliquot ab Apostolis superstites erant post excidium *Hierosolymitanum*. Ad hæc *Damasceus* Lib. 4. Cap. 13. *Orthodoxæ fidei* ait multa esse tradita ab Apostolis, quæ non sunt scripta; ut est Adoratio ad Orientem, &c. Quin & *Cyprian.* in Ablutione pedum; *Aug.* ad *Januarium*; *Tertullianus* in lib. *De Coronâ Militis*, astringunt nos ad Traditiones Apostolorum, ad Concilia Universalia ritè coacta, ad legitimas ac receptas Consuetudines, non minus quam ad ipsas sacras Literas.

*Efficacia & Virtus Confirmationis.*

Vis hujus Sacramenti est exhibitio gratiæ Sp. Sancti ad Robur ac Constantiam in bono, ad reluctandum malo, ad extinguendum fomitem, ad augmentum gratiæ, &c. *Clemens* ait in hoc Sacramento dari septiformem gratiam Sp. Sancti; *Cyprian.* Sapientiam, Intellectum, Consilium, Fortitudinem, Scientiam, Pietatem, Timorem, per hoc Sacramentum, divinitus, cœlitus, & supernis inspirationibus infundi testatur. Sic *Aug.* li. 15. De Trin. cap. 26. *Orig.* *ἀρχαῖον*, lib. 1. ca. 3. *Cryf.* & *Theophyl.* vj. Ad *Hebræos*.

*Objeçtio.*

Siquis objiciat donum Linguarum, & Prophetiam, cæteraq; dona Sp. Sancti, quæ olim per Apostolos dabantur, cessasse, & proinde Gratiam, per Impositionem manuum, jam non dari, Respondeat *Aug.* li. 3. De Bapt. contra *Donatistas*, his verbis: *Neq; enim Temporalibus & Sensibilibus miraculis attestantibus per manus impositionem modo datur Sp.*  
H h h h Sanctus,

*Sanctus, sicut antea dabatur, ad commendationem rudis fidei, & Ecclesiae primordia dilatanda. Quis enim nunc expectat, ut hi, quibus manus ad accipiendum Spiritum inponitur, repente incipiant linguis loqui? Sed invisibiliter & latenter intellegitur, per vinculum pacis eorum cordibus divina charitas inspirari, ut possint dicere, Quoniam charitas Dei diffusa est in cordibus nostris per Sp. Sanctum, qui datus est nobis.*

*Neccssitas Confirmationis.*

Quantum expediat hoc Sacramentum omnibus exhiberi patet [ex] *Fabiano. Ex Epistola Cornelij de - - - onato. Ex Clemente. Ex Dionysio, Et ex Aug. lib. 2. Contr. Literas Petil. cap. 104.*

*Traditiones non Scriptae necessariae ad Salutem.*

Baptismus Infantium, Autore *Augustino*. Non rebaptizandum, qui ab Hæretico baptizatur. *Ομοιότιον*. Perpetua Virginitas *Mariæ*. Apostolos fuisse baptizatos. Quod tamen scriptum non est.

*The Judgment of Dr. Richard Smith, sometime Public Professor of Divinity at Oxford.*

*The first Question.*

*Whether Confirmation be a Sacrament, &c.*

**I** Affirm, that it is so, & that by the word of Christ written. Not the Tables of Stone, nor yet the Skins of Parchment, or any other semblable thing; but in the hearts of the Apostles. The which strait after their Masters Ascension used the said Sacrament, & left it to the Church without Writing. For these Apostles of Christ fully & perfectly instructed by him, left sundry & many things to the Church, not putting them in any maner of writing. The which universally received & alwayes used in the Church, from that time even to these dayes, must & ought to be believed as firmly & stedfastly, as any part of the Gospel written; or else these Articles subscribed were necessary to be ceased; which to defend is Heretical:

- I. *Parvulos baptizatos consequi remissionem peccatorum.*
- II. *Transubstantiari Panem & Vinum in Eucharistia.*
- III. *Quod Filius in divinis sit Consubstantialis Patri.*
- IV. *Perpetua Virginitas Deiparae Virginis.*
- V. *Quod sint tres Personae in Divinis.*
- VI. *Quod Pater sit ingenuus.*
- VII. *Quod Judæi conversi non deberent observare Legalia.*
- VIII. *Quod Missa sit Sacrificium.*
- IX. *Quod malus Sacerdos potest ministrare Sacramenta.*
- X. *Quod ab Hæreticis Baptizati non sunt rebaptizandi. Cum id genus alijs multis.*



## The second Question.

The Outward Sign is the Imposition of the hands of the Bishop, & the Unction of Creame used therein. The Invisible grace is the Sevenfold grace of the H. Ghost, as Wisdom, Fear, with the rest; & encrease of the grace Justification received by Baptism, or the Sacrament of Penance, if the Taker be in grace.

## The third Question.

This is not apertly put in Writing, but taught the Apostles by Christ, & the Church by them.

*The Judgment of Dr. Buckmaster, Vicechancellor of Cambridg,*  
in 1528, 1537, & 1538.

*Sacramentum Confirmationis.*

**M**ateria hujus Sacramenti est duplex, *Propinqua & Remota.*

*Materia Propinqua* est Unctio facta in fronte in figura Crucis cum Chrysmate Sanctificato.

*Materia Remota* est Chrisma composita ex oleo Olivæ & Balsamo, Sanctificatum specialiter ab Episcopo, vel ab alio cui talis Sanctificatio committi poterit. Quippe omnia Sacra, quæ requirunt ministrum determinatum & sacratum, requirunt etiam materiam sanctificatam, saltem in illo sacro, ubi requiritur materia sensibilis.

Per Oleum, quod alijs liquoribus supereminet, designatur Charitas. Per Balsamum suaviter fragrantem, odor bonæ famæ, qui in Confirmato esse debet.

Forma hujus Sacramenti est talis: *Consigno te signo Crucis, & Confirmo te chrysmate Salutis, in nomine Patris & Filij & Sp. Sancti.*

Signata in parte determinata, nempe in fronte, in signum quod dederet omnem erubescenciam ad audacter confitendum Christum.

And here it is to be noted, before the Death of our Saviour Christ, there was no Confirmation Sacramental used. For as *S. John* saith in his Gospel, *Nondum erat Sp. Sanctus datus, quia nondum erat Jesus glorificatus.* And in another place he saith on this wise, *Expedi Vobis, ut ego vadam. Si non abiero, Paracletus non veniet ad Vos. Si autem abiero, mittam vobis illum.* And albeit that the Apostles received the H. Ghost before the day of Pentecost, yet did they then first receive him in signum Sacramenti Confirmationis; that is to say, in token of the Sacrament of Confirmation: What time the H. Ghost appeared to them in fiery Tongues. Which fiery Tongues were a Visible & Sensible Sign of the H. Ghost then sent, & given unto them to confirm & establish them in Christs Faith, &c.

And the Reason why that the Almighty God used this Sign here in this Sacrament, was this. First, He used the Sensible Sign of a Tongue, signifying by the same, that they should be liberal of their Tongues to preach the Faith of Christ. And again, this Figure of a Tongue appeared in Fire, to signify to them, that they should be hot & fervent in Charity; & they should not preach & teach the

H h h h 2

Faith



Faith of Christ for any Lucre or Worldly Promotion, but only for the Love of Christ, & for the health of their neighbours. And thus did Christ *Confirm* his Apostles, giving unto them his manifold inward graces; & not only outward, as it was then expedient for that time, by such an Outward & Sensible Form, or Scene, that is to say, a fiery Tongue.

But after this, forasmuch as Fire cannot be applied unto a mans Body without hurt, therefore in his place was taken Oyl. Which is a thing, & a matter next unto burning, & draweth most ny unto the nature of Fire; having in it also a marvelous cleannes, which is a Quality appropriate unto the Fire. Furthermore, in the stead of a Tongue, the Church useth Balm: & that for this counsil. For as Balm hath a good & a sweet savour, & preserveth from corruption, so by the manifold graces, which be here conferred in this Sacrament, they that lyveth & worketh according unto the same, hath a sweet & a good savour, of a good name & fame before God, either by confessing & preaching of Christs Faith, or else by the strong resistings & vanquishing of his Enemyes, the Devil, the Flesh & the World. And so is also preserved from the Corruption of Sin.

And as touching these two, that is to say, Oyl & Balm, which we called before *Materiam hujus Sacramenti*, with the holy Consecrations of the same, which may be called *Mysteria Sacramenti*, no doubt but that, as the most ancient Doctors doth write, the Apostles of Christ, by Christs Authority, did institute & ordain the same; or else, to speak better, Christ did institute them by the Apostles: Although that in the beginning, for a certain season he might dispense with them, that they should not need to use such matter, but only Prayer & Imposition of their hands upon such as they did Confirm. And although mention of these & such other things, Rites & Ceremonies, which our Mother the Church useth, not only in the Ministration of this Sacrament, but also in many of the other, is not had expressly in Scripture; yet be al such to be observed & fulfilled by the order of Apostolical Tradition. For as S. Aug. writeth in a certain place, *Those things be not mentioned in Scripture which were commonly don, & yet by some things there they may be understood in the Word.* Wherefore S. Gregory, li. 7. Registr. Epla. 16. saith, *That the order of antient custom, & the Canons of the Church is an Interpreter of al doubts, that be not expressed in Scripture.*

De Fid. &  
Operib. ante  
Medium.

Wherefore albeit al things, concerning & appertaining unto this Sacrament, be not expressly had in Scripture, yet ought we reverently & obediently to accept & receive the same: forasmuch as the Church, that is to say, the whole multitude of Christen people, hath so allowed & received them hitherto.

*The Promises made unto the Receivers of this Sacrament.*

*Apostoli imponebant manus super Baptizatos, & acceperunt Sp. Sanctum, Actorum 8.* Which thing they never would have attempted, but only by Revelation & Precept of the H. Ghost. And so that sure hope, which they used in the ministring of this Sacrament, doth openly shew and argue, that the H. Ghost had promised unto them, that he would be ready to give his Grace unto them, which should be confirmed:  
upon



upon whom, for the same Cause they should lay their hand. And so it appeareth, that the H. Ghost, which taught & also commanded the Apostles to use this outward Sign, did in like maner make a Promise to the worthy Receivers of the same.

*The Inward Graces.*

Rabanus. *Sp. Sancti gratia ad Robur. In Unctione Sp. Sanctus descendit ad habitationem Deo consecrandam. In Confirmatione verbo ejusdem Septiformis gratia cum omni plenitudine Sanctitatis & Virtutis venit in hominem.* Also Urban saith, That al faithful Christians, by the Imposition of the Bishops hands after Baptism, ought to receive the H. Ghost, that they may be found ful Christen men: That is to say, To have al those things, which be profitable unto our health, & perfection of Virtue.

Yet we read in the *Acts* of the Apostles, that when Samaria was converted unto the Faith of Christ, Peter & John came thither and layd their Hands upon them that before were baptized of Philip, & prayed for them, that they might receive the H. Ghost: And likewise Paul layd his hands upon them that were baptized at Ephesus, & they received the H. Ghost, in such wise, that the People did speak divers Languages, & prophesied. Wherby the Consciences - - - - - [the Bishops] did use to lay their hands upon them that before were baptized by the Priests, & prayed for them that they might have the H. Ghost. And that after it was Ordained, that al Christian people should after their Baptism be presented to their Bishops; to the intent that they laying their hands upon them, & consigning them with holy Chrism, should pray for them, that they might be confirmed in the H. Ghost: that is to say, That they might receive such gifts of the H. Ghost, &c.

N U M B. LXXXIX.

*Humphrey Monmouth, Citizen of London, committed to the Tower, for Suspicion of Heresy, for some Books found in his House: His Petition to the Kings Council.*

*Unto the most Honorable Lord Legate, & Chancellor of England, & to the Honorable Councel unto your Sufferain Lord, King Henry VIII. the xixth day of May, & in the xxth yere of his Raigne; Beseching your Grace, & al my Lords & Masters, to have pitie on me poor Prisoner in the Towre of London at your plesure.*

**T**HE xliijth day of May, & in the yere abovesaid, Sir Thomas Moore Knight, & Sir William Kingeston Knight, & of the Kings Noble Counsaill, sent for me unto Sir John Dauncies, & of the same Counsaill; & there they examyned me what Letters & what Books I receved

*Foxij MSS.*

I receved lately from beyond the Seas, & I said, None, nor never had of trewth. And what Exhibition I did give to any bodie beyond the Sea. I said, None in three yeres past: And Examyned me, whether I was acquaynted with many persons? Of the which I was acquainted with none of them to my knowledge & remembrance. I told them in iiij yeres past I did give unto a Priest called, *Sir William Tyndal*, otherwyse called *Hotchens*. And then *Sir Thomas Moore*, & *Sir William Kenyston* had me home to my House, & serched it, & saw al the Letters & Books in my Howse to my knowledg, by my Faith: & there they found no Lettres that they regarded, nor *Englisch* books but five or six printed, the which they regarded not; & they left them with me, as they found them. And from thence I went again to *Sir John Dauncys*, my special good Master, & he brought me the same day to the Towre of *London*, & delivered me unto *Sir Edmonde Walsyngham* Kt. & Lyftenant of the Towre.

Upon iiij yeres & a half past, & more, I herde the foresaid *Sir William* preach ij or iij Sermons at *St. Dunstons* in the West in *London*; & after that I chaunced to meet with him, & with communication I examyned what Lyving he had. He said he had none at all, but he trusted to be with my Lord of *London* in his Service. And therfore I had the better fantasie to him. And afterward he went to my Lord & spake to him, as he told me, & my L. of *London* answered him, that he had Chaplaines inough, & he said to him, that he would have no more at that tyme. And so the Priest came to me againe, & besought me to help him, & so I took him into my House half a yere: & there he lived like a good Priest, as methought. He studied most part of the day, & of the night at his book; & he would eat but sodden meat by his good wil, nor drink but small single beer. I never saw him weare linnin about him in the space he was with me. I did promys him x*l*. sterling, to praie for my Father & Mother there Sowles, & al Christen Sowles. I did paie it him, when he made his exchange to *Hamborow*. Afterwards he got of some other men x*l*. sterling more, the which he left with me. And within a yere after he sent for his Ten pounds to me from *Hamborow*: & thither I sent it him by one *Hans Collenbeke*, as I remember is his name, a merchant of the *Stilyard*. And since I never sent him the value of one peny, nor never wil. I have given more exhibitions to skollers in my dayes, than to that Priest. *Mr. Doctor Royston*, Chaplen to my Lord of *London*, hath cost me more than XL or L pounds sterling. And also *Mr. Doctor Wooderal*, Provinciall of *Friar Austynes*, hath cost me as much or more. *Mr. Doctor Watson*, Chaplain to the Kings good Grace hath cost me somewhat, & somewhat I have given to Skollers at his request, & to divers Priests & Fryars: And yf any of those other should chaunce to turn, as that Priest hath done, as God forbid, were I to blame for giving them Exhibition.

The foresaid *Sir William* left me an English book, called *Enchiridion*. The which book the Abbes of *Dennye* desyred yt of me, & I sent yt to her. And that Howse hath cost me more than L pounds sterling. I could reherse many more. I do not say this, because I wold be praised, as God knoweth, but bicause your Gr. & my Lords of the Counsell



Counsell should know that I have spent more for the love of God, after the Counsil of good Doctors, than of that one Priest.

Another Book I had of the same copie : a Frier of *Grenwich* desired yt of me, & I gave yt him. I think my Lord of *Rocheſter* hath it. I had two books in English wrytten ; the one was called the *Pater noſter*, an old Book. How yt came to my howſe, on my faith I cannot tel ; & the other Book is called *De libertate Chriſtiana*. I receved him of one *Arnold*, a yong man, that is gone into *Spain*, to a Gentleman whose name is Mr. *Woodall*, that went with Sir *John Wingsfeld*, Kt. Embaſſador into *Spaine*. I delivered thoſe two Books to the Father Confessor of *Sion*. And alſo I delivered him a Book of the N. Teſtament, the which book my L. of *London* had. Alſo, I had a litle Treatiſe, that the Priest ſent me, when he ſent for his mony. And all thoſe Books, ſave the Books of the N. Teſtament, laye openly in my houſe for the ſpace of two yeres or more, that every man might rede on them that would, at their pleaſure. I never harde Priest, nor Fryer, nor Lay man find any great fault in them. And ſo I truſt in our Lord God, that your good Grace, nor none of my Lords & Maſters of the Kings noble Councel, wil find any great faults in any of them, when it ſhal pleaſe your Gr. or any of the Councel to read them, or hear them. And ſo I truſt in our Lord God I ſhal be gyltleſs for any evil books, or any other thing that hath been ſurmeyſed wrongfully on me. And yf mine Accuſers be wel examined, peradventure they ſhould be found more ſawly than I ſhal be, when the trewth ſhal be known.

I have ſhewed the Book, called *The Enchiridion*, to Mr. Doctor *Watſon*, & to Mr. Doctor *Stochouſe*, Parſon of *Laname* [*Lavenham*] in *Suffolk*, & to many other, that never found fault in him to my knowledg ; & to the Father Confessor of *Syon*, & to Mr. *Martyn* Priest, & Parſon of *Totingebeke*. And alſo the other two Books, called the *Pater noſter*, & *De Libertate Chriſtiana*, I think they looked them moſt part over, & they found no fault at them. But in one of them *De Libertate Chriſtiana*, they ſaid, there was in him things ſomewhat hard, except the Reader were wyſe. And by my Faith there was al the fault that ever I herde of them. If I had thought they had not been good, or put any miſtruſt in any of them, I would not have ſhewed them openly to ſo many men, as I did. But mine Accuſers unto your Noble Gr. I think did never read them over ; & yf they did, they were to blame, that they had not the order of charity with them. And yf they had ſhewed me, that they had been nought or evil books, yf they had been lerned, I would have given credence to them, & done them immediately away. And yf I had then kept them, & they had complayned, then I had bene worthy to have bene punyſhed. I pray God forgive them, as I would be forgiven my ſelf.

When I harde my Lord of *London* preach at *Pawles Croſs*, that Sir *William Tyndal* had tranſlated the N. Teſtament in English, & was noughtilie tranſlated, that was the firſt time, that ever I ſuſpected or knew any evil by him. And ſhortely after, al the Lettres & treatyes that he ſent me, with dyvers Copies of Books, that my Servant did write, & the Sermons that the Priest did make at *St. Dunſtones*, I did burne them in my howſe. He that did write them did ſe it. I did burne them

them for fear of the Translator, more than for any yll that I knew by them.

If it like your Grace, for this Imprisonment I have utterly lost my name, & also my litle Credence, which I had, for ever. The which is the greatest loss, & the more sorrow & shame, that ever I had in my liffe. I occupy with divers Clothe-men in *Suffolk*, & in other places. The which have wekely some of them, as they send up their Clothes, most have their mony. And yf they fail of their monye, they say, they cannot set the poore folks aworke. There is divers Clothe-men, the which I buy al their Clothes that they make. And yf they should go offer them to sel to other men now at this time, they wold bid them go & sel where they were wont to sel, when the Sale was good : & so the poor men should have great loss. I was wont to sel for most part every yere iiij or v hundred Clothes to Strangers, which was worth to the Kinges Gr. in his Customes, more than though I had shipped over my self five times so many. I was wont betwixt Chrystmas & Whytfontide to sel most part of them. And of trewthe as yet since Chrystmas, I have sold but xxij Clothes, nor I send over none, nor no man axeth for none, I praye God amend it, whan yt shal please him. And yf I leye here in prison long, I cannot help my self more, nor none other man, but shal be utterly undon for ever, And yf your Gr. be not good & merciful unto me. God is merciful, & wil forgive them that be penitent, & axeth forgivenes. I trust in the Lord I have not offended your Gr. nor none of my Lords nor Masters of the Kinges Noble Counsaile, willingly, nor to my knowledg. And yf I have, I beseeche your good Gr. & al my Lords & Masters, to forgive me, as you would that God should forgive you.

Yf I had broken most part of the Ten Commandments of God, being penitent, & confessed [I should be forgiven] by reason of certain Pardons that I have, the which my Company & I had graunted, whan we were at *Rome*, going to *Jerusalem*, of the holly Father the Pope, *A pœna* & *a Culpa*, for certain times in the yere. And that I trust in God I receved at Easter last past; furthermore I receved, when your Gr. was last at *Pawles* I trust in God your Pardon of *A Pœna* & *a Culpa* : the which I beleve verily, yf I had don never so great offences, being penitent & confessed, & axing forgivenes, that I should have forgivenes. Beseeching your Gr. & al my Lords & Masters to pardon me, & to forgive me, as I shal be your poor Beadman, during my liffe : That the Bl. Trinitie, & our Bl. Lady Saint *Marie*, & al the holly company of Heaven, may help you al at your most neede in vertue & grace, *Amen*. I beseeche your Gr. & al my Lords & Masters, to pardon me of my rude wrytinge & termes. I am unlerned ; my Witt is no better.

By your poor Bedman & Prysoner at your Gr.'s plesure,

*Humfrye Munmouth*, Draper of London.

*In presentia Reverendi patris in Christo Cuthberti London Episcopi,*  
*Humfridus Monmouth recognovit se scripsisse istas cartas.*

N U M B.



## N U M B. XC.

*The Testament & Last Wil of Mayster Humphray Monmouth,  
late Citezin & Alderman of London.*

**I**N the name of God, *Amen*. The xvj day of the monethe of November, the yere of our Lord God MDXXXVII, & the xxix yere of the reigne of our Sovereigne Lord King *Henry* the Eyght, I *Humphray Monmouth* Citezin & Alderman of the Citie of *London*, being of whole mynd, & in good & perfect remembraunce, laude & prayse be unto Almyghtye God, make & ordeyne this my present Testament, conteyning herein my Last Wil, in maner & fourme following, that is to say ; Foxij MSS.

Fyrste & principally I commende my Soul unto Christ *Jesu*, my Maker, & Redemer, in whom, & by the merytts of whose blessed passion, is al my whole trust of clene remission & forgyvenes of my synnes: And my Body to be buryed in the Churchyard of the Parish church of *Alballowes* in *Barkynge* of *London*, in such place there where mine Executors shal think convenient. *Item*, I wil that my funeral Expenses shal be done as hereafter I have specified & declared (& none other nor otherwyse) that is to say, I wil that my Body shal be brought to my Burial in the morning after my decease, or shortly after, with four or fyxe staff-torches brennyng onely, without any braunches, torches, or herse, & without any *Dirige* to be songe or said than ; & immediately after my body buryed, I wyl have to preach a Sermond eyther Doctor *Crome*, Doctour *Barnes*, or els Mayster *Tayllour*, Parson of Saynt *Peters* in *Cornhyll*, to the laude & prayse of my Lord & Saviour *Jesus* Christ, to the setting forth of his blessed & holy word, & to the declaration & testimony of my Fayth towards the same. And I wyl that my Lord Byshop of *Worcester*, Doctor *Barnes*, Doctor *Crome*, & Mayster *Tayllour* shal preach in my Parysh-churh aforesayd, every week two Sermons, tyl they have preached among them xxx Sermons: & I wyl gyve them for every Sermonde xiiij s. iiij d. And yf any of these foresayde persons cannot be there to preach these Sermons, than I wyl that the other supplie his place, that shal be absent, so that after they have begonne to preach (which I wold have them do immediatly after my buryal) they shal contynue wekely every weke, tyl the said xxx Sermons be al preached, except there be an urgent cause, allowed by myn Executours & Supervisour to the contrary. And that this thing may be perfourmed the better, I bequethe to eyther of myn especial & syngler good Lords, Syr *Thomas Audeley*, Knyght, Lord Chauncellour, & Syr *Thomas Crumwel*, Knyght, Lord *Crumwel*, a standyng Cup of Sylver & gylte, of the value of x pounds, that they may be good Lords to these foresayd Preachers, to helpe them & maynteyne them, that they be suffered to preach the foresayd Sermons quietly, to the Laud & Prayse of Almyghty God, to the setting forth of my Prynces godly & heavenly purposes, to the utter abolyshyng & extingting of the usurped & false fayned power of the Byshop of *Rome*. And yf it shal chaunce that these

forefayd Preachers, or any of them, may not be suffered to preach in my Parish-church aforfayde, than I wyl that they preach these forfayd Sermons in any other Church in *London*, where they shal thynk it best, or most convenyent for them. And I wyl, that at the end of every Sermond the Quere shal begynne TE DEUM, to laud & prayse my Lord *Jesus* Christ, to gyve hym hartly thanks for his hevenly & godly Word, & to beseeche hym for his tender mercy, & his swete blouds-sake, that he wyl contynue & encrease it dayly more & more in the hertes of his people: & also that it may please his inestimable godly goodnes to maynteyn our sayd Soveraygne Lord the King to further his godly & gracious purposes, *Amen*.

And to every Preeft & Clerke, belonging to the same Church, that wyl help to synge it, to have for his Labour II d. or els nothyng. *Item*, I wyl have no mo Preeftes & Clerks at my Funeral Mass, than do serve dayly in our Parysh Church. And I wyl that every of the sayd Preefts & Clerks have his accustomed duty with the mooste. *Item*, I wyl have no Bells ronge for me, but onely a peale to the Sermond. Nevertheless I wyl that the Clerk, & al other poor men men have their duty, as moche as though they had ronge. *Item*, at my Moneth-mynd, I wyl have nothing done, except it be a Sermond. *Item*, I wyl have no more Mourners but myn Executors, & my Mother in law, & myn Aunt, *Agnes Hurry*, &c.

*Item*, I wyl, that al such dettes & duties as I owe of ryght or of conscience, to any person or persons, be wel & truly contented & payd by myn Executors hereafter named, or els ordeyned for so. to be payd without any delay or contradiction. And after my dettes payd, & my Funeral Expences performed, I wyl that al my Goods, Cattalls, & Dettes, shal be divided into theyr [three] egal parts. Wherof I wyl, that *Margery* my wyfe shal have one egal part to her own propre use, in name of her purpart, & reasonable part to her of al my sayd Goods, Cattalls & Dettes, after the laudable custom of the cite of *London* belonging. And the second egal part of al my sayd Goods, Cattalls & Dettes, I bequethe to *Grace* & *Elizabeth* my Doughters, & the child now being in the womb of my sayd wyfe, egally to be devided amongst them, & to be delivered unto them, whan they shal accomplysh & come to theyr lawful ages of xxj yeres, or els be maryed, &c. And if it fortune any of my sayd children to decease before they accomplysh theyr said ages, & before that tyme be not maryed, that than I bequethe her part, or his part of them so deceasyng, to the other of them than survyving, to be delyvered unto them, whan they shal accomplyshe theyr sayd ages, or else be married. And if it fortune al my sayd children to decease, as God it defend, before they accomplysh theyr sayd ages, & before that tyme be not maryed, that than I bequethe as wel al & singler the sayd part & porcion of my sayd Children, of my sayd Goods, Cattalls & Dettes, as also my Legacy to them hereafter bequethed, to & amongst the children lawfully begotten of the body of - - - *Acton*, now wyfe of *Acton*, & daughter of my brother *Rychard Monmouth*, late of *Tynbery* in the County of *Worcetor* deceased, to be payd & delyvered to them at lyke ages, & in lyke maner as is appoynted to myn own chyldren, & every chyld lykewyse to be others heire therof. And yf it shal fortune al the  
chyldren



chyl dren of the sayd - - - - *Aston*, of her body lawfully begotten, to decease, which God defend, before they come to theyr sayd lawful ages, & before that tyme be not maryed, than I wyl that al theyr sayd parts & porcions of my sayd Goods, Catalls & Dettes, shal wholly be employed & bestowed in amending & repayring of hygh noyous wayes, nyghe about the Citie of *London*, & to the maryage of poor Maydens, by the Discretion of myn Executours & Overseer, yf they be than Lyvyng, or els by the discretions of the L. Maior & his Bretherne of the Citie of *London*.

And the thirde egal part of al my sayd Goods, Catalls, & Dettes, I reserve unto my self & to myn Executours, therwith to perform my legacies & bequestes herafter specyfied, that is to wyt. Fyrst, I bequeth unto my Morher in lawe, Maistres *Elizabeth Denham*, a jewel of the valew of x ponde. *Item*, I bequethe xxx pound to be distributed shortly after my decease within the sayd parysh of *Alballowes*, & in my Ward of the Toure of *London*, by the discretion of my Executours & Overseer. *Item*, I bequethe to the sayd Mayster *Robert Barnes* x pound & a Gowne. *Item*, I bequethe to *Christopher Elyot* my Servaunt x pound, to thintent that he shal instruct myn Executours saythfully & truly in al my reckenynge & busines. *Item*, I bequethe to my sayd Aunt *Agnes Hurry* a black gowne. *Item*, I bequeth to the Maister, Wardens & Felyshyp of the Drapers v ponde, for a Recreation or a Dynner amongst them that shal be in theyr Lyveres at my buryal. *Item*, I bequeth to every of my Servaunts, that shal be in my House & Service at the time of my Deceas, a gowne, not being black in any wyse. *Item*, I bequethe to the sayd *Margery* my wyfe C pound of my sayd porcion, to thintent & upon condition, that she in her Wydohode by her dede sufficiaunt in the Law, shal clearly remyt & release al her Ryght, Tytle & Interest, that she than shal have, or ought to clayme or have, by reason of her maryage unto me, to, of & in al & syngler my Lands & Tenements, & other theyr appurtenances, set, lying & being within the Countie of *Hertford*, & elsewhere within the Realm of *England*. And in case my said wyfe than refuse so to do, & not so release, that than as now, & now as than, I wyl that my sayd Legacy so made to her of the sayd C ponde, shal be voyd & of none effect. *Item*, I wyl that my sayd wyfe shal inhabit & have my House wherin I now dwel in the sayd parysh of *Alballowes*, during her wydohode; & as sone & whan as she shal be assured, or maryed to any other man, that than I wyl that the Lease & termes of yeres of, & in the same, shal be sold to the most pryce, & furderraunce that can be, to the profyt of my sayde chyl dren.

The resydue of al my Goods, Catalles & Dettes, after my Dettes payd, my funeralls expences perfourmed, & these my Legacies conteyned in this my present Testament fulfilled, I wholly gyve & bequeth to my sayd chyl dren, equally to be devided amongst them, & to be delyvered unto them accordyng as I have above wylled & declared, that theyr sayd own porcyons shal be. Provyded alwayes, & it is my very wyl, mynde & entent, that shortly after my decease, al & syngler my Wares, Stuff of Household, Plate & al other my Goods, whatsoever they be, shal be praysed by two indifferent persons to be named & sworne by the Lord Mayre of *London*, & his Bre-

therne, for the tyme being. And al & syngler the Porcyons therof, appertaining to my sayd chyldren, as wel theyr second part, as my sayd Legacy so to them made & bequethed of myn own part, immediately after the sayd appraysing, to be ordered accordyng to the Custome of the Orphanage of the Citie of *London*, by the Lord Mayre & his Bretherne.

*Item*, I wyl that the Yonge men, being free of the Felyshyp of Drapers of *London*, shal have thoccupyng of al my sayd Chyldrens Porcyons & Legacies, duryng theyr Nonnages, they puttyng in sufficient sureties therfore, according to the sayd Custome of the citie of *London*. And I wyl, & my mynde & entent is, that my sayd father in law, *Wyllyam Denham*, & *Elizabeth* his wyfe, or theyr Assignes, shal have the kepyng, governaunce, & bryngyng up of my sayd chyldren, duryng theyr Nonnages.

And of this my present Testament, I make & ordeyne the sayd *Margery* my wyfe, & my sayd father in law *Wyllyam Denham*, Citezin & Alderman of *London*, myn Executours. And I bequeth unto the sayd *Wyllyam Denham* for his labour in that behalf, xx pound & a black gowne. And of the execution of the same, I make & ordeine the sayd Mayster *Robert Barnes* Overseer. And I utterly revoke & adnulle al & every other former Testaments, Wylls, Legacies, Bequests, Executours & Overseer, by me in any wyfe before this tyme made, named, wyllled & bequethed. And I wyl, that this my present Testament, togethers with al the Legacies, Bequests, Executours & Overseer, by me herein made, wyllled & bequethed, shal stand & abyde for my very Testament, & none other, nor otherwyse. In wytnes wherof to this my present Testament & last Wyll, I the sayd *Humphray Monmouth* have set my seal: Yeven the day & yere fyrst above wryten. These Wytnesses, *Wyllyam Robyns*, Marcer, *Wyllyam Carkeke* Scryvener, *Wyllyam Strode*, Gentleman, & *Thomas Parnel*, Draper, with other.

## N U M B. XCI.

*A Brief & Short Instruction given the Curats & Clergy of the Dioces of Chichester, by Richard Sampson Bishop of the same.*

*Cleopatra,*  
E. 5. p. 294.

FOR so myche that a great part of the quietnes of Christs flock, & the right & godly maner of living according to Gods word & pleasure, with the merciful grace of Almighty God, resteth in the Maners of such as hath the Care of Souls: by whose negligence great Disorders & Dissensions are grown & encreased, to Gods high displeasure; &, by the furtherance of our ghostly Enemy, the Devil, hath caused hatred & malice so to encrease, that in the place of love & cherite, envy & wrath are planted into a great number of hearts: That sorrowful it is for any true Christen man to remember it; so that the rest of the Flock are not also without fault; As my duty is,  
I exhort



I exhort every good Christen person to remember his own faults, & not to look to myche upon the faults of the Ministers, that he regard not his own: to se a mote in another mans ey, & not a block in his own, as the Gospel teacheth in the VIIth Chapter of *Matthew*. And yet the offence is much more in the Ministers than in any other. For their Debt is greater, & hath a greater Count to render for the Charge committed unto them, & ought to be *Examples in Conversation, in Cherite, in Faith & Chastity*, as the Apostle writeth to *Timothy* in the IIII Chapter. Yet nevertheles it is to be considered, that they are Ministers appointed not by mans Authority, but by our Master Christ, & his Word. For so ought men to take them, *As Ministers of Christ, & Distributors of the Mysteries of God*, as Saint *Pol*, in his III Chapter, & his first Epistle to the *Corinths*. Therefore the People of God ought to have a Reverende respect to such as are the Ministers, Not for their Persons, but for their Office, as the Apostle teacheth in the XIII Chapter to the *Hebrews*. Discrete Ministers ought in such maner also to order themselfe in diligent using their Administration with sober, clean & honest Living, that the people might have cause the rather to exteme, love them, & have them in reverence, as the Apostle saith in the II Chapter of *Timothy*.

And therefore, to the intent that the Ministers the rather may have continual remembrance better to do their Duty, than before times divers hath don, & by their so doing, the Flock of Christs church within this Dioces may the rather, by their good example, know God, love God & their Neibours, & have them as the Ministers of Christ in the better estimation, to follow their good examples in Word & Deed, following & humbly obeying the high Commandments, Injunctions & godly intents of the Kings Majesty, our Sovereign high Governor under God, & Supreme Head of this Church of *England*, I *RICHARD*, Bishop of this Dioces of *Chichester*, humble Minister under God & the Kings said Majesty, in the name of our Lord, charge & enjoyn to every Curate within this Dioces to have in continual remembrance, & with the help of the grace of God, to accomplish these few Adviselements & Injunctions following.

First, That every one of them with al diligence fulfil, & in al points accomplish the Kings high & godly Orders, Commandments & all other Injunctions, either made & set forth, or to be made at any time; not so much for fear of the Corporal paines, appointed in the same Orders & Commandments, as for the fear of the displeasure of God, & his great punishment against al such as are Rebels & Enemies to his Word. Wherof without fail are al such as doth not obey the high Powers & Ministers of his People. The high Minister only of God in this Realm is the Kings Majesty; to whom we are so bound to obey here under God in earth, that whosoever doth not obey, he purchaseth *his own damnation*, as witneseth *S. Poll* in the XIII Chapter to the *Romans*. This is the pain that we ought to fear above al other corporal pains. For the Corporal pains destroyeth & taketh away no more than the uncertain goods, or the mortal body in this World. The other pains destroyeth body & soul into perpetual Damnation. This ought to be dreafull to every Christen person. Not only therefore under these pains al the Curats are bound, with  
a pure

a pure & sincere mind, to obey & execute the Kings high Commandments, as is abovesaid; but also every man else being a Subject, is bound to the same obedience, & under the same pains in all things, especially in following the judgment of his Highness, with such Counsel as it hath pleased the King to call unto him in his high Causes & Matters of our Religion; & in other good Orders, for the quietnes of the people, & the more due ordering of the Mysteries of Christs church. And whose is not of this mind is not only past all sobriety, discretion, humility & bounden duty to man, but also resisteth the Will & Ordinance of God, to his extreme Damnation.

And because it is so complete, so perfect, so good, that the Kings high Majesty hath put forth by his Laws & Injunctions, that nothing can be well added to the same, I exhort all Christen people by the Words of S. Paul in the 2d Chapter to the *Philippians*, That if there be in them any Consolation in Christ, that they trust of any spiritual goodnes by him; or if there be any comfort in fraternal love & cherite of one with another, if there be any succor or pleasure to be had by the fellowship of the Spirit of Christ; if there be any pity or mercy, or any good mind in afflictions of one man towards another, which are worldly Lovers; by all these as S. Paul exhorteth the *Philippians*, I require & exhort by the Word of God, all & every good Christen man & woman, to endeavor them self to accomplish the spiritual pleasure & goodnes, that the K. M. with his godly intents desireth above all things to have among his people; which is onely to be of one mind in Christs Religion, to have the same Cheritie of one with another, that they ought to have by the Will, Word & Commandment of Almighty God; not dissenting one from another, eschue & abhor all manner of Contentions & Vainglory, & with all humbleness, with heart & mind, receive the judgments & determinations set forth by the Kings Highness, & the whole Council of his Royal Parliament, or any other by his Highness. And sure it is that they that doth in any wise resist, & not humbly receive & obey to these things, either they only think to have the gift of knowledg of the truth above all others, or else of very malice & obstinate heart they refuse to obey against Gods word expressly. Which is so great a presumption of mind, that no worldly wise man can approve it, much les the humble spirit of a Christen man bound to obey the Superior Powers by Gods Word. And surely they shall have their reward accordingly, if they repent not, both in this World, as manytimes it is Gods pleasure to the example of others, or else much more grievously in another world by the dreadful judgment of God.

Secondly & Lastly, Forasmuch as that the K. M. is our Sovereign Lord, so that if there were none other cause but that only, every subject is bound by the Commandment of God to pray for his King & Prince, as the Apostle teacheth in the second Chapter of the first Epistle to *Timothy*; yet since he is so gracious a Prince, endued with such goodnes, that he hath his special study to the heavenly weal of the Souls of his Subjects, with the most Politic governance of his Common wealth, under the pains of the Censures of the Church for disobeying the Word of God, I require & charge every Priest within this Dioces, not only all other times but especially in his Mass, to have



have & say, with his heart & mind lift up to God, a special Collect for the prosperous health of his Majesty : & in the same to have a special & an expres remembrance for the Preservation of my Lord Prince, Prince *Edward*, the great inestimable jewel of this Realm : That it may please God to encrease him with health of body & godly vertue of mind, *Amen*.

And nevertheles I require & exhort also every other Christen man & woman, in the time of their prayers, to have like remembrance for his Majesty & my said Lord Prince. Which thing I require & charge every Curate diligently to move & require of the people under his Cure.

## N U M B. XCII.

*Richard Bishop of Chicester, to the L. Crumwel ; Upon an Offence taken against him for a Sermon preached at Chichester.*

**M**Y very good Lord, I recommend me unto you : & force now *Cleopatra,*  
E. 5. p. 298. constraineth me to write unto your Lordship, by reason of a report that hath been lately made & spoken abroad by divers, that you should not only not be my good Lord, but also use grievous words against me openly, & some of them much touching my poor honesty. My Lord, it grieved me not a little, & much the more, since that I knew me clear never to have offended you to my knowledg in Thought, Word or Deed. I know that ye have been my singular good Lord divers times, & in many things ; the which shal never be lost for my part to my little power. Wherefore, my Lord, I beseech you, that I may have your Advertisement, if there hath been any sinister report against me, os this World is ful of malicious tongues, that I might answer to it. And if that your Lordship think that I have offended you, I pray you, os clariety requireth, admonish me thereof, that I may know my fault to amend it, or to recompence to my power.

And os concerning mine own preaching, I wil not otherwise teach, God willing, than may be to the wealth of the Hearers, & plesure, first I should have said, to God. If there have been any sinister report of the little Sermon that I had at *Chichester*, upon our Ladies day, the *Assumption*, I shal gladly answer to it. I suppose in my little mind, I spake nothing, but that if ye had been present, ye would have been very wel content with it. And os concerning any other mans preaching that is of my Dioces, if I shal know his evil preaching, I shal endeavour me to reform him, or else to bring forth his fault, that it may be corrected in example of others. My good Lord, I shal use no fawning or dissimulation, I assure you, in these things. And where I have been partly negligent in not resorting to my Dioces so oft as I might, & ought to do, my Lord, I shal so use my self in that thing, os, I trust, shal be to the plesure of God & the Kings, & to my Lords & Friends contentation.

And

And moreover, I dare promise, that whatever shal be determined by the Kings Majesty to set forth to his People in any doctrine, that his Highnes, being my good & gracious Lord, & also that I may have this favorable assistance of your Lordship, I trust in Almighty God, that neither his Highnes, nor your Lordship shal need to have any travail for that poor Dioces. For I doubt not, God willing, to fettle them in such a sort, that if every Bishop wil so do his part, the Kings People shal be right shortly in a quietness.

Truth it is, my good Lord, that surely I am not very friendly to Novelties, except that necessity, or a great expedient cause require it. But os touching the Worshipping of Images, setting up of Candles before them, or kneeling, &c. I assure you, I trust ye shal hear shortly in my poor Dioces, that they shal know their former faults, & leave it. It was one part of my Sermon at *Chichester* upon the Feast of the *Assumption*: And I shal now send one to *Rye*, & those Parties, who shal also declare that, with other things, unto them in those Parties.

My Lord, there shal none man be more conformable, & earnest in things determined, than I shal be. And in case that any man wil lay to my charge for the favouring of the Bishop of *Rome*, or for any favor that I should bear to any maner of doctrine; os I am certainly by rumour enformed that your Lordship should have some Complainers of me, & what the *Germans* meaneth in their late Writings I know not: First, os concerning the Bishop of *Rome*, your Lordship knoweth no man to be in more obloquy among his Friends beyond the Seas, than I am \*. And my Lord, if I were a man able, or of the sort so to use my self, he is not in *England* or in *Germany*, but in that matter I durst adventure my life with him, that I am no more a Papist than he is. And os concerning other Complainers, I desire you, my Lord, at the Reverence of God, & os the Kings chief Counsellor, that I may know the specialties, & you to know my Answer, before that ye shal give credence to mine Accusers. I doubt not, & wel I know before, that some both of *Rye* & *Lewis* would complain: & yet sure I am, that neither Party hath cause, the matter wel heard. At *Lewis*, or thereabouts I never meddled. At *Rye* I think I have used them charitably, & yet do, & wil do.

\* Having written against his Authority.

My good Lord, os good Justice requireth, I pray you suspend the persuation of your mind, til that ye shal hear mine Answer to the Accusements. For I doubt not, but that I have used a Temperance, & such Moderation os no man of good Zele & Discretion, the matter wel heard, could in any wise be offended with it.

My Lord, after the King, my Sovereign Lord, he is not in *England*, whose Counsil or Advice, that I wil so follow, os onely yours. And, I assure you, I neither speak this for fear, nor for flattery; but to shew you the truth of my mind, os I suppose your Lordship knoweth to have found, & known it: & so shal know it. My Lord, I am one of those, I thank God, of such Admonitions & Afflictions in this World, that hath need to pray with *David* in the 129 Psalm, *Domine, libera animam meam a labijs iniquis, & a lingua dolosa*. But os ye have been my good Lord, so I have no doubt, but that ye wil be in my just Defence, & your accustomed goodnes towards me. And in case there is a fault, I wil grant it, & amend it: Os knoweth our Lord,



Lord, who preserve you in no less prosperous health to his pleasure, than I would that mine own Father should have, (whose Soul God pardon) if he were alive in this World. At *London*, the iiij day of Sept.

Your own assured

*Rich. Cicester.*

### N U M B. XCIII.

*The same, to the same; Concerning the Bishops of Durham, London, & Winchester's Conferences with him, concerning Traditions. From the Tower.*

**M**Y special good [Lord,] This morning hath been with me *Cleopatra,* Mr. Dr. Petre, & Mr. Bellows, by your good Lordships Com- *E. 5. p. 300.* mandment: & they have signified unto me, that my Lord of *Durham* denyeth, that he hath comforted me to lean & stick to the old Usages & Traditions of the Church. The which I have mervail that he wil do, it hath been so many & oftentimes; specially, as I have seyed, in the time of the late Bishop of *London*, when we were busied with the *Germans*, & also with the Book. And to bring it to my L. of *Durham's* remembrance, I would he should cal to his Memory, that he hath an old Book in *Greek*, & in that Book are divers things of the old Usages & Traditions of the old Church; the which divers times he caried with him to *Lambeth*: & as I went with him in his Barge, he would tel me of divers places there written for that purpose, & of divers things then used & ordained by the *Greek* Church, which were then in controversy. And in the same Book, or else in another like, there was a Form of a Mass written, whether it were of *Chrysostomes* or *Basils*, now I remember not. The late Bishop of *London* also brought other Books of *Greek*; & so they conferred togethers their Books. My L. of *Winchestre*, as I have sayd, was not then here. The comfort that he hath given me was now lately, not to fear to help things forward; for the Kings Highnes was very good Lord in them.

Truth it is, that except it were now in *Ceremonies*, in the which he wylled me to be diligent, & to leave none, but to leave that Order to the Kings Majesties pleasure, to continue or take away, which it shal please his Majesty: Else, as I have seyed, he & I have not much conferred togethers. But in divers other times yet, when we spake of old Usages, & old Traditions, he was clear in that opinion, that they were not to be broken without a great cause; & that some of them were in no wise to be broken. Os now of late I perceive both by him, & my Lord of *Rochestre*, that is one of their matters, wherein they stayed. And my L. of *Winchestre* told me, that they were al in one opinion, very few except.

K k k k

I doubt

I doubt not also but that my [Lord] of *Durham* remembreth divers times at *Lambeth*, both in the Gallery, & when we departed from my L. of *Canterbury*, how that the late Bishop of *London* wold be very earnest with me for those old Usages of the Church, & such os are called *Old Traditions*, & that my L. of *Durham* advised me to the same. These *Greek Books* were sought out only for that purpose, to set forth the old Usages & Traditions of the Church: because they were thought of Authority: & so thought I then very much, I trust wel remembred. My L. of *Durham* wil not sey otherwyse, but that he, & my late L. of *London*, were fully bent to mayntain as many of the old Usages & Traditions, as they might; & so they seyde it was necessary to do; especially, when they appeared by the *Greek Church*. And, os I remember, one special thing was, for *Praying for Souls*, & that by prayers they were delivered from pains. And in this matter was S. *Augustine* brought in for [by] both parties. And the Messe in *Greek* was brought in for that purpose. But there was in my L. of *Durham's Greek Book* for other also Usages & Orders of the Church.

My Lord also remembreth, that he, with the late Bishop of *London*, was very diligent to search out in *Greek* the old Canons, os wel such as are called *Cānones Apostolorum*, os others.

These are such special things, my good Lord, os now cometh wel to my remembrance, sufficient I trust to cal to my L. of *Durham's* memory for that purpose. If there were any thing else in my remembrance, I wold plainly write: or if any other thing shal come, I shal at al times plainly declare it.

My special good Lord, I wholly commend me to God, & to the Kings Majesties goodnes & mercy; & after them, only to your good Lordship, os mine only means: & have most cause humbly to thank you for your inestimable comfort to me, in signifying that his Highnes was & is my most gracious Lord. Which thing causeth me to bear wel other, els intolerable, troubles of mind, & surely mortal. I beseech Almighty God to preserve your good Lordship. In the Tower the 7th day of *June*.

Your good Lordships most bound,

*Rich. Cicester.*

#### N U M B. XCIV.

Philippus Melancthon. ad Regem Henricum VIII.  
*propria manu.*

*Cleopatra,*  
E. 6. p. 332.

S. D. Inclyte Rex. Postquam hoc tempore subita Legatio decreta est, hoc nomine gaudeo delectum esse hunc *Franciscum*, quo mihi nemo est conjunctior: Qui perpetuam meam observantiam erga regiam Majestatem tuam, & meam Voluntatem in re publica verissimè poterit R. Majestati Tuæ exponere. Tanta enim ejus fides est, & ita probata multis



multis Principibus viris, ut ejus de me præsertim, quem penitus novit, oratio, plurimum debeat habere ponderis. Ipse mihi testis erit, mea studia præcipuè semper ad illustrandum piam doctrinam spectasse. Nec aliud homini docto potius faciendum esse censeo. Sed in hac tanta re tamq; difficili, homines privati habent opus summorum regum atq; Ordinum auxilijs. Et R. M. T. magnam in spem erexit animos omnium doctorum ubivis gentium, non defuturam se sanctissimis votis piorum flagitantium emendationem ecclesiarum. Quid enim aliud agit factio R. Pontificis, nisi ut res optimas divinitus patefactas debeat; ut inauditam crudelitatem adversus Reges, Principes & multas nationes exerceat, ut tyrannidem infinitam, & plusquam barbaricam in Ecclesia constituat, ad defendendos impios abusus?

Quare cum tantum sit universæ ecclesiæ periculum, non desinam hortari & obtestari R. M. T. ut respiciat veram ecclesiam, velut advocatam ad gēna tua veteri Supplicum more, & ut autor esse velis constituendi in hac parte firmi consensus, & duraturi ad posteritatem; & inflectas animos cæterorum Regum, ne se ad Societatem Consiliorum Pontificiorum adjungant. Hæc res tanta est, ut videt R. M. T. major ut nulla cogitari possit. Eamq; ob causam tali Rege digna est, qui eruditione & sapientia cæteris antecellit. Profecto quisquis Regum in tanto discrimine laboranti Ecclesiæ opem tulerit, is verè Imago Dei in terris existimandus erit. Hæc etsi non dubito, quin ipse assidue cogites, tamen scribo, quod R. M. T. prodest etiam exterarum Nationum vota cognoscere, quæ optant, ut non solum *Britanniæ* tuæ, sed etiam aliarum nationum ecclesijs consulas. Ego mea studia omnia summa cum observantia R. M. Tuæ offero: Meq; & hunc *Franciscum* R. M. tuæ diligentissime commendo. Christus Opt. Max. fervet incolumem Regiam M. T. ad salutem ecclesiæ. Die Maij XII. Anno 1538.

Regiæ Majestatis tuæ

Inclyto & Sereniss. Regi Dom. *Henrico*  
Octavo, Regi *Angliæ & Franciæ*, &c.  
Principi Clementissimo.

addictissimus,

*Philippus Melancthon.*

## N U M B. XCV.

Frederichus Mychonius, ad D. Thomam Crumwellium.

**G**Ratiam & pacem a Deo patre nostro, & Domino nostro Jhesu Christo! Illustris & Magnifice Domine. Ego jam cum alijs Dominis meis Principum Oratoribus, quantum potui, causæ religionis, ad multos jam menses inserviens, tandem in tantam imbecillitatem corporis, & adversam valetudinem incidi, ut neq; si velim, ultra possim istis laboribus adesse. Exuperior enim quotidie magis magisq; morbos ingravescere & imminui vires meas; adeo ut nisi maturè ad *Germaniam* rediero, mihi sit de vita desperandum. Et quanquam etiam Medicorum sum usus consilio, tamen video me neq; illis medijs quicquam proficere.

*Cleopatra,*  
E. 5. p. 227.

Et licet paratus sim pro gloria Christi promovenda etiam omnia pati ; tamen cum in articulis & in summa doctrinæ Christianæ, eousq; progressi sumus, ut de præcipuis jam conveniat : Et quod de abusibus est reliquum, cum in eis rebus, tam verbo quam scripto, nostrorum Principum, Doctorum, Ecclesiarum, & nostram sententiam explicaverimus, & Episcopi atq; Doctores jam sententiam nostram teneant : Poterant etiam, nobis absentibus, illa expendere, & quod divinæ voluntati placitum, & ecclesiæ Dei utile esse viderint, constituere. Oro itaq; & per Dei bonitatem ac misericordiam, Illustrem Magnificentiam vestram obsecro & obtestor, ut hæc qualiacunq; officia nostra, ad quæ pro gloria Dei, & in honorem Regiæ Majestatis & vestræ Illustris Magnificentiæ promptissimi fuimus, boni consulet. Et quo ego vel mortem ipsam, vel certe valetudinis meæ gravissima pericula evadere possim, nobis illico, & quam citissimè fieri potest, a Regia Majestate gratiosam dimissionem impetret. Pro qua re, si mihi (quod futurum spero) valetudo restituetur, & vita comes fuerit, me & orando, & quibuscunq; alijs rebus potero, cum Regiæ Majestatis, tam etiam Vestræ Magnificentiæ, & communis hujus regni Salutem, apud Dom. Christum toto studio, quærere velle polliceor. Oro hoc efficiat Illustris Magnificentia vestra, quo possim prædicare & laudare apud Principes nostros, quod hoc officio Illustris Mag. vestræ & incolumitas mihi restituta, & vita servata fuerit. Dom. Jhesus Christus Illustrem Mag. vestram in laudem & gloriam nominis sui perpetuo servet, *Amen.* Dat. Londini 1538. Pridiæ Nativitatis *Mariæ.*

Excellentiss. Illustri. Mag. Vestræ S.

*Frederichus Myconius.*

Illustri. & Magnifico Domino Dno.

*Thomæ Cromwello*, Domino privati sigilli, & Domino observantissimo suo.

## N U M B. XCVI.

*Literarum Oratorum Germaniæ brevis Summa, Anglice.*

*Their Judgment concerning Abuses.*

*Cleopatra,*  
E. 5. p. 209.

**T**hey excuse themselves, that they do again, by their Letters now sent, disturb the Kings Majesty, being employed in the public cares of the Kingdom : Adding the cause why they write now : which is this. When after they had related what was given them in commandment, & that they had conferred of the Articles of the Christian Religion for two months with some Bishops & Doctors of Divinity, appointed them by the Kings Majesty ; they doubt not but a firm & perpetual Concord betwixt their Princes & the Kings Majesty, & their Bishops, Divines & Subjects would follow, in the Doctrin of the Gospel, to the Praise of God, & the ruine of the *Roman* Antichrist.

And



And because they cannot stay for the rest of the Disputation concerning *Abuses*, before they depart they think it their Duty to declare their Sentence of some Articles of *Abuses*: Which after their departure the Kings Majesty may take care, that his Bishops & Divines confer together of. They say, the purity of Doctrine cannot be conserved, unless those Abuses be taken away, that fight with the Word of God, & have produced & maintained the Tyranny & Idolatry of the *Roman* Antichrist.

They assert three particular Heads, which do uphold the foundation of the Popish Tyranny: namely, the Prohibition of both kinds in the Lords Supper: Private Mass: & the forbidding the Mariage of Priests.

They begin first with the Article *De Utraq; Specie*. They say, that the Ordination of Christ is to be preserved before humane Traditions. But he himself instituted both Kinds, when he said, *Drink ye all of it, &c.* That it is like that men, conquered with the *Roman* Popes thunders, changed the true use of the Eucharist. Which now the *German* Princes, that profess the Doctrine of the Gospel have brought back, shaking off the Popes Yoke. Who contrary to the Command of Christ, contrary to the Sentence of the holy Fathers, contrary to the custome of the antient Church, hath divided the Sacrament, & deprived the Laity of the Bloud.

*De Privata Missa*. The Mass is nothing else but a Communion or *Synaxis*, as *S. Paul* calleth it, nor was the use of it otherwise in the time of the Apostles. But a certain diverse work repugning to a Communion is thence made. Because they teach, that hereby grace is merited *ex Opere operato*, as they speak; & that the Mass takes away the sins of the living & the dead.

*Private Masses* have sustained the Papacy, as a kind of *Atlas*. By Masses the Pope brought in Indulgences. By which he hath robbed the World, & filled it with Monks, to mumble these Private Masses. By which the Pope hath extinguished the Word of God.

The *German* Princes have reduced the Communion to the old wont: Which they celebrate in the *German* language. And they appele for this to the Testimony of those that were sent by the King into *Germany*, & saw al.

In this same Epistle they lightly touched al that was written in many Volumes concerning Private Masses, that the King might know upon what good reason they had abolished them, & that they might give answer to the Calumnies of the Adversaries.

*De Conjugio Sacerdotum*. The Celibacy of Priests, they say, the *Roman* Bishop brought in against the Scripture, against the Law of Nature, against al Honesty. Concerning which *Paul* did foretel; Saying, that the Spirit manifestly spake, that in the last times some should depart from the faith, giving heed to spirits of error, & doctrines of Devils, speaking lyes in Hypocrisy, FORBIDING TO MARRY. This agrees to the Pope of Rome. That the *German* Princes, when they saw many wickednesses to arise from this Prohibition, broke the Popes bonds, & permitted free Matrimony to Priests.

Of other Abuses they are silent at present: As concerning *Auricular Confession*: wherby the Pope hath reduced the power of the Keys to a most filthy craft; & made *Confession* a mere Carnage of Consciences:  
& by

& by it held Kings & Princes under his girdle. And so, with some submissive Conclusions to the King, desiring his Answer, & praising him for his Wisdom, & the Progress he had made in Religion, & exciting him to go yet on; they made an end.

## NUM B. XCVII.

*Certain Bishops Judgments concerning Pilgrimages.*

*Cleopatra,*  
E. 5.

**T**HE Bodies of Saints, &, namely, the Relicks of holy Martyrs, are to be honoured most sincerely, as the Members of Christ. The Churches builded in their names, deputed to the Service of God, be to be gon unto with faithful & good devotion; & not to be contemned: And Pilgrimage to places where Almighty God sheweth Miracles, may be don by them that have therunto Devotion.

*Job. Bath Wellens.*

*Jo. London.*

*Job. Lincoln.*

*Cuthbert. Dunelmens.*

*W. Abbas Sti. Bndicti.*

## NUM B. XCVIII.

## PURGATORIUM.

*Latimer Bishop of Worcester, his Judgment therof. With Annotations in the margin of K. Henries own hand.*

*Cleopatra,*  
E. 5.

**M**Odicum plora super Mortuum, quoniam requievit. Eccles. ca. XXII.

\* Ergo, yet in a place. For of pain we dispute not.

† This Hugo speaketh, remembering no quietnes in this World, nor

yet til we come to Heaven, & not condemning of Purgatory.

As who say, Thy Brother is dead. If natural passion move thee to weep, yet weep but little. For if he dyed in the Faith of Christ repentantly, he is at rest. \* Ergo, in no pain of Purgatory. For where such pain is, there is no rest. For they that affirm Purgatory, affirm the pain to pass al the pain in the World. *Hugo de Vienna* upon the same place, *Potius gaudendum est, inquit, quam flendum, quia quisquis sic moritur, de labore ad requiem, de luctu ad gaudium transivit.* What rest hath he gotten, that is removed from the Stocks in *Newgate* to the Rack in the Tower?

Eccles. II. *Ubiq; Lignum ceciderit, ibi erit.* In what state a man dies, in that he shal continue without end; *Sive ad Austrum, sive ad Aquilonem*: either to Heaven or to Hel. *Non est Medium, si Hieronymo credimus: Et opera pretium fuerit legere Pellicanum.*

Aug.



Aug. *super Ps. XXXI. Beati, quorum tecta sunt peccata* \*. *Si text* \* Mark well the very Text of this.  
*peccata Deus, noluit advertere: Si noluit advertere, noluit animadvertere. Si noluit animadvertere, noluit punire, &c. Ergo, Peccata in hoc Seculo obteſta, & remiſſa, non ſunt in futuro punita. † Ergo, fruſtra-* † This Argument is well & - - -plying  
*neum eſt - - - Purgatorium.*

more to carnal wyſway, than to playnnes of the Text.

*Id. in De Ebrietate. Nemo ſe decipiat, Fratres; Duo enim loca ſunt, & tertius non eſt viſus. Qui cum Chriſto regnare non meruit, cum Diabolo abſq; ulla dubitatione peribit.* Here he had occaſion to make mention of Purgatory, if he had then known it. \*

\* Is this a ſufficient confuſion [confutation]

of Purgatory, becauſe he here, ſpeaking of Drunkennes, doth not mention of Purgatory?

Aug. *De Vanitate Seculi. Scitote verò quod cum Anima a Corpore avellitur, ſtatim aut in Paradiso, pro* \* *Meritis bonis collocatur; aut* \* Note, this Text to make  
*certè pro peccatis in Inferni Tartara præcipitatur. Ecce! quam manifeſte, quaſi ex induſtria, abſorſit Purgatorium?* againſt you in another of your Opini-

ons; & alſo, that he rather putteth a mean place between Heaven & Hel, which he calleth *Paradiſe*, [which] is a place of comfort toward Salvation.

Hieronym. *in Eccleſ. II. Ubicunq; ubi locum præparaveris, futuramq; ſedem, ſive ad Austrum ſive ad Boream, ibi cum mortuus fueris permanebis.* If S. Hierom had regarded Purgatory, there had been occaſion to \* *have made mention of it.* \* Must the Saints take occaſion to

write where you think place is for them, or where they think it meeteſt?

Hilar. *in Ps. 27. Judicij Dies vel Beatitudinis Retributio eſt æterna, vel pœna. \* Tempus verò mortis habet interim unumquémq; ſuis legibus, dum ad Judicium unumquémq; aut Abraam reſervat, aut pœna.* \* Who ever held opinion, that in or after the Day of Judgment  
*Quis hic non videt Purgatorium fore nullum?*

there was a Purgation? This Text maketh not againſt that Opinion. Therefore nothing to your purpoſe.

Cyprian. *Sermone 4to. De Mortalitate. Amplectamur diem Mortis qui aſſignat ſingulos domicilio ſuo: qui nos hinc ereptos, Paradiso reſtituit, & regno cæleſti. Cyprianus non abſtinuiſſet hic a mentione Purgatorij, ſi tale quid vel cogitaſſet.* \*

\* This your Interpretation ſheweth plain-

ly mens affections. For it is evident in Learning, that a Copulative - - - - - not eundem locum. Wherefore the contrary is rather to be gathered on this Text.

Chryſo. *in Jo. cap. Undec. Homilia 61. pag. 9. & b. Juſtus moriens cum Angelis evolabit, etiamſi nemo exequijs interveniat. Perditus autem, etſi in funere univerſam habuerit Civitatem, nihil lucrabitur. Quid aptius dici poſſit in condemnationem Purgatorij, quam quod Eruditiffimus hic dicit?* \*

\* To this Authority anſwereth this

Text of Scripture, *Juſto non eſt poſita Lex. Perdito nulla Redemptio.* So nother of theſe, wherof this Text ſpeaketh, belong to a Sinner repentant. Wherefore Purgatory may yet ſtand for all this.

Breviter multa ſunt multorum Authorum Teſtimonia, quæ demoluntur Purgatorium. Multa etiam in ejuſdem Authoribus, quæ ſonant eſſe Purgatorium. Incertum eſt negotium, neq; tutum quicquam de-

terminare,

terminare, ne incerta pro veris statuatur. Tametsi certissimum fuerit ejusmodi Purgatorium, quale trecentos jam annos creditum fuerit, non possit stabiliri. At quod ad Authoritatem Scriptorum attinet, sic *Lyranus* audet pronuntiare, *Non debet aliquem movere, quod ego recedo in hoc a dictis Hieronymi; quia dicta Sanctorum non sunt tanta auctoritatis quin liceat Sentire contrarium in his quæ non sunt per sacram Scripturam determinata.\**

\* Non solum suo sensu adhærente tamen.

Unde dicit *Aug.* in Ep. ad *Vincentium*, De Scripturis Sanctorum Doctorum: *Hoc genus Scripturarum a Canonicis Scripturis distinguendum est. Non enim ex eis sic Testimonia perferuntur, ut contrarium sentire non liceat. Hactenus Lyranus.*

Et hoc est apud *Hieronym.* & reliquos Authores vulgatissimos, quod quicquid citra Scripturas asseritur, eadem facilitate rejicitur, qua admittitur. \*

\* Hoc ergo sit intelligi debet, quod quicquid Ecclesia receperit, id rejicere potuit; sed non quisquis sua sponçe prædicando.

As touching Purgatory, I might, by way of Disputation, reason this against it. God is more enclined to Mercy than to Justice. He executeth Justice upon these that be dampned, Mercy upon these that be saved. - But they that be dampned, as soon as the Soul is separate from the body, goeth strait to Hel. Ergo, if God be more enclined to Mercy them that be saved as soon as the Soul is out of the Body, goeth by & by to Heaven. Of these there is no Purgatory \*?

\* This is a false Argument, & also a wrong Example.

For God is as merciful & indifferent in this World to him that may be damned, as to him that may be saved: Yet the obstinacy of the man lets not, whereby one may perceive that his Justice & Mercy dependeth on the Wil of the Creature, & as you; in a Text before, alledge, the Merits of the Person.

The Founding of Monasteries, argued Purgatory to be: So the putting of them down, argueth it not to be. What uncharitableness & cruellness seemeth it to be to destroy Monasteries, if Purgatory be? Now it seemeth not convenient the Act of Parliament to preach one thing, and the Pulpit another clean contrary. \*

\* Why then do you? *Turpe enim est doctori, cum culpa redarguit ipsum.*

## N U M B. XCIX.

*King Henry VIII. his Confutation, writ by his own hand, of the sense of two places of Scripture, alledged against Purgatory, in the former Writing.*

*Cleopatra, E. 5.*

**V***Bicūq; lignum ceciderit, ibi erit.* This Text it self, speaking of but one stick, doth not deny Purgatory; nor the example of a dead stick can wel, without great forceing of, be attribute to a Soul repentant, not yet having his full judgment. And if you wil turn it to a lively stick, then it seemeth me, that it wil make much against your purpose. For a lively stick may chance, with falling, to grow, though not suddenly, & so come to some perfection of his fruits.



fruits. So may the Soul of man by this Example, departing hence to Purgatory in right Faith, grow toward his perfection, abiding the day of Judgment.

*Beati quorum, &c. Jesus!* How do you descant on this Psalm, & also on *S. Augustin*, when you would make Folk believe, that this was meant against Purgatory, when the very Text declareth nothing, but the Beatitude & Hopefulness of them that hath their Sins hid & forgiven? Herein do you shew your carnal Wit; which in preaching you dispraise so much.

## N U M B. C.

*Some short Notes, drawn up by K. Henries own Pen;  
Concerning Priests Mariage.*

**D***Escriptio Clerici* è Græco secundum *Jeronimum*. *Cleopatra,*  
E. 5. p. 124. b.  
*Cleros* Græcè, Latinè *Sors* appellatur. Propterea Cleri dicuntur, quia de sorte Domini sunt, vel quia Dominus Sors Clericorum est. At iste se talem exhibere [debet] ut possideat Dominum, & ipse possideatur a Domino, &c.

*Descriptio Sacerdotis.* Est autem Sacerdos is qui Deo dicatus est ad sacrificia faciendâ; à quo Sacerdotium ipsum Sacerdotis munus, officium.

*Descriptio Voti.* Est autem *Votum* alicujus boni, cum deliberatione, Deo facta, promissio.

Nota dictum *Pauli* ad *Timotheum*. *Nemo, militans Deo, impedit se negotijs secularibus; ut ei placeat, cui se præbuerit.*

Qui *Presbyter* est, & probare & probari debet ante adeptum officium, etsi Deo dicatus sit. Quare non debet implicere [implicare] se negotijs sæcularibus. Denuo, Matrimonium est negotium sæculare; ex quo Scriptura prohibet presbyteris matrimonium finire. Quod approbat *Chrysostomus* scribendo ad *Theodorum*. *Athanasius, Hieronymus.*

De Voto, & Fide irrita.

De Irreprehensibilitate.

Unusquisq; ergo in quo vocatus est, in hoc maneat apud Deum.

Solutus es ab uxore? Noli quærere uxorem.

Volo autem vos sine solitudine [solicitudine] esse.

N. Episcopum irreprehensibilem esse oportere.

## N U M B. CI.

Philippus Melancthon ad Regem Henricum VIII.

**S.** D. Serenissime & Inclyte Rex: *Franciscus* \* noster rediens, cum *Cleopatra,*  
heroicas virtutes tuas amplissimè prædicavit, tum vero etiam fin- E. 5. p. 239.

\* *Franciscus* nempe Burgratus, Vicecancellarius Electoris Saxonie Orator.

gularem erga me benevolentiam Celsitudinis tuæ mihi exposuit : Quam etsi antea Celsitudo Tua non obscuris signis declaravit, tamen gaudebam ab hoc, quem tanquam alterum me esse censeo, sermones mihi tuos amantissimos perferri. Itaq; cum de studijs nostris amanter sentias, reverenter me C. T. commendo. Simul autem commendo C. T. publicam causam Christianæ Relligionis. Scit enim C. T. præcipuum hoc officium esse summorum Principum, propagare & tueri cælestem doctrinam. Propter hoc muneris impertit eis Deus societatem nominis sui. Opto autem, ut antea sæpe scripsi, consensum piæ doctrinæ constitui in ijs Ecclesijs omnibus, quæ *Romani* Episcopi tyrannidem & impietatem damnat. Hic consensus gloriam Dei illustraret, & profuturus esset ad cæteras nationes invitandas, & retinendam tranquillitatem Ecclesiarum. Jam sæliciter cæpit C. T. e medio tollere quasdam nefarias superstitiones. Quæso igitur ut reliquorum abusu emendationem suscipiat. Non obicurum est, quid moliantur Adversarij, sed doctrinam quam profitemur, nunquam opprimunt. Eritq; Deus Custos Politiarum nostrarum & Principum. Qui semper sic adfecti fuerunt, ut pacem mallent, etiam publica tranquillitatis causa. Sed tamen si hostes arma cepèrint, non licet nostris deesse suo officio. Sæpe autem mihi venit in mentem inscriptionis Nomismatum Régis *Edvardi* : in qua sunt hæc Verba, *Jesus autem transibat per medium eorum*. Significavit enim haud dubiè Rex sapiens, divinitus tegi gubernatores Reipub. si justas causas defendant. Ac vero illud præcipuè est Heroicum, pro Ecclesia contra Tyrannos arma gerere. Fertur *Ajax* interrogasse *Achillem*, quos Labores omnium maximos & difficillimos sustinuisset. Huic respondit *Achilles*, susceptos pro amicis. Cùmq; rursus *Ajax* interrogaret, Quos sustinuerit jucundissimos : respondit *Achilles*, Eisdem. Significavit Heroico Viro, Nihil esse jucundius, quam asperrimas res gerere pro communi salute ; eùmq; quanquam ingentes sustinentem ærumnas, tamen ipsa Virtute delectari. Tanta in illis magnitudo animi erat, etiam si non tenebant veram Dei notitiam. Quanto magis Christianos Principes decet pro Ecclesia suscipere pericula & labores, cum sciant se divinitus ad hoc munus vocatos esse, & cælestia præmia pro his certaminibus proposita esse. Quare non desinam adhortari C. T. ut & recte consulere Ecclesijs pergat, & resistendum esse Tyrannidi & violentis adversariorum consilijs, statuatur. Bene & sæliciter valeat Cels. T. Die Martij 26. Anno 1539. *Francofurti*.

Regiæ Majestati Tuæ addictissimus,

*Philippus Melancthon.*

NUM B.



## N U M B. CII.

Ph. Melancthon, *ad Regem Henricum.*

S. D. Sereniss. & Inclyte Rex. Etsi videor ineptus Interpellator, tamen *Francisco* istuc proficiscenti dedi Literas, non quod illi commendatione opus esse arbitrarer, præsertim publico nomine venienti, sed quod meum testimonium sui perpetui studij erga Regiam M. T. adferre cupiebat. Adfirmo igitur *Franciscum* tuas laudes, cum in publicis concilijs, tum in privatis congressibus, magna fide & constantia, prædicare solere, easq; sententias, quæ ad ornandam tuendamq; dignitatem tuam pertinent, magna cura adjuvare. Hæc verè a me scribi testes esse possunt multi gravissimi Viri. Quæ quidem significanda esse duxi Regiæ M. T. quia ijs, qui præsumt Reip. prodest nosse Voluntates hominum non simulatas. Est autem *Franciscus*, cum in omni vita amans veritatis, tum vero in dicenda sententia maxime rectus & ingenuus. Porro inter laudes Regis *Ptolomei*, hanc quoq; Poeta *Theocritus* recenset: quod veros amicos a fucatis discernere solitus sit. Complectetur ergo R. M. T. *Franciscum*, ita ut statuatur eum ex animo optime velle Regiæ Majestati Tuæ.

Cleopatra,  
E. 5.

Negotia quæ adfert pertinent ad communem salutem Ecclesiæ, & ad conservationem piæ doctrinæ. Nec vero alia ulla causa honestior incidere potest, quæ dignior sit Regia propugnatione, quàm piæ doctrinæ Defensio. Quare, oro, ne ei desit R. M. T. Erit & ad cætera consilia opportunius, si citò istic res confectæ erunt. Hæc ut scriberem ad R. M. T. non impudentiâ, sed quadam officij ratione, & singulari observantiâ Regiæ M. T. adductus sum. Quæ ut boni consulat, Oro. Deus servet R. M. T. incolumem & florentem. X Aprilis, 1539.

Regiæ M. T. addictissimus,

*Philippus Melancthon.*

## N U M B. CIII.

The Duke of Saxony, & Landgrave of Hesse, to the King;  
Concerning those Matters, which *Christopher Mount* &  
*Thomas Panel*, the Kings Messengers, related to them, by  
the Kings Command.

The Answer of John Frederic, by the benefit of God, Duke  
of Saxony, Elector of the Sacred Roman Empire, & of  
Philip, by the divine Benefit, Landgrave of Hesse, Earl of  
L I I I 2 the

Cleopatra,  
E. 6. P. 285.

*the Hassians, &c. to those Matters, which Christopher Mount & Thomas Panel, Agents of K. Henry VIII. our friend & most dear Cousin, expounded to us by the said King of Englands commandment.*

**B**Y your Oration, we understand first, the singular & exceeding good Will of the most Serene King of *England* towards us. Which was most welcome to us both upon our own private account, & because of the public benefit of the Church. For it is very convenient, that Kings should, together with us, take on them the common care of Reforming the Churches, & advancing the glory of Christ.

We pray therefore, that ye signify to the K. M. in our name, & present to him our Services with the greatest Observance.

Next, In relating the Cause why ye were sent unto us, namely, a Report. caried of the *Pacification* : Wherefore the King was concerned to enquire concerning the Conditions of the Peace ; Whether we were about to make some Alterations, in the Doctrine & Rites of our Churches, & would yield some things to the Bishop of *Rome* : Specially, when the Emperor was reported to have said, that he hoped the *German* Princes would not decline his Authority in the Cause of Religion ?

Altho we doubt not, many of our Adversaries have divers wayes attempted to alienate the minds of the most Serene King of *England* from us in the common Cause of the Church ; Yet when we have so often signified to him by his Ambassadors & Orators, & lastly by our own, that we, by the grace of God, would be constant in so great a Cause, as became Christians & Princes, & would never cast off the pure & Catholic Doctrine of the Gospel, which we profess, nor receive the Tyranny, nor Rites of the Bishop of *Rome* : We wonder whence this Doubt of us should arise in the mind of the most Serene King : & we very much desire, that the most Serene King would, in things that concern our selves, sooner believe us, than our Adversaries.

For altho we always valued Peace, as becometh Princes that love their Country ; & we have often defended it with our Armes, together with other Princes of *Germany*, with whom we have been joyned by so many Bonds of Kindred & Covenants : & that we ought to reverence the Emperor, & we have obeyed him in the Common weal, & in those Causes which pertain to the Empire ; Yet this was always resolved by us to retain the Profession of the truth, & not to reproch the Gospel of Christ, since he teacheth, that this Worship of God is necessary, & the chiefeft of al things, Saying, *He that shal Confes me before men, him wil I confes before my heavenly Father.*

Hitherto, such hath been the Moderation of the Emperor, that altho the Faction of the Bishop of *Rome* hath often endeavoured to incite him to take up war against us, yet he would not be the Minister of anothers cruelty. Therefore both our Duties do as yet appear towards the Emperor ; & we have always taken care, that it might appear,



pear, that we love the common Peace & Tranquillity, & desire to defend it. Of which there are many illustrious testimonies.

Nor are we ignorant, the Commonwealth being once moved, cannot easily be allayed again. Wherefore we have hitherto dissembled many injuries brought upon us by our Adversaries. And altho we have been with great grief Beholders of Parricides, which the Adversaries every where commit; who most unjustly put to death Pious men & Christs Members, & exercise a greater cruelty, than that of *Nero*, & the rest after him, was at *Rome*; yet we have been quiet, nor thought convenient to take up Armes. Nevertheless neither fear nor favour of any one draweth us away from the pure Doctrin of the Gospel, which we profess, since we know it is the true Doctrin of Christ, which the Catholic & Apostolic Church delivered. In this Opinion, by the Grace of God, we have wholly determined to persist: & we beseech God to confirm us, & to over-rule dangers. For he is the Defender & Governour of his Church.

When our Ambassadors were returned out of *England*, they related, among other things, how the same thing was objected to them, that doubt was made of our Constancy. But tho we hoped they answered gravely, as they rehearsed to us; yet these things we now repeat, that a testimony might remain with the King, signed by us: that he might not doubt of our Constancy.

That, after the return of our Ambassadors, we wrot not back presently, happened upon this account; because, in the very juncture of their coming home, some of our Enemies did practise against us a Civil war, & a wicked Robbery. We therefore deferred our Answer, being taken up in the care of repressing it. Nor could we write any thing of the Pacification, which happened suddenly, & was uncertain; & we heard of no Conditions.

But the Declaration of our Ambassadors was full of the praises of his Serene Majesty, & shewed ample hope of the Amendment of the Churches. They mentioned many illustrious significations of the Serene Kings good wil towards us, & his mervellous kindnes towards Ours. But especially they declared his Wil for the restoring of the Purity of Doctrin in the Churches, & abolishing Abuses.

In answer to this, We thank the most Serene King, that he hath such a loving sence of us, & so graciously embraceth Ours. And we exhort him as much as we can, that he go on to consult for the Churches, & to restore the true Worship for the Glory of Christs sake. For he understandeth, according to his Wisdom, that this Duty is chiefly incumbent upon Kings: & having thrust down the *Roman* Antichrist, the Author & Patron of Error, he sheweth that he wil correct the Impieties that arose, or was confirmed by the Bishop of *Rome*. And he hath begun that Amendment. He hath set over some of the Churches learned & godly Teachers: Who may recal the people to the acknowledgment of Christ, to true Invocation, & the Duties that are acceptable to God; exploding the Superstitions. He hath overthrown some Images & Idols, which the people impiously worshiped.

And tho many both Bishops & Kings, ignorant of true Religion, judge otherwise of these Deeds; yet godly men know they have more  
of

of true praise, than the most celebrated Triumphs. As by the Voice of the Prophets, King *Josaphat*, & other good Princes were not less spoke of for their taking away Idols, than for their famous Victories, which God gave them; invited so to do by this their Piety, that they abolished Fanatical & monstrous Superstitions.

Lastly, We hear, that the most Serene King, in his late Proclamation, did promise his People the Emendation of the rest of the Ecclesiastical Abuses. Wherefore we gratulate this Mind to him & his Christian State; & exhort him, as much as we may, being of his own accord incited, that he look upon the Churches layd waste by false Doctrin, for the Avarice & Ambition of the *Roman* Bishops, & revive them; & Brighten again Religion, now almost wholly razed & extinguished. And so he shal effect a perfect Deliverance of the Churches from the Tyranny of the Bishops of *Rome*, if by his own Authority he take away impious Rites, raised & established by the said Bishop of *Rome*. This we think convenient to mention; not that we doubt of the Wil of the most Serene King, but because we fear ever, that there be there some Bishops much addicted to the inveterate Opinions of the Bishops of *Rome*: Whose Morosity is an Impediment to this Consulting for the Churches. And by their Sentence we think it came to pas, that to that Proclamation was added a somewhat hard Confirmation of certain vitious or unprofitable Rites: Which yet, we hope, the most Serene King wil mitigate. For we understand, that many things were put into that Proclamation, which indeed do not agree with those Articles, which our Men have conferred with the Bishops & Divines of the Kings Majesty about; & which, in our Judgments, do not vary from the right Doctrin of Religion. For vitious *Traditions* offend the light of the Gospel. And this Asperity deterreth the Weak from the purer Doctrin: It proposeth other Worship than is delivered by God, & taketh away Authority from the rest.

*Augustin* complaineth, that *Traditions* did so encrease in his time, that now the Service of the Church was harder than that of the *Jews*. How much sadder wil the Service be, if vitious Constitutions be armed with Corporal punishments; Whence a bitter time would ensue towards the Good & Godly. From which we hope the Wil of the most Serene King doth abhor. Wherefore for the glory of Christ, & that Godly men may be spared, we wish the Churches to be constituted according to the Rule of the Gospel. Which, if it were, our Agreement would be good & beneficial for the Universal Church; & the Example would invite other Nations.

Concerning an Embassy, in which the Kings Majesty desireth, that some excellently learned men might be sent to him, for a further Disputation; it cannot now be resolved, for such Causes especially, as we have partly signified to the King, & partly have understood by the very circumstances of the Times. And let the King take this in good part. We judge the Opinion of our Men is sufficiently known to the Serene King, & the Learned in *England*, as wel by our Confession, as by those Disputations, which the Ambassador of the most Serene King three years ago\*, & lately the *English* Bishops, had with our Men, sent thither.

\* Anno 1536.



Nor let the Most Serene King think, that we wil cast off the Opinion, which hitherto we have defended, nor wil we suffer, that any of Ours should become Approvers of a contrary Sentence.

And we understand there, that our Articles of the *Mas*, of the Use of the *whole Sacrament* of the Lords Supper, & of the *Celibate*, be stil called into Question: Wherby how much Danger we sustain sufficiently appeareth. Which indeed we should not draw upon our selues, did we not understand, that what we profess is commanded by God: Nor are the Things obscure of themselves.

Of the *Supper* of the Lord the Appointment of Christ, is wel known: Which hath endured many Ages in the Church. Afterward another new Custome was received by the negligence of the Bishops, & confirmed by the Tyranny of the Bishop of *Rome*.

And the Command of *Wedlock* is extant: & the Law concerning the *Celebacy* is exasperated by the Bishop of *Rome*, against the Antient Authority. There be extant clear Testimonies of Antient Writers, which shew, there were no private *Masses* for some Ages, when Religion was more pure. And alwayes some were admitted in the Service of the Church to communicate in the Sacrament. That Custom, agreing with the Ordinance of Christ, is a weighty & firm testimony of our Opinion.

Since therefore God would have the Worship observed or retained, which was instituted with his Command, we have judged this Custom instituted in the Church, & in the purer Church observed, to be necessarily embraced.

These things we have repeated, that the King might not think we doubt of our Opinion, or wil grant, that our Men should approve of any thing contrary. And we wish, that our Lord *Jesus Christ* govern the Breast & Counsils of the most Serene King, to the common Welfare of the Church, & to protect & keep him.

Concerning the *Pacification* here treated of, & of the Articles, which were explained to us by the Kings Ambassadors, when we heare them the second time, we shal signify our Opinion by those we now send to him. And these things we thought good to serve for answer to the King. And we present our Duties with the highest deference: & we most diligently commend our selves to him, as our most dear Cozin & Lord. Dated at *Frankford*, the 4 April *An. Dom. MDXXXIX.*

#### N U M B. CIV.

*The Lord Crumwel, to the King; Upon the coming of some Ambassadors from the Protestant Princes of Germany.*

**P**Leaseth it your most Noble Majesty, After my very bounden duty right honorably remembered with most hearty & effectuous Thanks for your gracious Benignity extended upon me infinite wayes; & now in special for your facil acceptation of mine Absence, & comfortable gracious

*Cleopatra,  
E. 5. P. 172.*

gracious words; To understand, that yesterday about noon arrived to me hither your Majesties Servants, Mr. *Christopher Mount* & Mr. *Paynel*: And shewed unto me, that the Duke of *Saxony* hath sent hither to your Highnes his Vicechancellor, *Burgart*; & the *Landisgrave*, a Gentleman of his of good experience, that can speak sundry languages, & hath been oftentimes sent to sundry Princes in Message, as he is now to your Grace.

At their Departure from *Frankford*, the Assembly was not as yet dissolved, nor full Conclusion taken thereupon: albeit some thought, that it would come to the point of an Abstinence of any Molestation on both parties for 18 months, or so. The said *Burgart* & his *Collega*, with four other Persons in their company, arrived hither also yesterday; & were brought by the said *Christopher* to *Jenyngs*, Sergeant to your Graces Pastory House: there to remain for such time, till they may be otherwise better provided of better lodging. I have not as yet, for mine Indisposition, spoken to them. But by your Graces Servant I can perceive, that the *Landgrave* & *Duke* also, do continue still in their loving & friendly observation towards your Majesty, very joyous of your Graces Alliance & Confederation, if it shall please your Highnes to enter with them. And so concerning the same point, their Orators be sent hither at this time. But what their Instructions do bear, your Graces Servants be not made privy of: Howbeit they think, that they will require Concord in Doctrine, & mutual help of Defence, in case of Invasion, with indifferent conditions of Reciproque.

And as for the first point, the said *Landgrave* grieveth to find that part of your Graces Proclamation somewhat strange: Wherin thus it is spoken *De Conjugio Sacerdotum*: Saying, that the same was against the true Doctrine of the *Votes*, which they professed. And hereupon also *Melancthon* hath written unto me, that he hath seen that Proclamation, wherein certain evil Doctrines be forbidden, & also certain true Doctrines, which they profess in *Alemayn De Votis* & *De Conjugio*: but that he hoped, for as much as in the said Proclamation your Highnes promiseth to abolish Abuses, that your Gr. shall consider the same more exactly, & at the last mitigate the same.

They have, as Mr. *Christopher* saith, been earnestly in hand with him for the same point. Who answered, that altho he knew not your Graces Considerations in that behalf, yet he might well affirm, that your Highnes is not so scrupulous in the matter *De Votis*; & that sundry Nuns & Religious Women have been discharged out of their Houses with honest Pensions, during their Lives, & not forbidden, but suffered to marry. But as for *Priests*, he thinketh the Cause of the Prohibition was; because they might preach the Word of God: & that it was thought the Common people, as yet weak in the knowledge of the Word, & of other things, might thereby conceive an Opinion of Concupiscence in them; & by reason thereof condemn their Preaching, & the Word of God. But what your Gr. would do afterward, when the People shall wax strong, & able to eat solid Meat,



Meat, he answered, he could not define, nor judg : but that he doubted not, but your Gr. did nothing without good Cause & Reason, & with great Consideration. With the which Answer the said *Landgrave*, & others, were marvellously satisfied. So that, as it is to be thought, they wol not much stick to that Point.

*Melancthon* further writeth unto me his Opinion of your Graces Bishops by these Words : *Multi ubiq; hoc tempore astute cogitatis interpretationibus excusant Abusus, aut leniunt : ut arte stabiliant eos : Sicut fit in libro, Coloniae edito, cui titulus est Enchiridion. Hanc Sophisticam perniciosam Ecclesia video imitari Mitratos apud vos. Sed cavendum est, ne hac Sophistica rursus obruatur Veritas. Nam ad Tranquillitatem durabilem etiam simplex Veritas utilior est.* This is the effect of *Melancthon's* Letter to me.

The Duke of *Saxon*, concerning the Mariage of your Graces Person, hath exhorted the Duke of *Cleves* to go through without any difficulty. But as yet his Councel is not returned from *Frankford*. And they trust shortly to meet together. At which time the matter shal be resolved for their part.

The Duke & *Landgrave* do much desire the Expedition of their Orators, & that they may be not long detained here. For they need to employ them also about other Affaires. Wherefore I would be glad to know your Graces pleasure & determination about their Audience or Acces to your Highnes.

I understand by your said Servants, that the League *Evangelick* is always stedfast & constantly set to byde in their opinion; yea, & rather to dy than relent : & that they look that shortly the one part must have the upper hand, or the other. For they think *Antichrist* & the Devil wol not sleep, but ever practise to overcome the *Evangelick* Sort, which is now strong. And the things be so far gone, that either the *Evangelicks* must destroy the Papists, or else the Papists them. As we trust it shal no more be in their power, than it is in the Devils power to overcome Christ, the very Protector of the Gospel. I am assured these Orators coming shal be very formidable to the Bishop of *Rome*, & to others of his Adherents also. For doubtles, if your Majesty shal happen to joyn with them, the Papists in my judgment shal be half in dispair. *Christopher* hath confirmed the same, that he wrot afore, that the Emperor above al things desired of them, that they should receive none other Persons in that League; & that therupon hath been in their Diet the great striking at : As I am assured your Graces said Servants may declare unto your Highnes. And also, how they have seen the Fleet returned to *Zealand*, & that al the Ships shal be dismist, & his Artillery discharged, & layd a land.

I am fory that I am not in the case, that I might attend to do service to your Majesty, as my duty & desire is. This night I have had ill rest. This is the day of the Acces of my Fit. If I can escape it,

M m m m

I hope

I hope to be soon recovered. If it shal continue, then yet I wil do my best to overcome it the soonest I can. For I think the time very long, til I be better able to serve your Majesty. Whose Honor & Prosperity to encrease, I beseech Almighty God, with continuance of health & long life. From *London* this xxiiij April.

Your Majesties most humble & obedient

Subject & Servant,

*Thomas Crumwell.*

N U M B. CV.

*Erasmus Sarcerius ad Regem Henricum.*

Cott. Librar.

**G**Ratiam & pacem a domino nostro Jesu Christo. Serenissime Rex, Cum paucis abhinc diebus, jussu Illustris Principis *Gulielmi Nassoviensis*, Domini mei Clementissimi, *Francofordiæ* venissem; reperi ibidem apud Dominum *Philippum Melancthonem*, tuæ Serenitatis Legatos, viros & doctrina & morum integritate spectabiles: Qui cum inter cætera audirent nomen meum, quæsierunt num Ego essem *Erasmus* ille *Sarcerius*, qui *Methodum* in præcipuos scripturæ locos edidisset. Respondi me illum esse. Quare statim occæperunt mihi significare, meam *Methodum*, Serenitatis Tuæ mandato, in Linguam *Anglicam* esse versam, & jam *Anglicè* loqui. Præterea addiderunt, ut si vellem Serenitati Tuæ scribere, se curaturos, quo Literæ meæ ad Tuam Serenitatem deferrentur. Ego quanquam diu annuere noluerim admonitioni, quippe meo pede metiens me; hoc est, Considerans & imperitiam meam, & imparis eruditionis vires, quibus possem Tuæ Serenitati satisfacere, quæ tanto ingenio est prædita, ut illo nihil neq; acutius neq; sublimius sit, cum in Sapiendo, rum in judicando: Tamen audita tandem Tuæ Serenitatis clementia in omnes studiosos, & sinceræ religionis amatores, scribere cœpi indoctis meis scriptis, Tuæ Serenitati humiliter me commendans: Cui si videro mea placere, porro curabo, ut T. S. brevi locos meos Communes methodice congestos, auctiores accipiat, additis simul pluribus locis, & maxime vitiorum vocabulis, quibus [quorum] scriptura mentionem facit. Et quia in S. T. regnis vera religio jam plantatur, idcirco pro gloria Dei, & utilitate hominum, mitam & Postillam in Evangelia Dominicalia, & Festivalia; item in Epistolas Dominicales, & Festivales, Tuæ S. inscriptam. Deus servet Regiam T. M. ad Evangelij gloriam & pacem Ecclesiæ salvam ac incolumem. *Francofordiæ*, 10 Martij, Anno 1539.

*Erasmus Sarcerius.*

T. S. A.

N U M B.



## N U M B. CVI.

*Places appointed for the new intended Bishops Seats. Being  
al of K. Henries own Hand Writing.*

| <i>Counties.</i>      | <i>Bishopricks to<br/>be made.</i> |
|-----------------------|------------------------------------|
| <b>E S S E X</b>      | — <i>Waltham</i>                   |
| <b>Hertford</b>       | — <i>Saynt Albony's</i>            |
| <b>Bedfordshire</b>   | — <i>Dunstable</i>                 |
| <b>Buckyngham-</b>    | } <i>Newenham</i>                  |
| <b>shire</b>          |                                    |
| <b>Oxford</b>         | } <i>Elvestone</i>                 |
| ☞                     |                                    |
| <b>Barkshire</b>      | } <i>Ofnay</i>                     |
| ☞                     |                                    |
| <b>Northampton</b>    | } <i>&amp;</i>                     |
| ☞                     |                                    |
| <b>Huntyng.</b>       | } <i>Tame</i>                      |
| <b>Mydelfex</b>       |                                    |
| <b>Lecestre</b>       | } <i>Peterburrow</i>               |
| ☞                     |                                    |
| <b>Rowtland</b>       | } <i>Westminster</i>               |
| <b>Glocestershire</b> |                                    |
| <b>Lancafter</b>      | } <i>Leycester</i>                 |
|                       |                                    |
| <b>Suffolk</b>        | } <i>Saynt Peters</i>              |
| <b>Stafford</b>       |                                    |
| ☞                     | } <i>Fontayne</i>                  |
| <b>Salop</b>          |                                    |
| <b>Nottingham</b>     | } <i>&amp;</i>                     |
| ☞                     |                                    |
| <b>Darby</b>          | } <i>Tharchdeaconry</i>            |
|                       |                                    |
| <b>Cornwal</b>        | } <i>of Rychemond.</i>             |
|                       |                                    |
|                       | — <i>Bury</i>                      |
|                       | } <i>Shrewsbury</i>                |
|                       |                                    |
|                       | } <i>Welbec</i>                    |
|                       |                                    |
|                       | } <i>Worsop &amp;</i>              |
|                       |                                    |
|                       | } <i>Turgarton</i>                 |
|                       |                                    |
|                       | } <i>Lanceston</i>                 |
|                       |                                    |
|                       | } <i>Bedmynne</i>                  |
|                       |                                    |
|                       | With another.                      |

*Placys to be alteryd according Cleopatra,  
to our Devise, which have Sees E. 4. P. 304. b.  
in them.*

**C** Hryst Chyrche in Canterbury.  
Saynt Swytynnys [ in Win-  
chester. ]

*Elye.*

*Durhame.*

*Rocheſter, with a Part of Lydes.*

*Worceſter.*

*And al other having the ſame.*

*Placys to be alteryd in Colleges  
& Scolles.*

*Worly.*

*Burton upon Trent.*

*So they ſtand in the Kings MS.  
according to the placing &  
ſpelling: Not ſo correct in  
the Transcript thereof, in the  
Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. I.  
p. 262.*

## NUMB. CVII.

*A Table drawn up, in order to the founding new Deanries, & Colleges in divers Places: With the Endowments of the Bishops of the respective Sees.*

| <i>Upi supra.</i> Al under this Co-<br>lume is added<br>by the Kings<br>Hand: being<br>Persons by him<br>nominated. | <i>Decanatus &amp;<br/>Collegia.</i>                                           | <i>Valor.</i> |    |        | <i>Unde pro<br/>portione<br/>Episcopi.</i> |   |   |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|----|--------|--------------------------------------------|---|---|
| <b>H</b> ilby [ <i>Thirlby</i><br>perhaps ]                                                                         | Westminster                                                                    | 2859          | 16 | 0 ob.  | 804                                        | 0 | 0 |
|                                                                                                                     | Winchester                                                                     | 1411          | 16 | 10     |                                            |   |   |
|                                                                                                                     | Worcester                                                                      | 1265          | 19 | 11 ob. |                                            |   |   |
| <i>Quondam Abbas</i>                                                                                                | Peterborough                                                                   | 1189          | 9  | 10 ob. | 333                                        | 6 | 8 |
|                                                                                                                     | <i>cum portione<br/>pro Episcopo</i>                                           |               |    |        |                                            |   |   |
| <i>Quondam Tewoke-<br/>bury</i>                                                                                     | Gloucester <i>cum<br/>portione Epif-<br/>copi</i>                              | 1074          | 5  | 5 ob.  | 333                                        | 6 | 8 |
|                                                                                                                     | Durham                                                                         | 1739          | 5  | 4      |                                            |   |   |
|                                                                                                                     | Thorneton Col-<br>legium                                                       | 561           | 15 | 5      |                                            |   |   |
|                                                                                                                     | Burton Collegium                                                               | 508           | 15 | 8      |                                            |   |   |
|                                                                                                                     | Crystchurche                                                                   | 2582          | 3  | 11 ob. |                                            |   |   |
| <i>Doctor Heth</i>                                                                                                  | Rocheſter <i>cum<br/>Ledes</i>                                                 | 800           | 5  | 1      |                                            |   |   |
|                                                                                                                     | Carlehyll                                                                      | 653           | 4  | 10 ob. |                                            |   |   |
| <i>Quondam Abbas</i>                                                                                                | Oseneſey <i>cum<br/>Taine</i>                                                  | 1158          | 0  | 7      | 333                                        | 6 | 8 |
|                                                                                                                     | Ely                                                                            | 1015          | 1  | 5 ob.  |                                            |   |   |
| <i>Suffragan de Gyf-<br/>born, Robt. Purje-<br/>glove</i>                                                           | Chester                                                                        | 1216          | 3  | 7 ob.  | 333                                        | 6 | 8 |
| <i>Dr. Day.</i>                                                                                                     | Dunſtable                                                                      | 1140          | 17 | 3      | 333                                        | 6 | 8 |
| <i>Wylſon</i>                                                                                                       | Colcheſter                                                                     | 1003          | 0  | 5      | 333                                        | 6 | 8 |
| <i>Henrico Manwell<br/>Paulo Buſhe</i>                                                                              | Saynt Auſtyns<br>in Briſtow                                                    | 1003          | 0  | 5      | 333                                        | 6 | 8 |
| <i>Jhon Bouchier of<br/>Leyceſter quon-<br/>dam Abbas</i>                                                           | Shrewſbery                                                                     | 1003          | 0  | 5      | 333                                        | 6 | 8 |
| <i>Dr. Treſham</i>                                                                                                  | Bodmyn <i>cum<br/>Lanceſton</i>                                                | 1003          | 0  | 5      | 333                                        | 6 | 8 |
| <i>Dr. Cocks</i>                                                                                                    | Southwel [ <i>in<br/>Nottingham-<br/>ſhire</i> ] <i>in loco<br/>Fountayne.</i> | 1003          | 0  | 5      | 336                                        | 6 | 8 |

NUMB.



## N U M B. CVIII.

*Dr. Heynes, to a certain Courtier; Concerning the Bill of the Six Articles.*

I Shal write to you as I am wont to speak unto you; not doubting but that you wil seemblably think I write this my mind of good wil. At *Eaton* within this Sevenight there was a stout Priest, that blazed abroad triumphantly, that *Transubstantiation* is determined to be believed as an Article of our Faith, &c. & two other things. I wil not now dispute the truth of such matters, as a Divine, but confesse mine ignorance in holy Scriptures (if such three things be determined to be established, & to be believed *Jure Divino*) & give place to my Superiors. But certainly I cannot believe, that so learned a King, having such a great number of learned Bishops in H. Scripture, wil determine such three things as Truths, confirmed by Authority of H. Scripture, without any expresse Word of God written. For there can nothing (I write as I believe) be decreed, nor made by man, to be an Article of our Faith, except the same be manifestly grounded upon H. Scripture written, or at the least wise manifestly & plainly deduced out of H. Scripture written. As I think none of these three things, which are bruted to be determined can be proved to be instituted by God, & *ex Jure Divino*: Except men should use Scripture for the setting forth these things, as the Bishop of *Rome* used Scriptures, for to prove his Authority to be *ex Jure divino*. Whether [Wherefore] I cannot give any firm credence to such vain brutes, as goeth abroad.

*Cleopatra,*  
E. 5.

Nevertheles because there is such a constant Fame therof, which I sorrowfully hear, I pray you suffer me, & hear my smal reason, that I would make, if I were a Burgess of the Kings Graces Parliament, for the Kings Graces honor, & safety of his Graces former Proceedings. Whereof, although I can no skil, & they do pertain nothing to me, yet my Wil is as good, & my Heart as faithful as any Wise mans is, if you should perceive, that I had either Wit or Learning to furnish my Will. And the Kings Grace being as he is, my gracious good Lord & Sovereign, unto whom I owe mine obedience, I think I should not do the office of a true Subject, if I should not shew unto some, that be neer unto his Grace, my simple conceit, & warn him of such dangers as I perceive be imminent, in case these matters should on this maner be determined. His Grace hath not used to procede suddenly in such great matters: & therefore my trust is, that with great Advise ment his Majesty wil end these Controversies, according to the true meaning of H. Scriptures.

But al Disputes in matters of Learning layd apart, methinketh, it were expedient for the Kings Gr. & his Councillors, to weigh first, the Truth & likeliness of these matters, & therupon to deliver whether his Majesty may, with a safe Conscience before God, put unto his Subjects any Articles to be believed as necessary for their Salvation, that cannot be proved by H. Scripture written. 2d. Whether such

such Articles of our Faith made without authority of holy Scripture for a common quietnes & tranquillity in a Commonwealth, wil cause Tranquillity or Disquietnes: That the Kings Majesty being counted in al the World a Christian Catholic Prince, & wel learned in H. Scriptures, & such a Prince as hath set forward the Gospel within his Realm; Whether this shal be honorable unto his Grace & his Realm, to determine these matters in such wise, as the same goeth, they are now determined. 3ly. If the Kings Grace, with his Lords Spiritual & Temporal, &c. should establish these things to be true *Jure divino*, without authority of holy Scripture; or else by Authority wrong understood, it were good to remember, that the Emperor & the Fr. King hath the same Authority in their Dominions; that our Master hath here: And therefore may in their Councils decree other things to be true *Jure divino*, of Scriptures likewise wrong understood. And so hath the Bishop of Rome in his Dominions, & al the Princes of Italy & Germany. And if every one of them severally hath within their own Dominions like power, much more when the Legates of al these Princes, & divers Nations meeting together at a General Council, may determine things to be institute of God in his H. Scripture, by Scriptures wrong understood. As for example these things following hath been so determined, yet untrue:

I. *Episcopus Romanus est Jure divino Caput universalis Ecclesiæ: juxta illud. Tu es Petrus, &c. Quodcunq; solveritis super terram, &c. Pasce oves meas, &c.* And such things may in like maner be also now determined, as is

II. *Episcopus Romanus est Rex Regum & Dominus universæ Terræ jure divino, juxta illud, Regnum ipsius omnibus dominabitur, &c. Data est mihi omnis Potestas in cælo & in terra.* These men that write thus allege Scripture.

III. *Vota Monachorum non sunt rescindenda, quia Jure divino unusquisq; tenetur votum suum præstare, juxta illud, Vovete & reddite: ut item, Habentes damnationem, quia primam fidem irritam fecerunt.* If men believe Doctors & wrong-taken Scriptures in al things found in Writers, these aforesaid Scriptures wrong understood: If Doctors shal establish these three old Abuses to be *Jure Divino*, as wel as the Parliament in this Realm shal establish these three things bruted abroad, now to be authorized *Jure Divino*, [great may the danger hereof be.] And know not what the importunity of some men meaneth, to provoke the Kings Majesty to decree these matters in this maner, except it were to enforce his Grace to allow, by this fly & craft al things that shal be decreed by the Emperor, & the Bishop of Rome, in their General Council, as they cal it; & so compel himself unawares finally, to undoe al that his Grace hath done heretofore against the Bishop of Rome, Monks & Friars, &c.

It is, in my simple Opinion, the most perillous enterprize (al Reasoning in learning of H. Scripture, & love of Christs Religion layd apart) & most dangerous thing to the Kings Grace & this Realm, & the worst example that can be imagined given to the Bishop of Rome, to determine any thing in this Realm to be Gods wil, & to establish any thing therin, for any Article of our Faith, without the expres witnes of H. Scripture, as his Grace & his Realm standeth. For as  
his



his Grace wil have every man to conceive a true good opinion of his Proceedings; so the Bishop of Rome, the Emperor & other Princes wil look for the same at his Graces hand of their Proceedings. Therefore what peril & danger there is further to be feared in such Decrees more than I have, or can here exprefs, I leave to Wise men to consider.

I may peradventure fear, by lack of wit, that is not to be feared; & cast upon such things as are not like to come to pas. And I am contented so to be reported, of you that love me, for a fool: Nevertheless the love towards my Prince & my Country moveth me to write as I do, & to fear that I fear. And your accustomed friendship causeth me to utter my foolish fantasy without fear. Trusting, that if this seem to you foolishnes, you wil not, of hatred, blow my foolishnes abroad, but friendly bear it, as you have don other my boldnes. From *Windsor*, this Wednesday.

Your own,

S. Heynes.

# N U M B. CIX.

## A Book of Ceremonies.

### The Points touched in this Book concerning Ceremonies.

**C**Hurches & Church yards, the Hallowing & Recon-  
ciling them.

The Ceremonies about the Sacrament of Baptism.

Ordering of the Ministers of the Church in general.

Divine Service to be said & sung in the Church.

Mattins, Prime & Hours.

Ceremonies used in the Mass.

Sundays with other Feasts.

Bellys. [Bells.]

Vesture & Tonsure of the Ministers of the Church, &  
what Service they be bound unto.

Bearing Candles upon Candlemas Day.

Feasting Days.

The Giving of Ashes.

The Covering of the Cross, & Images in Lent.

Bearing of Palmes.

The Service of Wednesday, Thursday, Friday before Easter.

The Hallowing of Oyl & Chrism.

The Washing of the Altars.

The

*Cleopatra,*  
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The Hallowing of the Font upon Saturday in the Easter Even.

The Ceremonies of the Resurrection in Easter Morning.

General & other particular Processions.

Benedictions of Bishops or Priests.

Holy Water & Holy Bread.

A general Doctrin, to what intent Ceremonies be ordained, & of what Value they be of.

### *Ceremonies to be used in the Church of England.*

**T**Hough it be very truth, that there is a great Difference betwixt the Commandments, & Works expressed by Scripture necessary for a Christian mans Life & Salvation, & Rites & Ceremonies devised by men: bycause the Works contained in Scripture are the expres Comandments of God; which may not be infringed, taken away, or changed by any men; & the other said Rites & Ceremonies are appointed & ordained by men: Which, upon Causes reasonable, may, from time to time, by Governors & men of Authority, be altered & changed: Yet soche Ordenances, Rites & Ceremonies, devised by soche as are in Authority, for a decent Order, Quietnes & Tranquillity, ought (al Abuses & Superstructions therby taken away) to be with al reverend obedience observed by the People, not as Works & Workers for their Salvation, but as a godly Policy, & Ordinances made & devised by Christian Governors; to the intent as S. Paul saith, 1. Cor. 14. That things should be don & used among the Christian Congregation with an honest Reverence & a decent Order. And therefore to the end, that this Church of *England* may be comely & quietly ordered, & wel instructed, it is thought meet & convenient, that the Orders, & Ceremonies, & Rites following should be in the Church honestly, obediently & reverently kept & observed.

### *The Church.*

**A**ND first of al, to have a Common House for Christian People, which we call *The Church*, is very necessary, that there they may come together; wheras the Word of God is preached, the Sacraments are ministred, & Prayers, as wel of the People as the Ministers to Almighty God are made, both for them that be alive, & also for them that be departed in the Faith of Christ. Wherefore it is convenient that Place & the Altars there to be sanctified, washed & prepared with Prayers.

*Sanctified*; that is to say, *Separated* from al profane uses, & *Dedicated* to the end before reherfed. And therefore no Christian person should abuse the same, either with eating, drinking, buying, selling, playing, danceing, diceing, or with any other profane & worldly matter. For al Sobernes, Quietnes & Godlines ought there to be used.

*Washed*;



*Washed*; To admonish al Christen people to wash inwardly their own hearts & consciences; which be the Living Temples of God, before they shal approach to the use of any holy Mystery there.

*Prepared with Prayers*; That the Sacraments, there ministred, may be acceptable to Almighty God: & that it may please him to hear the humble & devout prayers of the People there; & that al things there don & heard by them, may be to commodity & wealth of their Souls.

### *The Churchyard.*

**A**N D albeit that a glorious Sepulture is not profitable to the wicked man; & a vile Sepulture hurteth not the good man; Yet to put us in remembrance of Death, that we may leave sin & wickednes, & to testify our Faith & Hope of the Resurrection of our Bodies again: Therefore it is convenient, that the Churchyard, for a place of common Burial for Christian people, should be sanctified & hallowed. And if it chance the same to be polluted, we think it meet to be reconciled again. And the Sepultures of Christian men with good & godly prayer now used, & other ceremonies belonging unto the same, are very laudable & convenient.

### *The Rites & Ceremonies observed about the Sacrament of Baptism.*

**F**irst, the *Catechism* which goeth before the Baptism: And it is as much to say as a *Teaching* & an *Instruction*. For in the Primitive Church, when many came to the Christian Faith, at the year of Age & Discretion, it was used that such, before they were admitted to Baptism, should be taught the Articles of the Faith, & the sum of Christian Religion, & should promptly & readily render the same to their Pastors or Curats. Which were yet to be used, if that any such would desire to receive Baptism. But in Baptism of Infants, which for lack of Age cannot be instructed, the Priest shortly expresth there such Instructions; & then chargeth the Godfathers & Godmothers further to teach the Child or Children, when they come to lawful age: & then beginneth to make a Cros upon upon the forehead of the Child, that is offered to be baptized; entokening, that he is comen to be professed, & totally to be dedicated to Christ crucified; whom he wil never be ashamed openly before men to confes & knowledge.

Then he maketh another Cros upon the Breast, from whence cometh the Belief; signifying, that it is not enough to confes Christ with mouth openly, unles he doth stedfastly believe in heart inwardly. And therefore the Minister calleth Almighty God to take away the Blindnes of his heart, & to make him apt to receive Grace given in Baptism.

And then he putteth Hallowed Salt into his mouth, to signify the spiritual salt, which is the Word of God, wherwith he should be seasoned & powdered; that therby the filthy Savour of stinking sin  
N n n n should

should be taken away; Preserving him from Corruption, & making him a more apt Vessel to continue in the moisture of wholsome & godly wisdom. And therefore the Minister prayeth, that he may be replenished with heavenly Food, & that he, receiving this grace of Baptism, may obtain everlasting Reward.

Then the Minister maketh a Sign of the Cros in the Childs forehead; Adjuring the Devil to depart, & no more to approach to him, but to knowledg his Sentence of Damnation, & to give glory unto God, & to Jesus Christ, which triumphed upon the Cros over him in his own Person: Praying that this Child, now purged from the wicked Spirit, may be the Sanctified Temple of the H. Ghost.

After this, is read the Gospel, taken out of *Matthew*, 19th Chapter; Beginning *Oblati sunt Jesu Pueri*, &c. Wherin is shewed, that the Oblation of young Children is acceptable to Christ. Of whose Church, without Baptism, they cannot be made Members. Wherefore the People, according to this Example, offereth their Children to the Minister to be Baptized.

Then the Minister wetteth with Spittle the Nose-thurles & ears of him, that shal be baptized: putting us in remembrance of the Miracle of the Deaf & Dumb wrought by Christ, who, looking up into heaven, putteth his spittle with his fingers to his ears, & touching his tongue, saith, *Ephatha*, that is to say, *Be opened*. And so he healed him: Signifying therby the grace & godly Influence descending from Heaven, which, by the operation of the H. Ghost, openeth our Nose to take the sweet savour, & savour of the knowledg of Christ; & our Ears to hear his Word & Commandments.

Then the Minister exhorteth the Godfathers & Godmothers, with al others that are present, to pray to God, that the Child may worthily receive the blessed Sacrament of Baptism, to the Honor of God, to the Salvation of his Soul, & Confusion of our Ghostly enemy the Devil: & so the Minister & al they together say, *Pater noster*.

Then immediatly the Minister maketh the sign of the Cros in the Right hand of the Infant. Which Cross should, in al our life time, admonish us valiantly to defend Christ, & withstand the crafty Assaults of our Enemy the Devil, & al our corrupt & perverse Affections & Desires. And so blessing the Child in the name of the Father, the Son & the H. Ghost, taketh it by the right hand, & biddeth it enter into the Church, there to be admitted as one of Christs Flock & Congregation, & so procedeth to the Font.

And there entring towards the Baptism, first Inquisition is made of the Name of him that should be Baptized, to the intent that by giving in his Name, he may now profess himself to a new Master Christ. For of a Custom such Professions were made by such Incriptions, & giving in of their Names.

Then there followeth a Stipulation made under prescript Words: The Minister demanding certain Questions, & he that is Baptized, or his Sureties making answer to any Questions or Demands particularly. || Which Demands, Questions & Answers (to the intent the Godfathers & Godmothers, with others there present, may know what is a Christen mans Profession at his Baptism) we think it very convenient & meet to be uttered hereafter in the English tongue. || And first to this Interrogation of the Minister:

*The words  
within these  
two marks ||  
are added in  
the Margin by  
Bishop Gardi-  
ners own hand.*

The



The Minister saith, Forfakest thou the Devil? He, or his Sureties for him, answereth, I forsake him. The Minister saith, And al his Works? It is answered, I forsake them. The Minister saith, And al his Pumps & Vanities? The Answer is, I forsake them.

After this the Minister with holy Oyl anointeth the child before upon his Breast, & behind between his Shoulders. Which Unction upon the Breast signifyeth, that our Hearts & Affections should be wholly dedicated to Christ, & established in a perfect Faith in his Mercy; Which the Oyl doth commonly signify in Scripture. And the Anointing between the Shoulders with the Sign of the Cross, signifieth, that we should be bold & strong to bear the Yoke of our Lord; & particularly to sustain such Cross of Persecution, Trouble & Affliction, as our most merciful Lord shal lay upon us.

Then further the Minister maketh Inquisition of his Belief, that is to be christened, saying, Believest thou in God, the Almighty Father, Maker of Heaven & Earth? It is answered, I Believe. The Minister saith, Believest thou in Jesus Christ his only Son, our Lord? &c. The Answer is made, I believe. The Minister saith, Believest thou in the H. Ghost, the Holy Catholick Church, the Communion of Saints, the Remission of Sins, the Resurrection of the Body, & after Death to have everlasting Life? It is answered, I believe. Al which Promise & Profession of renouncing the old errors, & believing & embracing the Truth, made in Baptism, every Christen man ought to have in his often Remembrance.

And after this the Minister saith unto him that is to be baptized these Words, What asketh thou? It is answered, Baptism. The Minister demaundeth further, Wilt thou be baptized? It is answered, I wil. For there is no man saved against his Wil, but willingly. For as man by his own Freewil obeying the Serpent did perish; so when God calleth by Grace, by the Conversion of his own mind every man truly believing, & intending to work, accordingly is saved.

Then the Minister calleth the child by the name, & Baptizeth it In the name of the Father, & the Son, & of the H. Ghost; Putting it into the Water of the Font, & taking it out again. Or else Pouring Water upon the Infant. Wherby the Person christened hath not only remission of al his sins by the Operation of the H. Ghost; but also by the same is signified the Death & Resurrection of Christ, the only cause of our Health & Salvation. And moreover, that we should daily mortify our evil desires & corrupt affections, & so washed from sin, walk in a new, pure & godly Life & Conversation.

Then after this Baptism, he is anointed with holy Chrism on the Head, as the supreme & principal part of man. Signifying therby, that he is made a Christen man by the hede of the Congregation, & that he is anointed with the spiritual unction of the H. Ghost; that by his assistance & grace he may obtain everlasting life.

Then he that is Baptized is clothed in a white Vesture, in token of his manumission & freedome from his former Captivity of the Devil. And it signifieth also a Christen Purity & Innocence, which, after the washing away of the spots of his old sins, he ought studiously to conserve & keep, & so to come to the presence of Christ at the day of judgment, & remain with him in glory everlasting.

Finally, The Minister putteth a Candle light in the right hand of him that is Baptized, in token that he should, through al his life time, shew before al men a Light of good example & godly Works: that he may be alwayes in a readines with the Saints, to meet our Lord, & receive the Fruition of everlasting joy.

### *Ministers.*

**T**HE Ceremonies, Observances & Prayers, said & don in the Consecrations of Bishops, & giving Orders to Priests, & Deacons, Subdeacons, & other inferior Ministers, as heretofore hath been accustomed, & as it was devised in the Books called *Pontificalls*, (al maner of things concerning the pretended & usurped power of the Bishop of Rome abolished, & utterly put aside, & the Kings most right & true Supremacy, with al things in the same in any wise appertaining & belonging, always observed & obeyed) be very laudable & expedient to be used. For by these Ceremonies & Observances every man in his Order, State & Degree is admonished what appertaineth to their Offices. And the Prayers be made to God, that they truly, sincerely & devoutly may use the Ministration to them committed to Gods honor, spiritual comfort of themselves, & al other Christian people.

### *Service in the Church.*

**T**HE Service used in the Church, dayly in some places, or upon the Sundays & other Feasts in al places; that is to say, Mattins, Prime Hours, Even-song & Compline: Whereof the most part is of Scripture, as the Psalmes, & manytimes the Legends (certain things added by men wel reformed) are very expedient & good, both for that the Ministers calleth & giveth thanks to God for themselves & for the People: And also that by the Example of their Prayers they move & excite the People to pray with them. And therefore the Adorning of the same Service, Surplices, Copes, & other Vestures & Ceremonies in the doing therof, are very laudable & comely.

The sober, discrete & devout Singing, Musick & Playing with Organs, used in the Church in the Service of God, are ordained to move & sterve the people to the sweetnes of Gods Word, the which is there sung: And by that sweet Harmony both to excite them to Prayer & Devotion, & also to put them in remembrance of the Heavenly Triumphant Church, where is everlasting Joy, continual Laud, & Praise to God.

### *Ceremonies used in the Mass.*

**F**ORasmuch as divers goeth about to represent the Mas, &, as much as in them is, to draw Christs flock from hearing therof, taking it as a thing of a little & smal value, & the Ceremonies of the same for a mocking & a mumming; Calling them *Dumb Ceremonies*: Therefore



fore to the intent that the Mafs may be the more regarded, & the mouths of fuch as calumniate & reprehend the fame, ftopped, it is to be underftanded, that the Mas is a remembrance of the Paffion of Chrift; whose moft bleffed Body & Bloud is there confecrated. And the Ceremonies therof be not *dumb*, but they be Exprefives & Declaratives of his faid Paffion. To the intent, that by fuche Signes & Ceremonies, they that be prefent thereat, may the better be admonifhed & reduced into the Memory of the fame.

And firft, It is to be underftanded, that the Priest is a common Minifter in the name & fted of the whole Congregation, & as the mouth of the fame, not only rendreth Thanks unto God for Chriffs Death & Paffion, but alfo maketh the common prayer, & commendeth the people & their neceffities in the fame unto Almighty God.

The Priest therefore, when he fhall fay Mas, faith it not in his common Apparel which he daily ufeth, but putteth upon him clean & hallowed Veftements, partly representing the Myfteries that were don in the time of his Paffion; partly representing the vertues that he himfelf ought to have that celebrates the Mafs.

And firft, he putteth on the *Amyfs*, which, as touching the Myftery, fignifieth the Vail, with which the *Jews* covered the face of Chrift, when they buffeted him in time of his Paffion. And as touching the Minifter, it fignifieth Faith, which is the Head, Ground & Foundation of al Vertues. And therefore he putteth that upon his Head firft. Second, He putteth upon him the *Albe*, which, as touching the Myftery, fignifieth the White Garment, wherewith *Herod* clothed Chrift in mocking, when he fent him to *Pilate*. As touching the Minifter, it fignifieth his promife of Confcience & Innocency, the which he ought to have efpecially when he fingeth the Mas.

The *Girdle*, as touching the Myftery, fignifieth the Whip or Scourge, wherewith Chrift was whipped. As touching the Minifter, it fignifieth the continent & chafte Living, or elfe the clofe mind which he ought to have in prayer, when he celebrateth.

The *Stole*, as touching the Myftery, fignifieth the Ropes & Bonds that Chrift was bound with to the pillars, when he was fcourged. And as touching the Minifter, it fignifieth the Yoke of Patience, which he muft bear as the Servant of God. In token wherof he putteth alfo the *Phanon* upon his Arm; which admonifheth him of ghofly ftrength & godly patience that he ought to have, to vanquifh & overcome al carnal infirmity.

The Over-vifor, or *Chesible*, as touching the Myftery, fignifieth the Purple Mantle that *Pilates* Soldiers put upon Chrift, after that they had fcourged him. And as touching the Minifter, it fignifieth Charity, a Vertue excellent above al others.

The Minifter, the which fhall celebrate, in the beginning cometh forth as is were from fome fecret place, to the midft of the Altar; fignifying therby, that Chrift, which is the High Priest, came from the fecret bofom of his Father, & virginal cloifter of his Mother, into this world, to offer Sacrifice for mans Redemption. And albeit that that Sacrifice be a fufficient price, & Redemption for al the World, yet it is not efficient or effectual, but only to them which knowledgeth

knowledgeth themselves with Penance to be sinners: whom he came to justify, as he saith himself, *Non veni vocare justos sed peccatores.*

Therefore the Minister in the beginning, teacheth al men by his *Confession*, to supplicate & knowledg themselves sinners, & to ask remission, to the intent they may be the more apt to be participant of this soch mystery. *Nam justos in principio accusator est sui*

Then after this followeth *Kyrie eleyson*, & *Christe eleyson*; which be words of desire, & to pray God for mercy. Which mercy we cannot have of our deserts, but of Gods goodnes, & Christs merits only. And therefore the Minister proceeding to the Midst of the Altar, rendreth the glory unto God, saying the Angels Hymn & Song, *Gloria in excelsis Deo*: that is to say, *Glory be unto God in Heaven.* Wherby we be learned not only to know that we receive al our benefits of God, being bound to give him thanks therfore, but also the means wherby we receive them, which is by the mediation of Christ, that is both God & Man, by whom the Father is pleased & reconciled, Angels & Men agreed.

Then, this Song don, the Minister & the People with *Salutations* exhort each other to prayer. In which he prayeth as wel for the Multitude as for himself. And therefore it is called *Collecta*. And it is directed to the Father, & commonly concluded with these words, *Per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum*, &c. Which sheweth & declareth unto us, that we be only heard by Christ, & that our Prayer is by him valuable; & by our selves without him of no value. And when the Prayer is ended, the People expresse their desirous minds to be heard, & answereth *Amen*, which signifieth, *So be it.*

After that Prayer made, then the Priest, as a meet Minister to teach the People, readeth to them the *Epistle*, which is a Lesson taken out of the Old & New Testament, & it precedeth the Gospel, & prepareth the minds therunto, like as *John* prepared unto Christ, & the old Law unto grace. And Christ sent the Disciples into divers places to preach before his coming; wherby the People should be made more apt to receive the heavenly Doctrin of the Gospel, & with a true Faith believe the Rewards & Benefits promised in the same.

Next to the Epistle ensueth the *Graial*; the which teacheth also soch wholesome Doctrin, as was taught before in the Epistle, that they proceeding in vertue, by degrees, may procede from vertue to vertue until soche time as they may se Almighty God in his glory. And therfore followeth a Song of gladnes called *The Alleluia*, that is to say, *Laud ye God*; both to admonish us to remember God with a glad mind, & also with soch mind to prepare our selfe to the hearing of the Gospel, & the joyful promises of the same.

Then followeth the *Gospel*, which is a glad Message or Tidings. For therin is contained the glad news of our Salvation, the which the Angels shewed to the Shepherds at Christs coming, saying, *Ecce! Evangelizo vobis gaudium magnum*, &c. Therefore the Church with Light, & other Ceremonies of Gladnes & Peace, readeth it to the People, standing up presently to hear the same; Declaring therby their prompt & ready minds, that they have to the Doctrin of the Gospel.

And



And forasmuch as Faith springeth of the Word of God, therefore divers days the Church, after the Gospel read, pronounceth with a loud voice the Creed, expressing the Faith with her mouth, which before she conceived in her heart, according to *S. Pauls* saying, *Corde creditur ad justitiam, ore autem Confessio fit ad Salutem.*

Then followeth the *Offertory*: Wherby we be learned to prepare our selves by Gods grace to be an acceptable Oblation to him, to the intent we may be partakers of the blessed Sacrifices, which Christ offered for us upon the Cross.

At which time the Minister, laying the Bread upon the Altar, maketh the *Chalice*, mixing the Water with the Wine; signifying therby how that Bloud & Water ran out of Christs side in his Passion, & admonisheth us of the inseparable coupling & joyning of Christ & his Church together.

Then after the Offertory don, the Priest *washeth* his hands; Knowing himself not to be so clean, but that he hath ever need more to be washed, according to the Saying of *David*, *Wash me, Lord, more & more from my wickednes, & cleanse me from my sin.*

Then after followeth a *Prayer Secretly* said, which is called *The Secret of the Mas*; & that signifieth Christs secret & privy Conversation which he kept with his Disciples a little before his Passion. For after the determinate Sentence of Death, conspired by *Caiaphas* & the *Jews* against him, he walketh no more among them openly, but among his Disciples secretly.

Next after the *Secret* followeth the *Preface*; which is a Prologue or Prayer going before the most reverend Consecration of Christs Body & Bloud; Preparing the minds of his Faithful people to the Reverence of the same, & moving them to erect their hearts to Almighty God, giving him thanks for his inestimable benefits; with desiring that their Voice, joined with the company of Angels in one consent of Laud & Praise, proceeding as wel from the Church Triumphant as Militant, unite & knit together, may without end sing this Seraphical Hymn & Song, *Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus*, to the Laud of the Blessed Trinity, whose glory replenisheth Heaven & Earth.

Then after this *Preface* followeth the *Canon*, which is said secretly of the Priest, not because it is unlawful to be heard, read or known of the people, but that it is expedient to keep silence & secrecy at the time of such a high Mystery, that both the Priest & the People may have the more devout meditation, & the better attend about the same.

Then the Priest, to represent in this Sacrifice of the Mas the most painful & bloody Sacrifice once offered for our Salvation upon the Cross, prayeth the Father to accept these gifts prepared for the Consecration; & enclining his Body maketh a Cross upon the Altar & kisseth it; signifying therby the humble enclining & willing obedience of Christ to his Fathers Will, to suffer his Passion upon the Altar of the Cross for our Salvation.

And then following the Example of Christ, the High Bishop, which approaching the time of his Passion, gave himself to prayer, & also according to the Apostles doctrine to *Timothy*, the Minister giveth himself

himself to prayer. First in general for the Universal Church: of the which he desireth Peace & Preservation. Second, For Princes & Rulers; Making an honorable mention of the Saints which be departed. And First, of our Lady, the Twelve Apostles, & as many Martyrs, which either by their bodily presence preaching, or their Bloud shedding, in their life time did bear witnes & testimony to Christs Passion, joyning them as it were both in one Communion & Participation of Christs Death & Merits, which hath deserved as wel Grace to the one, as Glory to the other: Desiring God by their Prayers to protect & defend the whole Congregation of al Christians.

And after certain Prayers & Petitions for the People, & also that the Oblation may be acceptable to God, he procedeth with al Reverence to the *Consecration*.

First of the Bread, Taking it in his hands & giving thanks, following the example of Christ: By vertue & power of whose Words the Substance of Bread is turned into the Substance of the Body of Christ; & likewise the Substance of Wine into his precious Bloud. Which he listeth up, both that the People with al Reverence & Honor may worship the same; & also to signify therby partly Christs Exaltation upon the Cros for our Redemption, which was figured by the Serpent set up by *Moses* in the Desert, & partly signifying that Triumphant Advancement & Exaltation, wherewith God his Father, because of his Passion, hath exalted him above al Creatures: Bidding the People to have it in remembrance, as oft as they shal do the same.

After the which, the Priest extendeth & stretcheth abroad his Armes in form of a Cros; Declaring therby, that according to Christs Commandment, both he & the People not only have the fresh remembrance of his Passion, but also of his Resurrection & glorious Ascension; & so procedeth to the second *Memento*, in which he prayeth for them that be Dead in the Faith of Christ, & sleep in Peace, that it might please God to grant them a place of refreshing Light & Peace.

Then he joyneth himself with the People; *Knocking* upon his breast: Therby teaching them, that he & they both be sinners, & have need of mercy & grace, purchased by Christs Passion; & desireth Almighty God to give them a Society with the holy Apostles & Martyrs, not as an Esteemer of their Merits, but as a merciful Graunter of Remission, & that by Christ; By whom he worketh & graunteth al these Benefits. Wherefore al honor & glory is to be rendred to him by Christ, & with Christ the H. Ghost, being knit in unity unto them.

And then expressing with a loud voice, how long this honor & glory is due to God *Per omnia Secula Seculorum*, That is to say, *Perpetually*; the Church answering, *Amen*, So be it.

The Priest then, to the intent he may the more worthily receive the holy & blessed Body & Bloud of Christ, both to the comfort & strength, as wel of him as them that be present, saith the *Pater Noster*, Asking of God this heavenly & celestial Bread, with deliverance from al evils, & encreas of quietnes & peace. And so discovering the Chalice, intokening that Christ would the Fruit of his Passion to be opened & manifest to al the World, taketh the Host & breaketh it



it, & divideth it, intokening of the distribution of it among his Disciples at the last Supper, & the breaking of his Body the time of his Passion. At which Supper, above al things, he commendeth unto them Peace & Charity, saying, *Pacem meam do vobis, Pacem relinquo vobis*. And therefore the Minister taketh the Kifs of Peace from the Bl. Sacrament, & fendeth it to the People, saluting each other in *Osculo Sancto*, as biddeth *S. Paul*: Admonishing therby of the Fraternal & mutual Peace & Concord which they ought to have, without the which Peace & Concord, this Communion or Sacrament of common Union is to them nothing profitable, but much damnable.

Then saith the Priest thrice, *Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi*, &c. Advertising us of three effects of Christs Passion: Wherof the first is, Deliverance from the Misery of sin. The second is from Pain of everlasting Damnation; Wherof he saith twice, *Miserere nobis*, that is to say, *Have mercy on us*. And the third effect is, Giving of everlasting Peace, consisting in the glorious fruition of God. Wherefore he saith, *Dona nobis Pacem*, that is to say, *Give us Peace*.

Then followeth the *Commixtion* of the Body & Blood of Christ together: signifying the joyning together of his Body & Soul in the Resurrection, which before were severed at the time of his Passion.

And albeit there be two Consecrations, yet there is but one Sacrament, containing under each Form the holy Body & Bloud of Christ inseparable.

Then followeth the *Communion*, which is an exciting or a moving to the People to Laud & Praise God. And because in the Primitive Church, when Devotion was fervent, divers used manitimes to receive it together with the Priests, therefore in the Prayer called *The Post Communion*, the Priest, in the name of them of al, prayeth & rendreth Thanks unto God for their spiritual Refection *Per Dominum nostrum*; by whose Passion exhibit, the Mas hath his strength & efficacy.

Then the Priest estones turning his face to the people, after the Salutation, saith these words, *Ite, Missa est*: That is to say, *Go ye, the Mas is ended*. And in that he bidderth them *Go* is signified, that we ought to follow Christ in his holy Life, & always to be going from vertue to vertue, & not to stand & tary in the worldly plesure, but diligently to hast us to the Life everlasting: & that we may be of the number of them, to whom it shal be said, *Venite Benedicti*: That is to say, *Come, ye blessed of my Father, receive the Kingdom, & so forth*.

The Priest giveth at the Departure sometime the Benediction in the name of the whole Trinity, signifying that the last Benediction, which Christ gave to his Disciples in the Mount of Olivet, when he ascended to his Father: Where he sitteth on his Right hand a continual Intercessor for us. To whom be al Laud & Praise for ever; *Amen*.

### *Sundays with other Feasts.*

THE Sundays are to be continued & employed in the Service of God, to hear the word preached, to give Thanks for the benefits which we receive dayly. And that Day is much to be regarded

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both for the Antiquity; & also for that it is a Memorial of Christs Resurrection. Whereby we ought to be stirred to erect our minds from earthly things to heavenly Contemplations of Christs glorified Nature: by that conceiving also a certain Hope of our Resurrection & eternal glory.

The *Feasts* of our Lord divers times in the year, received & approved as holy & solemn Days are to be kept in their accustomed Veneration & Solemnity, as wel for the sundry causes before rehersed, as also for that they represent unto us the manifold & inestimable benefits of our Redemption; as the Incarnation of Christ, his Apparition, Passion, Resurrection, Ascension, the Sending down of the H. Ghost, & such other.

The Feasts of *Saints*, as divers, of our Bl. Lady, of the Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors & Virgins; such as are not abrogated, or otherwise ordered by the High Governor, are to be used in godly exercise & due Veneration, according to the approved Custom. Because that in those days we remember the high gifts of God in them: & for those not only to glorify him, but also to pray him that we may have like grace here to follow their Example of godly living, & at the last attain with them that everlasting life, & the state that they be in.

### *Bells.*

**B***ells* are ordained to call the Ministers & People to the Church in times convenient: Admonishing them to come to the Preaching of the Word of God, the Ministration of the Sacraments, the Divine Service & Prayers in the Church for the time used: To give knowledge of our Christian Brother or Sister departed this World; that both we may call to our remembrance our own Mortality, & also be moved with charity to pray for them so departed.

### *Vesture & Tonsure of the Ministers of the Church, & what Service they be bound unto.*

**I****T** is convenient, that Bishops, Priests, & all other such as hath Orders, & continue in their Ministration, for an honest difference to be known from other Persons, should not only wear certain manner of Vestures & other Raiment; but also for a like Difference to have, according to their Order & Degree, a convenient Crown, with other honest Tonsure in their Hair.

It is also laudable & convenient, that, except sickness, or any other reasonable impediment; every Bishop, Priest & others having Orders, & continuing in their Administration, shall daily say Divine Service, that is to say, Mattins, Prime Hours, Even Song, & Compline; And such as are Bishops & Priests divers times to say Mass. And that they may say it the more oftentimes, they ought to pray for grace, & dispose themselves accordingly.



*Bearing Candles on Candlemas day.*

**B**Earing Candles on Candlemas Days, is a very good usage in Memory of Christ the Spiritual Light; of whom *Simeon* did expres, as is read in the Church that Day.

*Fasting Dayes.*

**F**asting certain Times & Dayes in the year, as Abstinence in Lent, & other Times received & appointed to be kept, & not changed or abrogated, are very laudable, &, without a just & reasonable to the contrary Cause, ought to be observed according to the Custome of this Realm. For tho the maner of Fasting, & certain Days of Fasting are not expressed in Scripture; yet we ought to Fast, by the teaching of the Scripture, as it appeareth in many places of the same, both in the Old & New Testament. For it is a godly Exercise, both to subdue & mortify the fleshly appetites, & also to make the Person more apt to prayer. And therefore our Master Christ, for our Example, not only fasted, but also did teach us, that when we Fast, wee should beware of Hypocrisy.

*The giving of Ashes.*

**T**HE giving of Ashes upon *Ashwednesday*, with these words, *Remember, man, that thou art Ashes, & to Ashes thou shalt return*, is to put us in remembrance, in the beginning of Lent, of our frail nature, & uncertainty of this Life here. Wherefore it were very good & convenient to expres the same in English to the understanding of unlearned Persons.

*The Covering of the Cros, & Images in Lent.*

**T**HE Covering of the Cros, & the Images in Lent, with the discovering of the same at the Resurrection, signifieth not only the Darknes of Infidelity, which covered the face of the *Jews* in the Old Testament, but also the dark knowledg, that they had of Christ: Which was the Perfection & End of the Law, & not yet opened unto the time of his Death & Resurrection.

And the same partly is signified by the Vail, which hid the Secrets of *Sancta Sanctorum* from the People; & in the time of Christs Passion was opened, that al men might se it, & have a ready entrance therunto: The H. Ghost signifying, as saith *S. Paul*, that the way of Holines was not yet opened so long as the first Tabernacle was standing; nor the way of Life, as the Prophet saith, was known before.

*Bearing of Palmes.*

**B**Earing of *Palmes* on *Palm Sunday*, in memory of receiving of Christ into *Jerusalem* a little before his Death; that we may have the same Desire to receive him into our Hearts.

*The Service of Wednesday, Thursday, Friday before Easter.*

**T**HE Service upon Wednesday, Thursday, & Good Friday differeth from other Service in the year; & the Church useth their lamentable & mournful Ceremonies: Reading the Lessons of the Lamentations of *Jeremy*, signifying a Heaviness. For so much as the *Jews* at that time travailed & fought by all means to attach Christ, & bring him to his Death. And the same Service is called *Tenebres*. Because that Christ walked not then openly as he was wont to do, but kept himself secretly with his Disciples in a City called *Ephrem*, till it pleased him willingly to come & suffer his Passion for our Salvation.

The Candles in those nights, first light & then put out at every Psalm & Lesson, signifieth the manifold Lights given to the holy Prophets before the coming of Christ, which at this time were darkened. For the World was then in an Infidelity, & the cruel *Jews* did not only put the former Prophets to death, but also then they practised the Death of Christ, the Head of all Prophets; which shortly after they accomplished to their Confusion, & our Salvation.

Upon *Shier Thursday*, as we call it most principally, it is to be considered, that our Savior did institute the most Bl. Sacrament of the Altar. For then he both gave to his Disciples his most Blessed Body to eat, & his most precious Blood to drink, the very same that afterward was betrayed for us, & put to death, rose & ascended. He washed also the same day the Feet of his Disciples, teaching humbleness, & very Love & Charity by his Example.

*The Hallowing of Oyl & Chrism.*

**O**YL & Chrism are this day consecrated; which signifieth principally the Imperial & Priestly Dignity of Christ, & his anointing with the Spiritual Unction of the H. Ghost above all Creatures: Admonishing us of our State & Condition. For as of *Chrisma* Christ was named, so of *Christ* we be called *Christians*. And secondarily, it signifieth defacing & abolishing of the Rites & Consecrations of the Old Law, which were done in Oyl. And therefore at this time the old Oyl is burnt & destroyed, & New consecrated: signifying thereby our new Regeneration in Christ, & holy Inunction, which we have by the H. Spirit.



*The Washing of the Altars.*

**I**T is a laudable Custom the same day to wash the Altars, & to prepare with al Cleannes the Places, wheras the most Bl. Sacrament shal be ministred : & also to be for us a remembrance, that as those things inanimate are washed & cleansed for that purpose, so we ought much more to prepare & wash our Minds & Consciences at al times ; & especially at this Time, for the more worthy receiving of the same most high Sacrament.

Upon *Good Friday* is renewed yearly the Remembrance of the Blessed Passion. Wherefore that Day, among other godly Ceremonies to be continued, is the *Creeping* to the Cros. Where we humble our selves to Christ before the same, Offering unto him, & Kissing of his Cros, in memory of our Redemption by Christ upon the Cros.

And that Day is prepared & wel adorned the *Sepulture*, in remembrance of his Sepulture, which was prophesied by the Prophet *Esay* to be glorious. Wherin is layd the Image of the Cros, & the most Bl. Sacrament. To signify, that there was buried no Corps nor Body that could be putrified or corrupt, but the pure & undefiled Body of Christ without spot of sin : which was never separated from the Godhead. And therefore, as *David* prophesied in the XV Psalm, *it could not se Corruption*, nor Death could not detain nor hold him : But he should rise again to our great hope & comfort. And therefore, the Church adorneth it with Lights, to expres the great joy that they have of that glorious Triumph over Death, the Devil & Hell.

*The Hallowing of the Font upon Saturday in the Easter Even.*

**U**Pon Saturday *Easter Even* is hallowed the *Font* ; which is as it were *Vestigium*, or a Remembrance of Baptism, that was used in the Primitive Church. At which Time & *Pentecost*, there is used in the Church two solemne Baptizings, & much Concourse of people come unto the same.

The first was at Easter time, Because that the Mystery of Baptism agreeth wel to the Time. For like as Christ dyed & was buried, & rose again the third day ; so by putting into the Water, is signified our Death to sin, & the Immersion betokeneth our Burying & Mortifying to the same. And our Rising again out of the Water, declareth us to be risen unto New Life, according to the Doctrin of *S. Paul*, *Rom. vi.* And

The second Solemne Baptizing, that is to say, at *Pentecost*, was because that then is celebrate the Feast of the H. Ghost ; which is the Worker of that Spiritual Regeneration, which we have in Baptism. And therefore the Church useth yet, to hallow the *Font* also at that Time.

*The Ceremonies of the Resurrection in Easter Morning.*

**U**Pon *Easter day* in the Morning the Ceremonies of the Resurrection be very laudable, to put us in Remembrance of Christs Resurrection, which is the Cause of our Justification. And that as Christ, being our Head, was the first among the Dead, which rose, never to dy again, so al Christen men, being his Members, do conceive therby a sure Hope to rise from Death of Sin, to godly Conversation in this life; & finally at the day of Judgment, when the Body & Fleth of al Men, Women & Children shal, by the Operation of God, be raised again, to rise with him in Everlasting Glory.

*General & Particular Processions.*

**G**eneral *Processions*, & other particular Processions, with the Litanies & other Prayers, be very laudable. Wherin we pray to Almighty God for the health, prosperous state & victory of our Prince, for the Wealth of his Realm, & for the Temperance & Purennes of the air to mans health: And also for the encrease of Green gras & other fruits growing upon the Earth for the Sustenance of men. In the which Processions we use to follow the Cros, & the Image of our Savior: Not only praying unto him for our necessities, whose Image we do follow, but also Professing our selves, as true Christen people, ready to bear our Crosse with Christ, willingly to suffer al troubles & afflictions, layd upon us for the Love & Cause of our Saviour. Like as he suffered for us, & so as his Servants, Soldiers, & men of war we follow his Banner for the remembrance of him: Declaring our Promise, & Readines in al things to follow & serve him. Provided always, that in al Processions the maner of Praying, appointed by the Kings Injunctions, be observed.

*Benedictions of Bishops or Priests.*

**T**HE accustomed *Benedictions* of Bishops or Priests, of old time used in the Church, are very laudable. For, as Ministers & Pastors of the Flock of Christ, for the holy People, wheras they have their Administration, they pray to Almighty God, that it may pleas him to blese the people, that is to say, to give unto them his Goodnes & Grace in al their necessities both for the Body & Soul: Making a Cros, to signify in whose name they Blese, & by whom they ask the same gift of God.

*Holy Water & Holy Bread.*

**H**oly Water & Holy Bread be two godly Ceremonies, & to be continued in the Church. The one, to put us in remembrance of our Baptism, & of the Bloud of Christ sprinkled for our Redemption upon



upon the Cros. And the other, to put us in remembrance, that al Christen men be one Mystical Body of Christ: as the Bread is made of many grains, & yet but one Loaf. And to put us in remembrance also of the Receiving of the H. Sacrament & Body of Christ in right Charity. Which in the beginning of Christs Church men did more offer receive, than they use now a dayes to do.

### N U M B. CX.

*A Proclamation for an Uniformity in Religion; And about reading the Bible in English: With the Kings own Emendations of this Draught of it.*

**T**HE Kings most Royal Majesty hath been informed, that great murmurs, malice & malignity is risen and sprung among divers & sundry of his Subjects by diversity of Opinion: Some of them minding craftily, by their Preachings & Teachings, to restore in this Realm the Old Devotion to the usurped power of the Bishop of Rome, the Hypocrites Religion, Superstitions, Pilgrimages, Idolatry, & other evil & naughty Ceremonies & Dreams, justly & lawfully abolished & taken away by Authority of Gods Word: & to allure the People again to the same & some other, taking & gathering divers holy Scriptures to contrary Senses & Understanding, do so wrest & interpretate, & so untruly alledg the same, to subvert & overturn as wel the Sacraments of holy Church, as the Power & Authority of Princes & Magistrates, & in effect generally al Laws & common Justice, & the good & laudable Ordinances & Ceremonies, necessary & convenient to be used & continued in this Realm: Which were ordained for the Encrease & Edifying of Vertue & good Christen Learning: Some of them also using the Scripture permitted to them by the Kings goodnes in the *English* Tongue, \* *at such times & places, & after* \* [much contrary to his Highnes expectation: for his Majesties Intent & Hope was, that they that would read the Scripture, would, with meeknes & wil to accomplish the effect of it, read it, & not to maintain erroneous opinions, & preach [thém] nor for to use the reading & preaching of it in undue time & places, & after] such fashions & sorts, as it is not convenient to be suffered. And thus each of them dispute so arrogantly against the other of their opinions, as wel in Churches, Alehouses, Tavernes, & other places & Congregations, that there is begun & sprung among themselves slander & rayling each at other, as wel by Words as Writing; One part of them calling the other *Papist*, & the other part calling the other *Heretic*: Wherby is like to follow \* *Sedition* \* [Disension] & Tumult, \* *to their own Destruction*. \* [not only to their own Confusions, that teach & use the same, but also to the disturbance, & likelihood to destruction of al the rest of the Kings true & welbeloved Subjects,] if his Majesty, like a Godly & Catholick Prince, of his

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excellent goodnes, by his Princely power & authority given him by God, should not politicly, in the beginning, provide for the same.

For remedy wherof his most Royal Majesty, by his most excellent wisdome, knowing & considering his kingly Office & Charge touching the premisses, & daily painfully studying & devising, with a most noble & earnest heart, to reduce his People committed by God to his Cure, to unity of Opinion, & to encrease love & charity among themselves, & constantly to conserve them in the same, intendeth, God willing, by advice of his Prelates & Clergy, & other of his Council, to procede to a full Order & Resolution to extinct all such diversities of Opinions by \*terrible\* [good & just] laws to be made for the same, by Authority of his Parliament. And yet nevertheles now in the beginning of his Parliament, of his most excellent & virtuous goodnes, mindeth by a Proclamation set forth \*by\* [by his Highnes with] the Advice of his Council \*by Authority of Parliament\* [according to Authority of Parliament already to his Highnes Successors & Council granted] to extirpe & take away some occasions, \*and\* [as hereafter followeth.] which have moved & bred Division among sundry of his Subjects:

And therefore by Authority of this his present Parliament, straitly chargeth & commandeth, that no Person or Persons shal from henceforth slanderously & maliciously name or cal any other *Papist* or *Hetic*, unles the Person or Persons, so using themselves, can & do lawfully & justly prove the same to be true, upon pain of - - - - - And over this, his Majesty straitly chargeth & commandeth, that no Person, except such as be Curates, or Graduates in any of the Universities of *Oxford* or *Cambridg*, or such as be, or shal be admitted to preach by the Kings Licence, or by his Vicegerent, or by any Bishop of the Realm, shal teach or preach the Bible, or New Testaments, nor expound the Mysteries therof to any other; Nor that any Person or Persons shal openly read the Bible, or New Testament in the *English* tongue in any Churches or Chappels, [or elsewhere] with any loud or high voice; [& especially] during the time of Divine Service, or of celebrating & saying of Masses: but virtually & devoutly to hear their Divine Services & Masses; & use that time in reading & praying with peace & stilnes, as good Christen men use to do [for his own Erudition] upon the like pains, as is afore reherfed. \*And also\* [Notwithstanding] his Highnes is pleased & contented, that such as can [& wil] in the *English* tongue, shal & may quietly & reverently read the Bible & New Testament by themselves [secretly] at all times & places convenient for their own Instruction & Edification, to encrease thereby Godlines & vertuous Learning: \*And if they shal happen to stond in\* [with this Admonishment nevertheles, that if they shal hap to find] any doubt of any Text or Sentence in the reading therof, to beware & take heed of their own presumptuous & arrogant Expositions of the Letter: but to resort humbly to such as be learned in H. Scripture for their Instruction in that behalf.

Finally, his Highnes signifieth to all & singular his loving & obedient Subjects, that his Majesty was, nor is compelled by Gods word, to set forth his Scripture in *English* to his Lay Subjects, but of his own liberality



liberality & goodnes was & is pleased, that his said loving Subjects should have, & read the same in convenient Places & Times; to the only intent to bring them from their old Ignorance & Blindnes, to virtuous living & godlines, to Gods glory & honor; & not to make & take occasion of Dissension or Tumult by reason of the same. Wherefore his Majesty chargeth & commandeth al his said Subjects to use the H. Scripture in *English*, according to his godly purpose & gracious intent, as they would avoid his most high displeasure & indignation, beside the pain above remembered.

*Let it be noted, that the Sentences & Words of this Proclamation in Italic within two stars, are scratched out by the King in this MS. & the Sentences & Words standing within two Crotchets, are inserted by the Kings hand, sometimes as amendments of the words immediatly preceding.*

### N U M B. CXI.

The Elector of Saxony's Letter to the King; Upon his Mariage with the Lady Anne of Cleves.

Excellent & most renowned King, our Cousin, & dearly beloved Alliance, & a Lord worthy great Reverence :

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S. D. Our Counsellors, when they returned, shewed us, that the beginning of the Mariage of your Royal Majesty was joyful & prosperous, which we desire God to bless & fortunately to continue. We perceived also by our said Counsellors, that your Majesty had loving & familiar Communication with them of many other matters, & of the common wealth: Shewing your mind to be enclined & bent to make a League in honest Causes, beside the Cause of Religion, with the famous Prince Landgrave *Hesse*, & with us [Elector of Saxony] as your Highnes made like League with the most noble Prince Duke *Fuliacens* our Alliance. And when we were so united, then your Majesty would, that afterwards we should intreat of Religion, & a League should be made in the Cause of Religion. Of al the Premisses how lovingly your Highnes hath opened & shewed your Mind & Wil towards us, & with how great gentlenes you received & entreated our Counsellors, both your Letters do manifest a great part, & also they do plainly expresse the whole. And though We also would desire to be Confederated with your Majesty in honest Causes, beside the Cause of Religion, as in time past there hath been a special Confederacy between Kings of *England* & Dukes of *Saxony*, as Stories do testify; yet this League, which is made by us with other Princes & States of *Germany*, against the ungodly Religion & Tyranny of the Bishop of *Rome*, doth comprehend no other Causes therto annexed. Therefore because your Gr. would rather joyn your self to our League in other honest Causes, beside the Cause of Religion,

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ligion, that is clean contrary to the meaning of our League, which containeth only the Causes of Religion, nother *Landgravius Hassie*, nor We, can without the Conjunction of other make a Covenant of Causes, not appertaining to Religion.

Your Royal Majesty doth wel remember, how diligently, before this time, you have treated with us by Ambassadors, Orators & Letters, to make a League in the Cause of Religion, & have advertised us to Constancy in the Defence enterprized of true Religion. And this last year the Orators of your Regal Majesty entreated with us in the Council of *Frankford* of the same matter, that we should send our Orators with Commandments to make a League, with the Defence of true Religion against the Tyranny of the Bishop of *Rome*, & not of other Causes. And as at that time we did send some: but not only that thing was left unfinished, but also there followed a Decree of the Parliament; which, as we hear, was made by the Conspiracy & Craftiness of certain Bishops, in whose mind hitherto the Veneration or Worshipping of *Roman* ungodlines is rooted. With the bitterness of that Decree [of the Six Articles] both we & many others, which do think wel of your Graces Majesty, are astonied. For when your Highnes had clean extinct, & put forth the Power & Dominion of the Bishop of *Rome* out of the Realm of *England*, we had good confidence, that your Gr. would not have suffered the Bishops to have established errors brought into the Church by Covetousnes & Ambition of the Bishop of *Rome*. But yet we understand the sharpnes of that Decree to be mollified by the Wisdom & Moderation of your Highnes, & the execution therof not put in ure: & that your H. hath protested before our Counsellors, that ye desire nothing so earnestly as the true Doctrin may flourish or shine in Churches. But it seemeth to your Gr. as it doth to some other Learned men in *England*, that our Men in some Articles do pass their bands [bounds.] For the which cause your Gr. desired the confirmations of those Articles taken out of true foundations, to be sent unto you; that yee might better weigh those Articles, & deliberate of the whole matter with Bishops & Divines, which exceed others in Learning & Godlines. And ye sey, that the Truth known, ye wil execute your Office, & gladly prefer heavenly Doctrin before Mens Traditions.

This Remembrance of a Will, worthy so wise & wel learned a King, hath provoked us again to great Hope, that your H. (things better weighed) wil emend the Abuses of the Church; & wil exhibit or propose to other Kings an example of aiding or helping the Church. Therefore we have commanded certain of our Divines, that they should gather sure Confirmations, & not very long, of Four Articles: That is to wit, Of the *Mass*; of the *Use of the whole Sacrament*; of the *Mariage of Priests*, & of *Vowes*. These we send to your H. & lovingly & earnestly desire you, that ye wil ponder & weigh diligently so great things; & the thing being reasoned with men of right judgment, godly, & loving the Truth, may make the Son of God, our Lord *Jesus Christ*, Arbiter or Judge of this Deliberation; of whom the Heavenly said, *Hear him*. That the Churches of *England* set in a true Trade, the Honor & Glory of God may flourish, & may set forth a godly Example to other Kings to reform the Church. And



it becometh your Majesty so much the more that to do, because ye have begun Amendment, in abolishing the Tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, & taking away some Idols, & commanding the People to be more purely & sincerely taught. Truly some felicity it is, & a way to more Light, that you have expelled the Bishop of Rome, & his Tyranny, seeing it is the Kingdom of Antichrist, which is ruled by the Devil, Enemy unto Christ, it is no marvel that he doth impugn the Gospel with an horrible boldnes & cruelty, & as *Daniel* saith, *Abjecteth the Truth*, treading it under foot, The Bishop of Rome doth perceive, that if the Gospel do flourish, his Authority will be darkned, his Power made weak, his Plesures troubled. Therefore he endeavour-eth with al his Powers, to oppres the Truth appearing or budding forth.

Wherefore altho he doth hinder other Kingdomes from better counsil, yet after that he is driven out of *England*, the Churches there may be better holpen & provided for. And tho it be said, that there be left there many Bishops & Divines which carry about in their Hearts a desire of the Bishop of Rome; yet your H. may other heal them, or else restrain them.

We offer also unto your gracious Majesty our labor & diligence, [and] if you wil, Learned men to common together of these matters, & shal think [convenient that] both *English* Divines & our Divines to be sent on both parties in *Geldria*, *Hamburgh*, or *Bremen*: Or, if your Gr. had lever, any other meeter place, we gladly wil send chosen or picked men of great Learning & Godlines. And if after that, your Gr. wil common also face to face with some of ours, we wil send good men & wel learned; & wil gladly help with al diligence your Gr's. good Counsils. For we greatly desire a true & a godly Consent to be made between the Churches of *England* & *Germany*. That thing should greatly ornate the Glory of God, & allure other Nations. Therefore we promise our Labor in this busines, with al study to your H. both for the Glory of God, & our friendship.

For seeing now we be more conjoynd with a new knot of Affinity, we greatly desire our Conjunction somewhat to profit the Church of Christ, & the Common wealth. To the which end, the Friendship of Princes ought chiefly to be applied. And for that Cause we do the more rejoyce at the Affinity of your Grace. And we desire that God may give to the mariage of your Graces Majesty, & of the most noble Queen our Alliance, continual felicity. We desire that your Graces Majesty wil take in good worth these our Letters written with most gentlenes, & with a certain singular love to your Gr. & to accept them with as good mind as they were written.

We also thank your Gr. that so lovingly hath declared your good Wil towards us, & beneficial mind, both by Letters & Commandments given to our Counsellors; & that so honorably entreated our Counsellors, & at their departing gave them such Rewards. We also understode that the Letters of allowing the Instruments concerning Doweres sent thither, to have taken a little wet, for the which cause, if you wil [have] another like Example to be written, & sign-

ed with a greater Seal to be sent thither, gladly we wil in that behalf gratify your Majesty.

And further, we thought it expedient to enform your Majesty of this, That we beside those things wherof our Cousin & Brother *Landgrave* instructed you, have perceived again that the Bishop of *Rome*, & certain of his Adherents, yet hitherto doth go about divers things against your Graces Majesty. Wherefore you may not depart from the Watch-place, but must take heed to their Counsils, & devise in what things the *Germans* may be profitable unto you.

These things have we written for the great Love we bear towards your H. as to our most intyrelly beloved Lord, Cousin & Alliance, & that in this thing you wil accept & take in worth our Carefulness & Study. And we pray God the Father of our Lord *Jesus* Christ, to keep long in good health your Royal Majesty, & the most Noble Queen, our dearly Beloved Alliance: Unto whom we desire Salutations be spoken in our behalf. To conclude, We commit unto your Royal Majesty al our Duties, with singular Observance & Love.

We wil not keep secret from your Majesty, that we have assembled here a few dayes together with the Noble Prince *Landgrave Hassie*, & with Orators & Legates of other Princes, & States of the Empire, conjoyned with us in the Cause of Religion, & have deliberated to amend Christian Concord in the Cause of Faith. Wherof *Cesars* Majesty doth put us in hope or comfort. Of the which if it fortune, as it is wont, with unjust rumors to be brought unto your Gr., we wil desire you to give no faith unto them: but to be persuaded, that we wil be both desirous of sincere Concord & public Quietnes; & also do covet nothing more, than that a godly Reformation be enterprized of the Church by the Word of God: which doth seem to be very necessary. And that we verily wil not refuse Truth & Catholic Doctrin of the Church, which we confes to be agreeable to H. Scripture. For this God wil keep & defend, we doubt not, for the Consolation & Health of godly minds, against the Bishop of *Romes* Wil, & also the Gates of Hell.

## N U M B. CXII.

Quidam Doctrinæ Christianæ Articuli, pro Ecclesia Anglicana.

*With some Notes of the King in the Margin.*

### I. De Ecclesia.

*Cleopatra,*  
E. 5.

(a) Sponsa  
Christi cog-  
nita.

(b) Juste.

(c) Aut obsti-  
nati.

**E**CCLESIA præter alias acceptiones in scripturis duas habet præcipuas. Vnam, qua Ecclesia accipitur pro Congregatione Sanctorum, & vere fidelium, qui Christo capiti vere credunt & sanctificantur spiritu ejus. Hæc autem una est, & vere (a) *sanctum corpus Christi*, sed soli Deo *cognitum*, qui hominum corda solus intuetur. Altera acceptio est, qua ecclesia accipitur pro Congregatione, omnium hominum, qui baptizati sunt in Christo, & non palam abnegarunt Christum, nec sunt (b) excommunicati (c).

Quæ



Quæ Ecclesiæ acceptio congruit ejus statui in hac vita dumtaxat; ubi habet malos bonis simul admixtos; (d) *Et debet esse cognita per Verbum, & legitimum usum Sacramentorum*, ut possit audiri. Sicut docet Christus, *Qui Ecclesiam non audierit.* (d) Et cognitio huius Ecclesiæ pervenit per usum Verbi, & Sacramentorum

acceptio, perfecta unitate, ac unanimi consensu, acceptata.

Porro, ad veram unitatem Ecclesiæ requiritur, ut sit consensus in recta doctrina fidei, & administratione Sacramentorum.

*TRADITIONES* vero & ritus atq; cæremoniæ, quæ vel ad decorem, vel ordinem, vel disciplinam Ecclesiæ, ab hominibus sunt institutæ, non omnino necesse est, ut eadem sint ubiq; aut prorsus similes. Hæ enim & variæ fuere, & variari possunt, pro regionum atq; morum diversitate ac commodo. (e) *Sic tamen ut sint consentientes verbo Dei.* (e) Modo Rectoribus placeant: quibus

semper obtemperandum est. Sic tamen ut eorum jussio atq; lex verbo Dei non adversetur. Ista est Ecclesia nostra Catholica & Apostolica, cum qua nec Pontifex *Romanus*, nec quivis aliquis [alius] *Prelatus* aut Pontifex habet quicquam agere, præterquam in suas Dioceses.

Et quamvis in Ecclesia secundum posteriorem acceptionem, mali sunt bonis admixti, atq; etiam ministerijs verbi & Sacramentorum nunquam præsent. tamen cum ministrent non suo, sed Christi nomine, mandato, & auctoritate, licet eorum ministerio uti, tam in verbo audiendo, quam recipiendis Sacramentis. Juxta illud, *Qui vos audit, me audit.* Nec per eorum maliciam imminuitur effectus, aut gratia donorum Christi rite accipientibus. Sunt enim efficacia propter promissionem, & ordinationem Christi, etiamsi per malos exhibeantur.

[*Annotationes in margine sunt D. Regis Henrici VIII. manu propria scriptæ.*]

## II. De Justificatione.

Item, **D**E *JUSTIFICATIONE* docemus, quod ea proprie significat remissionem peccatorum, & acceptionem seu reconciliationem nostram in gratiam & favorem Dei: hoc est, Veram renovationem in Christo: Et quod peccatores licet non assequantur hanc justificationem absq; pœnitentia, & bono ac propenso motu cordis, quem spiritus efficit, erga Deum & proximum, non tamen propter dignitatem aut meritum pœnitentiæ, aut ullorum operum seu meritorum suorum justificantur, sed gratis propter Christum per fidem; cum credunt se in gratiam recipi, & peccata sua propter Christum remitti, qui sua morte pro peccatis nostris satisfecit.

Hanc *FIDEM* imputat Deus pro justitia coram ipso, *Rom. 3, & 4.* Fidem vero intelligimus non inanem & otiosam, sed eam quæ per dilectionem operatur. Est enim vera & Christiana Fides, de qua hic loquimur, non sola notitia articulorum fidei, & credulitas Doctrinæ Christianæ, dumtaxat historica, sed una cum illa notitia, & credulitate, firma fiducia misericordiæ Dei promissæ propter Christum, qua videlicet certo persuademus ac statuimus eum etiam nobis misericordem & propitium. Et hæc fides vere justificat, vere est salutifera, non ficta, mortua, & hypocrytica; sed necessario habet spem & charitatem  
sibi

sibi individue conjunctas; ac etiam studium bene vivendi; & bene operatur pro loco & occasione.

Nam *BONA OPERA* ad salutem sunt necessaria: non quod de impio justum faciens, nec quod sunt pretium pro peccatis, aut causa justificationis; sed quia necessum est, ut qui jam fide justificatus est, & reconciliatus Deo per Christum, voluntatem Dei facere studeat, juxta illud, *Non omnis, qui dicit mihi, Domine, Domine, intrabit regnum cælorum, sed qui facit voluntatem patris mei, qui in cælis est.* Qui vero hæc opera facere non studet, sed secundum carnem vivit, neque veram fidem habet, neque justus est, neque vitam æternam (nisi ex animo resipiscat & vere pœniteat) adsequetur.

### III. De Eucharistia.

**D**E *EUCCHARISTIA* constanter credimus, & docemus, quod in Sacramento corporis & sanguinis Domini, verè & substantialiter, & realiter adsunt corpus & sanguis Christi, sub speciebus panis & vini; & sub eisdem speciebus verè & realiter exhibentur, & distribuuntur illis, qui Sacramentum accipiunt, sive bonis sive malis.

### IV. De Baptismo.

**D**E *BAPTISMO* dicimus, quod Baptismus a Christa sit institutus, & sit necessarius ad salutem; & quod per baptismum offerantur remissio peccatorum, & gratia Christi, infantibus & adultis. Et quod non debeat iterari Baptismus. Et quod Infantes debeant baptizari: Et quod Infantes per baptismum consequuntur remissionem peccatorum, & gratiam; & sunt filij Dei. Quia promissio gratiæ & vitæ æternæ pertinet non solum ad adultos, sed etiam ad infantes. Et hæc promissio per ministerium in ecclesia, infantibus & adultis administrari debet.

Quia vero Infantes nascuntur cum peccato *ORIGINIS*, habent opus remissione illius peccati. Et illud ita remittitur, ut reatus tollatur, licet corruptio naturæ, seu concupiscentia, maneat in hac vita: Et sic incipit sanari, quia Spiritus Sanctus in ipsis etiam infantibus est efficax, & eos mundat suo quodam modo.

Probamus igitur sententiam Ecclesiæ: quæ damnat *Pelagianos*, qui negabant infantibus esse peccatum originis. Damnamus & *Anabaptistas*, qui negant infantes baptizandos esse.

De *ADULTIS* vero docemus, quod ita consequuntur, per baptismum, remissionem peccatorum & gratiam, si baptizandi attulerint pœnitentiam veram, Confessionem articulorum Fidei, & credant verè ipsis ibi donari remissionem peccatorum, & justificationem propter Christum. Sicut *Petrus* ait in *Actis*, *Pœnitentiam agite; & baptizetur unusquisque; vestrum in nomine Jesu Christi in remissionem peccatorum, & accipietis donum Sp. Sancti.*



## V. De Pœnitentia.

**D**E *POENITENTIA* docemus, quod lapsi post Baptismum necessaria sit Pœnitentia : & quod Lapsi, qui in hac vita non agunt veram pœnitentiam certò damnentur. Contra autem, quod Lapsi, quandocunq; verè convertuntur, & agunt vere pœnitentiam, certo consequantur remissionem peccatorum.

Vt autem, quæ sit vera pœnitentia melius cognoscatur, docemus eam esse serium animi dolorem pro peccato, & odium peccati, una cum firma fiducia divinæ misericordiæ, & remissionis peccatorum propter Christum, ac certo proposito vitam in melius commutandi, & deinceps non peccandi.

Habet enim vera pœnitentia, per legem, agnitionem peccati, contritionem, & veros terrores conscientiae; dum peccator sentit Deum irasci peccato, & æterna damnatione se dignum judicat; nec posse ullis, vel virtutibus, vel operibus suis, gratiam & remissionem peccatorum promereri.

Porro autem, ut peccator hujus conscientiae terroribus perculsus, consolationem & remissionem peccatorum consequatur, necessum est, ut se totum ad Deum convertat, & certa fiducia remissionem peccatorum a Deo postulet; credatq; quod Deus sibi velit esse propitius, & peccata condonare propter Christum.

Et quamvis solus Christus sit Hostia, Satisfactio, & unica propitiatio pro peccatis, tamen scire oportet, quod Deus a pœnitentibus necessario requirat fructus dignos pœnitentiæ, hoc est, vitæ novitatem, & carnis mortificationem, & perpetuum studium bene operandi. Juxta illud *Ro. 6. Sicut exhibuistis membra vestra servire immunditiæ & iniquitati, ad iniquitatem; ita nunc exhibete membra vestra servire justitiæ in sanctificationem.* Item *Ephes. 4. Renovamini spiritu mentis vestræ,* &c.

De *CONFESSIO*NE vero, & *ABSOLUTIO*NE privata, docemus, quod retinendæ sunt in ecclesia propter Absolutionem, & multa alia commoda. Quanquam in Confessione non sit necessaria omnium delictorum enumeratio. Est enim impossibilis, juxta *Psal. Delicta quis intelligit?*

## Aliter &amp; prolixius. De Pœnitentia.

**C**lementissimus ac summè misericors Deus, cujus apud Prophetam vox est, *Nolo mortem impij, sed ut impius convertatur a via sua, & vivat,* ut misericordiam suam peccatoribus impertiret, saluberrime instituit pœnitentiam. Quæ cum sit velut aditus quidam & janua ad thronum gratiæ Dei per Jesum Christum, Dominum nostrum, tantam ejus tum utilitatem tum necessitatem esse dicimus, ut omnes qui in mortalia crimina prolapsi sunt, nisi pœnitentiam egerint, æternum supplicium luituri sint. Contra vero, qui hoc salutari pœnitentiæ pharmaco uti voluerint, gratiam & remissionem peccatorum indubie consequentur.

Quum autem peccare a nobis est, resurgere vero a peccatis munus est divinum, valde expedit ut sciamus Sanctum Spiritum hujus, de qua

qua loquimur, poenitentiae authorem esse, & perfectorem; eamq; in peccatore, qui Spiritus motibus obsequitur, hoc modo efficere & operari.

Primum, Peccator per Spiritum Sanctum, & Verbum, peccata sua agnoscit, & veros conscientiae terrores habet, dum iram Dei contra peccata timet. Adhuc, dolet ac ingemiscit propter offensum Deum, & illi peccata sua supplex confitetur, tanto prioris vitae odio, ut secum firmiter statuatur, ad eam postea nunquam reverti. Ad hunc modum peccator contritus & territus peccatorum suorum consideratione, ejusdem Spiritus beneficio erigitur, & certo credit, quod Deus sibi velit esse propitius, & peccata condonare, non merito & dignitate poenitentiae, aut suorum operum, sed ex gratuita misericordia, propter Christum, qui solus est hostia, satisfactio, & unica propitiatio pro peccatis nostris.

Hæc fiducia misericordiae Dei propter Christum, peccatoris conscientiam pavore liberat, terrores expellit, & animum totum huc inflectit, ut jam nihil magis cupiat, quam juxta Dei voluntatem vivere, & postea nunquam peccare. Nam vitae novitatem, sive fructus dignos poenitentiae ad totius poenitentiae perfectionem necessario requirit Deus.

Atq; hujus quidem poenitentiae initium, progressum & finem Scriptura nobis aperte demonstrat. *Ps 37. Non est pax ossibus meis a facie peccatorum meorum.* 1. Jo. 2. *Filioli. hæc scribo vobis, nec peccetis: quod si quis peccaverit, Advocatum habemus apud Deum, Jesum Christum justum. Et ipse est propitiatio pro peccatis nostris.* Et ad Rom. 6. *Sicut exhibuistis membra vestra servire immunditiae & iniquitati, ad iniquitatem; ita nunc exhibete membra vestra servire justitiae, in sanctificationem.*

Porro quoniam Christiani populi pars maxima carnalis est, nec quæ sit vera poenitentia novit, nec quomodo sit agenda intelligit, nec unde sit speranda peccatorum remissio cognoscit: ut in hijs omnibus melius instituat & doceatur, valde utilem ac summe necessariam esse dicimus **CONFESSIÖNEM**, quæ **AURICULARIS** dicitur, & privatim fit ministris ecclesiæ.

Quæ sane *Confessio* modis omnibus in ecclesia, retinenda est, & magnificianda, cum propter hominum imperitorum institutionem in verbo Dei, & alia commoda non parva, de quibus mox dicemus, tum præcipue propter *Absolutionis* beneficium, hoc est, Remissionem peccatorum, quæ in hac Confessione confitentibus offertur & exhibetur per Absolutionem, & potestatem clavium; juxta illud Christi, *Johan. 20. Quorum remiseritis peccata, &c.* Cui absolutioni certo oportet credere. Est enim vox evangelij, qua minister per Verbum, non suo sed Christi nomine & autoritate remissionem peccatorum confitenti annuntiat & offert. Cui voci Evangelij per ministrum sonanti dum confitens recta fide credit & assentitur, illico conscientia ejus fit certa de remissione peccatorum, & jam certo secum statuit, Deum sibi propitium ac misericordem esse.

Quæ una profecto res Christianos omnes magnopere debeat permovere, ut *Confessionem*, in qua per Absolutionem gratiæ & remissionis peccatorum certitudo concipitur & confirmatur, modis omnibus & ament & amplectantur.

Et in hac privata Absolutione Sacerdos potestatem habet absolvendi Confitentem ab omnibus peccatis etiam illis, quæ solita sunt vocari

*Casus*



*Casus reservati.* Ita tamen, ut ille privatim absolutus nihilominus pro manifestis criminibus, si in jus vocetur, publicis judicijs subiaceat.

Accedunt huc & alia Confessionis arcanæ commoda: Quorum unum est, quod indocti ac imperiti homines nusquam rectius aut melius quam in Confessione de doctrina Christiana institui possint. Nam cum animos attentos ac dociles in confessione afferunt, diligenter ad ea, quæ a Sacerdote dicuntur, animum advertunt.

Quocirca & fides eorum explorari potest, & quid peccatum sit, & quæ sunt peccatorum inter se discrimina & varietates, doceri poterunt. Multi enim, propterea quod hoc ignorent, in conscientijs sæpe graviter anguntur, illic trepidantes timore, ubi timor non est: *Qui* (ut servator ait) *culicem excolantes, camelum deglutiunt*, in minimis levissimisq; peccatis valde anxij, de maximis & gravissimis non perinde dolent.

Sunt porro qui peccatis adeo irretiuntur, ut semet nesciant explicare; quos doctis pijsq; consilijs Sacerdos facile liberat, & exolvit. Ad hæc, pusillanimes de venia peccatorum desperantes, solatur & erigit: hypocritas, qui peccata sua non sentiunt, verbo Dei instruit & severiter reprehendit, conscientias trepidantes confirmat, anxias tranquillat; breviter, rationes & remedia commonstrat, quibus Satanæ tentationes vincere, & peccata fugere poterint.

Jam vero Philautiæ morbum, quo multi in proprijs vitijs cecutiunt, & sibi ipsis nimium indulgent, peccata sua leviora esse putantes, quam reipsa sunt, hæc Confessio peccatorum magnopere corrigit & emendat. Quandoquidem in Confessione enormitatem & gravitatem peccatorum multo verius & altius aspicimus ac contemplamur, quam si tacita duntaxat cogitatione nobiscum in animo ea revolveremus.

Accedit huc, quod nusquam melius aut efficacius, quam in Confessione peccatorum, humanæ mentis superbia frangitur, & animi humilitas acquiritur, ac retinetur; dum homo homini propter Deum se submittit, & pectoris sui arcana aperit.

Adhæc, pudor retegendi peccata multos mortales, ne in eadem relabantur, valde retrahit atq; cohibet.

Porro, quisquis simpliciter, & tanquam coram Deo, peccata sua Sacerdoti aperit, declarat se Dei timorem habere, eumq; timorem, hac animi submissione, magis etiam conservat & auget.

Jam ipsa Confessionis meditatio plurimum utilitatis adfert: utpote quæ facit, ut homo seipsum noscat, dum magnitudinem, copiam & turpitudinem suorum criminum scrutatur & considerat. Unde nascitur & detestatio ac odium peccatorum, & propositum abstinendi ab eisdem.

Quod vero ad enumerationem peccatorum spectat, censemus scrupulosam, & anxiam non esse requirendam, ne laqueum injiciat hominum conscientijs & nimium timorem, qui vel dubios reddat, vel fiduciam remissionis auferat. Et quemadmodum non probamus illam scrupulosam & anxiam, ita censemus segnem & supinam negligentiam in re tam salutari magnopere periculofam esse & fugiendam.

Quod siqui sunt, qui hanc confessionem vel damnant vel rejiciunt, hi profecto se in verbo Dei institutionem, & absolutionis beneficium, quod in confessione datur, & alia quæ ante diximus commoda, negligere & contemnere ostendunt: nec animadvertunt se in Orbem Christianum maximam peccandi licentiam invehere, & magnam hominibus in omne scelus ruendi occasionem præbere.

## VI. De Sacramentorum usu.

**D**Ocemus quod Sacramenta, quæ per verbum Dei instituta sunt, non tantum sint notæ professionis inter Christianos, sed magis certa quædam testimonia, & efficacia signa gratiæ & bonæ voluntatis Dei erga nos. Per quæ Deus invisibiliter operatur in nobis, & suam gratiam in nos invisibiliter diffundit, siquidem ea rite susceperimus. Quodq; per ea excitatur & confirmatur Fides in hijs, qui eis utuntur.

Porro docemus, quod ita utendum sit Sacramentis, ut in adultis præter veram contritionem, necessario etiam debeat accedere Fides, quæ credat presentibus promissionibus, quæ per Sacramenta ostenduntur, exhibentur & præstantur. Neq; enim in illis verum est, quod quidam dicunt, Sacramenta conferre gratiam ex opere operato sine bono motu utentis. Nam in ratione utentibus necessarium est, ut fides etiam utentis accedat, per quam credat illis promissionibus, & accipiat res promissas, quæ per Sacramenta conferuntur.

De Infantibus vero, cum temerarium sit eos a misericordia Dei excludere; præsertim cum Christus in Evangelio dicat, *Sinite parvulos ad me venire: talium est enim regnum cælorum*: Et alibi, *Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua & spiritu sancto, non potest intrare in regnum cælorum*: Cùmq; perpetua Ecclesiæ catholicæ consuetudine, jam inde ab ipsis Apostolorum temporibus receptum sit, infantes debere baptizari in remissionem peccatorum: Dicimus quòd Sp. Sanctus efficax sit in illis, & eos in baptismo mundet, quemadmodum supra in articulo de *Baptismo* dictum est.

## NUMB. CXIII.

The Kings Commission to the Convocation; To Examine the Validity of his Mariage with the Lady *Anne of Cleves*.

MSS.  
D. G. H. Eq.  
Aur.

**HENRICUS** Octavus Dei gratia, Angliæ & Franciæ Rex, Fidei Defensor, Dns. Hiberniæ, ac in terris immediate sub Christo Supremum Caput Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, Archiepis. Cant. & Eboracen. ac cæteris Regni nostri Angliæ Epis. Decanis, Archidiaconis, & universo Clero, Salutem:

**E**Gerunt apud nos Regni nostri Proceres & Populus, ut, cum nuper quædam emerferunt, quæ, ut illi putant, ad Nos Regniq; nostri successionem pertineat, inter quæ præcipua est Causa & Condicio Matrimonij, quod cum Illustri & Nobili Fœmina Dna. *Anna Clevensi*, propter externam quidem Conjugij speciem perplexum, alioqui etiam multis ac varijs modis ambiguum vident: Nos ad hujusmodi Matrimonij



Matrimonij disquisitionem ita procedere dignaremur, ut Opinionem vestram, qui in Ecclesia nostra *Anglicana* scientiam Verbi Dei & Doctrinam profiteamini, exquiramus. Vobisq; discutiendi auctoritatem ita demandemus, ut si animis vestris fuerit persuasum, Matrimonium cum præfata Dna. minime consistere aut cohærere debere, Nos ad Matrimonium contrahendum cum alia liberos esse, vestro primum ac reliquæ deinde Ecclesiæ suffragio, pronuncietur & Confirmetur.

N O S autem qui vestrum, in reliquis Ecclesiæ hujus *Anglicanæ* negotijs gravioribus, quæ Ecclesiasticam Oeconomiam & Religionem spectent, iudicium amplecti solemus, ad veritatis explicandæ testimonium omnino necessarium rati sumus, Causæ huiusmodi Matrimonialis seriem & Circumstantias Vobis exponi & communicari curare: Ut quod Vos per Dei leges licere decreveritis, id demum totius Ecclesiæ nostræ Auctoritate innixi, licite facere & exequi publicè audeamus. Vos itaq; convocari & Synodum universalem nostra auctoritate convenire Volentes, Vobis, conjunctim & divisim, committimus atq; mandamus, ut inspecta hujus Negotij Veritate ac solum Deum præ oculos habentes, quod verum, quod justum, quod honestum, quod sanctum est, id Nobis de communi Consilio, scripto autentico, renunciatis; & communi consensu licere definiatis. Nempe hoc unum a Vobis nostro more postulamus, ut tanquam fida & proba Ecclesiæ membra Causa huic Ecclesiasticæ, quæ maxima est, in Justitia & Veritate adesse velitis, & eam maturissimè, juxta Commissionem Vobis in hac parte factam, absolvere & expedire. In cujus rei Testimonium has Literas nostras fieri fecimus Patentes, Teste meipso apud *Westmonasterium*, sexto die Julij anno Regni nostri Trecesimo Secundo.

Anno 1540.

## N U M B. CXIV.

The Depositions of divers of the Noble men, & others, before the Convocation; Concerning the Kings Mariage with the Lady *Anne* of *Cleves*.

- I. *The Depositions of the Right Honorable Thomas Awdely, Lord Chancellor, Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Duke of Norfolk, Charles Duke of Suffolk, William Earl of Southampton, & Cuthbert Bishop of Durham, al joyntly together, are these:*

**A**fter the Quene was brought to *Grenewich*, at her first Arryval, the Kings Grace, willing to be adcertayned whether such Promises as were made for the Clearing of the Spousalls or Mariage betwixt her & the Duke of *Lorraine* his eldest Son, were performed, deferred the despousing of the Quene two dayes: And the said Evenyng entred Communication by his Counsaill with theym that were her Conducters, to know what they had brought in that mat-

MSS.  
Cottonian.

tier, which were the Chieff about her. Who answered, that they had brought nothing at al in Writing, albeit at *Wyndesore* the contrary was promysed, that the said Spousalls should be clerely put out of doubt: And therupon Instructions were sent to Doctor *Wotton*, then Résident in *Cleves*, to sollicite the clearing therof; as he brought forth before the said Ambassadors avouched that he had don. But that notwithstanding nothing they had brought, nor could shew, but only by Words made a light mattier of it, Saying, It was don in their Minority. & had never after taken any effect. Wherewith the Kings Majesty being mervaillousslie discontent, was in mynd to have stayed, & not to have proceded further to the Solemnization of his Mariage, Onles great sute had ben made unto hym by these to whom the Traduction of the Quene was committed by the Duke her Brother: Who promised of new within a bref time after their Arryval into their Country, to send such a discharge of that Mattier as shuld put al out of doubt. Which promises not only they have not fulfilled, but also sent such a Writing for a discharge not being autentique, that putteth it in moch more doubt, cowching the Words of that sort, that thespousals by theym spoken of to have ben made long agoo, may be taken for Espousals not only *De futuro*, but also *De presenti*; which intriketh the mattier moch more, & doth not clere it, as it was promysed; as by the Instrument therby it wil appere to al that read it. So that neyther the Condition by theym promysed, to take that doubt away, is fulfilled, nor yet, as it may appere, can be fulfilled. For if better mattier could have ben shewed, better they wold have sent, after so great staves made, & so greté promyses therof estones renewed. So it appereth plainly the Kings Mariage not to be clered, as was promysed, but to remayne more intriked. And the Condition of the clering therof, put always therunto by the Kings Majesty, not to be fulfilled in any wise by them that so promised.

*Thomas Awdely* Chancellor. *Charles Suffolk.*

*T. Cantuarien.*

*W. Southampton.*

*T. Norfolk.*

*Cuthbert Duresme.*

## II. *The Deposition of the Duke of Suffolk, Lord Great Master.*

**T**HE said Lord saith, How in the begynnyng of the Treatie of the Mariage betwene the Kings Majesty & the Lady *Anne* of *Cleves*, he noted specially that the Kings Majesty constantly affirmed, how his Highnes wold do nothing therin, onely [onles] the precontract betwene the said Lady, & the Marques of *Lorraine* were first clered. Wherupon the Commissioners of the Duke of *Saxe & Cleves* toke upon theym, & promised at the repayr of the said Lady into *England*, to bring the ful & evydent clering therof; which they did not. And therfor the Kings Majesty shewed himself not contented to be so handeled; & was as earnest to have the mattier clered as bifore. And for that Cause the Solemnization was differred from Soneday to Tuesday, to compas the end. Wherin the Earl  
of



of *Essex* travailled with the Kings Highnes apart. And so that matter passed over. The said Duke saith also, how, for that he saw, noted & considered in the Kings Highnes Countenance, Fashion & Behaviour, he thinketh his Grace liked not the Quenes Person, ne had affection: But his Highnes, as the said Duke than thought, wold have ben glad, if the Solemnization might than to the World have ben disappointed, without note of breach of his Highnes behalf.

*Charles Suffolk.*

### III. *The Deposition of therle of Southampton, Lord Privy Seal.*

**T**HE said Erle saith, How at such tyme as the Kings Majesty appointed hym, being than Admyral, to receve the Quene at *Calise*, & conduct her over the Seas, he, upon the first sight of her, considering it was than no tyme to dyspraise her there, whom so many had by Reportes & Paintings so moch extolled, did, by his Lettres moch prayse her, & set her forth, wherewith the Kings Majesty, upon sight of her Person, was not contented. As Sir *Anthony Browne* declared to the said Erle at his Repair to the Court, & as the said Erle might perceave by the Kings Highnes countenance. Wherof the said Erle was very sory; & specially to se the Kings Majesty so to mislike the personage of the Quene. At which tyme therle of *Essex* calling the said Erle of *Southampton* to hym, layd fore to his charge, that he had so moch praysed the Quene by his Letters from *Calise*, declaring therby his malicious purpose, how he entended to take occasion to do displeasure to the said Erle, & to turn al the Kings Miscontentment upon the shulders of the said Erle of *Southampton*. Unto whom the said Erle of *Southampton* answered, That he thought his Prayse to good purpose, if he could have done any good by it, the matter being so far passed. And with such & other like Words passed over the Communication with the said Erle of *Essex*: And in his own hart was very sory to se the Kings Highnes so coldly to procede to the execution of the Solemnization of the Mariage according to the Treaty passed. For whereas the Mariage should have been upon the Soneday, it was deferred until Tuesday following: & much fault found for clearing of the Precontract, & want of a Commission. Thending of which Controversies therle of *Essex*, repairing secretly unto the King, did procure. But what he said to the King, the said Erle of *Southampton* cannot tel. The said Erle of *Southampton* saith also, how eight days after the Solemnization, therle of *Essex* told him, how the Quene was than a Maid for the Kings Highnes, & that the Kings Highnes had no affection to her, & misliked her Body, & the disposition therof. The said Erle saith also, how a little before Easter last past, the Kings Highnes brake his mind frankly to the said Erle, Declaring how his Grace had not yet known carnally the Quene, with such other matter & circumstance not to be openyd; as induceth the said Erles Conscience to think, that the Kings Highnes hath not carnally known the Quene, ne cannot, for the Disposition of her Body, be provoked therunto:

therunto : as by such mattier as the Kings Highnes than & sins did open unto him, doth appere to be true.

*W. Southampton.*

IV. *The Deposition of my Lord Admiral [L. Russel.]*

**M**Y Lord Admyral saith, That whan the King cam to *Rocheſter* to ſe the Quene, he ſaw the King, at the firſt view of the Quene, mervailloſly aſtoned & abaſhed. And the next day returning from *Rocheſter*, his Grace called the ſaid Lord Admyral unto him, ſaying, How like you this Woman? Do you think her ſo fair, & of ſuch beauty as report hath ben made unto me of her? I pray you tel me trouth. Wherunto the ſaid L. Admyral answered, That he toke her not for faire, but to be of a brown Complexion. And the Kings Highnes ſaid, Alas! whom ſhuld men truſt? I promiſe you, ſaith he, I ſe no ſuch thing in her, as hath been ſhewed me of her, & am aſhamed, that men have ſo prayſed her as they have don, & I like her not. Which Words the Kings Highnes hath ſundry times ſhewed unto him. At which time the ſaid L. Admyral ſaw the Kings Maſteſty ſore troubeled in his Countenance. Al which mattier the ſaid L. Admyral told Sir *Anthony Browne*, who declared to the ſaid L. Admyral, how the Kings Highnes had ſhewed the like unto hym. And further the ſaid L. Admyral ſaith, that the Kings Highnes hath ſundry times lamented unto him his Eſtate in this pretended Mariage; & he ſaith how before the Mariage, & ſins, obſerving & noting the Kings Highnes Countenance, with other things not to be diſcloſed, he hath perceyved by his faſhion & maner, that he hath ben nothing content with this Mariage, but always troubled & unquiet therein.

By me *J. Ruſſel.*

V. *The Depoſition of the Lord Cobham.*

**I**T chaunced the younger *Palant*, at his being here, to commun with my L. *Cobham*. To whom after diſcurſe of ſundry mattiers betwene them, the ſaid *Palant* ſayd, that he was ſory to ſe the Kings Maſteſty, being ſo vertuous a Prince, enter this Matrimony: At *Weſtminſter* the ſixth day of July the XXXII year of the Kings Maſteſties moſt noble Reigne.

*George Cobham.*

VI. *The Depoſition of Sir Anthony Browne, Maſter of the Horſe.*

**T**HE ſaid Sir *Anthony* ſaith, how at the arryval of the Quene at *Rocheſter*, the Kings Highnes appointed to go thither to ſe her upon Newyeres day, & ordered the ſaid *Anthony* to wayt upon hym: & at his Comyng thither, to go before unto her with this meſſage,



message, How he had brought her a Newyers Gift, if it liked her to se it. And when the said Sir *Anthony* entred the Chambre where she was, & having conceived in his mind, what was by Pictures & Advertisements signified of her Beauty & Qualities, at the general View of the Ladies he thought he saw no such thing there, & yet were thother of better favour than the Quene. But whan he was directed unto herself, & advisedly loked upon her, he saith, he was never more dismayed in al his Life, lamenting in his hart, which altered his outward Countenance, to se the Lady so far & unlike that was reported, & of such sort as he thought the Kings Highnes shuld not content hymself with her. Nevertheles at his Retorne to the Kings Majesty with her Answer, the said Sir *Anthony* said nothing, ne durst not. Than whan the Kings Highnes entred to embrace her, & kifs her, the said Sir *Anthony* saith, he saw & noted in the Kings Highnes Countenance such a discontentment & misliking of her Person, as he was very sory of it. For the said Sir *Anthony* saith, He moch marked that the Kings Highnes taried not to speak with her twenty words, but called for her Counsail, & with his Counsail & theym devysed Communication al that night, the Kings Highnes without shewing any cherful or mery countenance disclosed not his hart. But wheras the Kings Majesty had brought with him a Partlet furred with Sables & richly garnysed, Sable skins garnysed to wear about her neck, with a Muffley furred, to geve the Quene, & a Capp, the Kings Highnes passed over the execution of his intent that night, & in the morning sent them by the said Sir *Anthony Browne* with as cold & single a Message as might be.

The said Sir *Anthony* saith also, How the Kings Majesty retourning in his Barge from thens to *Grenewich*, said to the said Sir *Anthony*, by his Highnes commandment than sitting by him, these Words very sadly & pensively, I see nothing in this Woman as men report of her : & I mervail that wise men wold make such report as they have don. With which Words the said Sir *Anthony* was abashed, fearing lest any thing shuld be objected to my Lord of *Southampton* his Brother, for that he had written to her Prayse.

The said Sir *Anthony* saith also, how the Lady his Wife departed, who was appointed to wayte upon her, told him before the Mariage, how she saw in the Quene such fashion, & maner of bringing up so gross, & far discrepant from the Kings Highnes appetite, that in her judgment the Kings Highnes should never hartily love her.

The said Sir *Anthony* saith also, how the Evening before the Mariage solemnized, he saw the Kings Highnes nothing pleasantly disposed, but heard hym say, that he had a great Yoke to enter into. And the Morning the Kings Highnes prepared himself so slakely to go to the Chappel to make Solemnization, as in his Countenance, Fashion & Behaviour he declared evidently, that he went to do that Act, as hym thought, wherunto his Grace was not moved, ne directed by his entyre & harty Consent ; According wherunto he heard the Kings Highnes speak Words in marching forwards to the Erle of *Essex* : Which Words nevertheles he did not so persitely hear as like he can report the same : but they seemed to this Sense, that the Kings Highnes said, *He must nedes.*

Finally,

Finally, the said Sir *Anthony* saith, that by fundry the Kings Highnes behaviours before & after the Mariage, he judgeth in his Conscience that the King did never in his hart favour the Lady to marry her, if outward respects had not enforced him to that Act.

VII. *The Deposition of Sir Thomas Hennege Knt.*

**T**HE said Sir *Thomas* saith, How even sen the Kings Highnes saw the Quene, his Grace never liked her, as the said Sir *Thomas* judgeth. For he heard him say, before the Mariage & syns, How that his Highnes had ben yvel served of theym that his Grace had put in trust. Infomoch as so often as his Grace went to bed to her he ever grudged, & said plainly he mistrusted her to be no Mayd, by reason of the loseness of her brests, & other Tokens. And furthermore, that he could have none Appetite with her to do as a man shuld do with his wife, for such displeasaunt ayres as he felt with her. And the said Sir *Thomas* hath so oftentimes heard his Majesty say thus from time to time, that he judgeth in his Conscience the Quene, for any part of the Kings Body, to be yet as good a Mayd as ever she was. And therupon he durst take his death.

*Thomas Hennege.*

VIII. *The Deposition of Mr. Anthony Denny, Gentleman of the Privy Chamber.*

**T**HE said *Anthony Denny* saith, That wheras hymself, at the first arryval of the Quene, & long after, toke evermore occasion to prayse her to the Kings Highnes, his Majesty wold never approve those prayses, but said ever, she was no such as she was praysed for. And after that, upon contynual Prayings, the Kings Highnes said to the said *Anthony Denny*, How he wold utter playnly to hym, as to a Servant whom he used secretly about hym, how indeede his Highnes could not induce hymself to have affection to the Quene, for that she was not as she was reported, but had her Brests so flake, & other parts of Body in such sort, that his Highnes somewhat suspected her Virginity, & concluded that her Body was of such Indisposition to his, that he could never in her Company be provoked & stered to know her carnally. At which tyme the said *Anthony*, for answer to the Kings Highnes saying, lamented the State of Princes to be, in matters of Mariage, far of worse sort than the Condition of poor men. For Princes take as is brought theym by others, & poor men be commonly at their own choyce & liberty. The said *Anthony* remembreth not precisely the Tyme of this Communication, but he thinketh it was before *Lent*. Syns which time the Kings Highnes at sundry seasons hath had communications to like effect. By which communications the said *Anthony* thinketh the Quene to remain undefiled of the Kings Highnes Body, & for any Act of his Highnes, to be stil a Mayd.

By me *Antony Deny*.

IX. *The*



IX. *The Deposition of Thomas Wriothesley, one of the Kings principal Secretaries.*

THE said Sir *Thomas* saith, That eyther the sixth or seventh day of June last passed, but whether of theym he parfitely remembreth not, whan the *L. Crumwel* than Lord Privy Seal, came home to his House nere the late *Augustine* Friers in *London* from the Court: It chaunced the said Sir *Thomas* to go into his Gallery, where he found hym alone leanyng in his Window. Of whom the said *L. Crumwel* demaunded, Have we any newys? None, Sir, quoth the said Sir *Thomas*, but that I wold be glad to go to my house hereby, to devyse how to make it fit for me, onlesse you shal commaund me to do any other busynes. Nay, quoth he, I have no busines now: But one thyng resteth in my hedd, which troubleth me, & I thought to tel it you. The King, quoth he, liketh not the Quene, ne did ever like her from the begynnyng. Insomoch as I thynk adsurely she be yet as good a Mayd for hym, as she was whan she came to *England*. Marie, Sir, quoth the said *Wriothesley*, I am right sory that his Majesty shuld be so troubled: for Goddes sake devyse how his Grace may be releved by one wey or other. Yea, how, quoth he? I cannot sodainly tel, quoth *Wriothesley*. But standyng the Case as you say it doth, I thynk some wey may be devysed in it. Wel, wel, quoth he, it is a grete mattier. So it is, quoth I, & so we departed for that tyme. The next day following, as I remember, having occasion estsones for busines to repair unto hym, I chaunced to say, Sir, I have thought somewhat of the Mattier ye told me, & I find it a great Mattier; but, Sir, it can be made no better than it is. For Goddes sake devyse for the relese of the King; for if he remain in this gref & trouble, we shal al one day smart for it. If his Grace be quiet, we shal have our parts with hym. It is trew, quoth he, but I tel you, it is a grete mattier. Mary, quoth I, I graunte, but let the remedy be serched for. Wel, quoth he; & thus brake off from me.

Per me *Thomam Wriothesley*.

X. *The Deposition of Mr. Doctor Chamber.*

THE said Mr. Doctor *Chamber* deposeth, that in his Conscience he thinketh the Kings Highnes not to have carnally known the Quene. And he is moved thus to say & think, for that the Kings Highnes used the Counsaile of the said Dr. *Chamber* to remedy the indisposition of his Graces Body. And the morning after the first night, whan the Kings Highnes lay with the Quene, his Majesty unasked did of hymself say to the said Doctor *Chamber*, how that he had not that night knowen the Quene, And so he did likewise divers other times, consulting with hym therupon. In which Consultation the said Dr. *Chamber* counsailled his Majesty not to enforce hymself, for eschewing such inconveniences as by Debility ensueing in

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that

that case were to be feared. And the said Dr. Chamber finally saith, how joyning together the Kings Highnes Truth & Wisdome with such reports as his Majesty hath from tyme to tyme made, & adding therunto the disposition of the Kings Highnes Body, wherunto he hath ben continually made privy, he esteemeth it in his Conscience for Truth, that the Kings Majesty hath not hitherto known carnally the Quene.

The said Mr. Doctor saith also, how the Kings Majesty hath, as to his Physician, secretly declared unto hym, & Mr. Doctor Butts together, how his Grace found her Body in such a fort disordered & indisposed to excite & provoke any Lust in hym; yea rather ministring matter of Lothsomenes unto the same, that his Majesty could not in any wise overcome that Lothsomeness, ne in her Company be provoked or stered to that Act.

*John Chamber.*

### XI. *The Deposition of Mr. Doctor Butts.*

**T**HE said Mr. Dr. Butts saith, how the morning after the first night the Kings Highnes lay with the Quene, his Majesty said unto hym, & Mr. Dr. Chamber, that he had not that night carnally known the Quene. The second night he lay not with her: the third & fourth night his Grace lay with her, and always confessed he could not know her. And so hath continually confessed unto the said Dr. Butts to this day. And in the mean tyme hath Confessed to the said Dr. Butts, that he hath had *Duas pollutiones nocturnas in Somno*. And thought hymself able to do thact with other but not with her. And upon these Informations the said Dr. Butts thinketh that the Kings Highnes did never carnally know her.

The said Dr. Butts saith also, how the Kings Highnes complained unto hym of the mislyking of her Body for the hanging of her Brests, & loofnes of her Flesh.

*W. Butts.*

*Then followeth a Letter of the L. Crumwells of the same Matter, superscribed, To the King my most Gracious Sovereign Lord his Royal Majestie. But this I insert not, being already published in Bishop Burnets History of the Reformation.*

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lect. p. 193.

*Such Communication as was betwene the Quenys Grace, & the Ladies of Rutland, Rocheford & Edgecomb, the Tuesday or Wennesday before Midsummer day last, at Westminster.*

**F**irst, Al they being together, they wished her Grace with Child. And she answered & said, She knew wel she was not with Child. My Lady Edgecomb said, How is it possible for your Grace to know that, & ly every night with the King? I know it wel I am not, said she. Than said my Lady Edgecomb, I think your Grace is a Mayd stil. With that she laughed. And than said my Lady Rocheford,



*Rocheford*, By our Lady, Madam, I think your Grace is a Mayd stil, indede. How can I be a Mayd, said she, & slepe every night with the King? There must be more than that, said my Lady *Rocheford*, or els I had as leve the King lay further. Why, said she, whan he comes to bed he kisses me, & taketh me by the hand, & byddeth me, Good night Swete hart: & in the Morning kisses me, & byddeth me, Farewel Darlyng. Is not thys enough? Than said my Lady *Rutland*, Madam, there must be more than this, or it wil be long or we have a Duke of *York*, which al this Realm most desireth. Nay, said the Quene, is not this enough? I am contented with this, for I know no more. Then said my Lady *Rutland*, Did not your Grace tel Mother *Low* this? Than said the Quene, Mary, Fy, fy for shame. God forbid. These Words she hath said to them altogether, & to eche of theym apart divers & sondry tymes. And the Quene declared to my Lady *Rocheford*, how the King used her the four first nights: which was to theeffect afore written.

*Eleonore Rutland.*

*Jane Rocheford.*

*Catherine Edgecomb.*

*Then follow the Kings own Assertions in this Business; but Bishop Burnet hath published them in his Work of the Reformation aforesaid. And therefore I spare it here.*

## N U M B. CXV.

*Robert Wisdome* a Prisoner in Lollards Tower; His Vindication of himself, against certain Articles charged upon him.

*Grace, Mercy & Peace from God our Father, & from the Lord Jesu Christ, be with the gentil Reader now & ever.* Foxij MSS.

**I**T is no new thing, Gentil Reader, for Preachers to ly by the heels for preaching: nether is it any strange matter for Bishops & Priests to be Persecutors of Gods Trewthe: Which thei afore al men shulde preache & maynteyne. Nether shalt thou mervail mutch at yt, if thou cal to mynd the Histories of *Helyas*, & *Micheas*, *Hieremias*, *Esaias*, & al other the Lords Servants & Prophets. It shal also appere right wel to thee to be no news, yf thou remembre *John Baptist* in prison, & *Petre* in chains; *Paul* also prisoner of *Jesu Christ*. Mat. 11. A.H. 12. Eph. 4. And wold to God that Examples of our tymes were as rare as they were in the Apostells tyme, & that the New Impiety did not far exceede the Old Unfaithfulnes. But as Christ said, the Persecution of thes latter Dayes is far worse than it was then: as the World groweth in age, so doth the Iniquity encrease into the Hevin, & provoketh Mat. 24.

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God

Mat. 15.

2. Pet. 2.

Dan. 9.

Mar. 13.

2. Theff. 2.

God to strike, if he dare, thes strong & stowte *Nembroths*, Hunters & Persecutors of al godlines & goodnes, & mighty Repairers & Builders of *Babel* now begon to fal. Yt maketh them to rore & cry to fe & perceyve that Gods prayfes shuld sound out of the mouth of the Infants & suckyng Children. Nether can thei be content tyl thei have uttered their malice & fury, saying to Christ, Master, Rebuke thi Disciples. But because Christ wil not rebuke the Children, but willeth that thei be brought to him, therefore our New *Pharisees* rebuke the Preachers by casting them into Prisons, by making lyes & slanders upon them, & working them al mischief that thei can imagin. And thes are our Holy Fathers, & Priests of our Mother the holy Catholick Chirche, which have procured the forbidding of the Scripture among the People. Wel! let them alone, they are blind, & Leaders of the blind. It is trewth that S. *Petre* said, *Thei some owt their awn Shame*. He that readeth the Abominacyon standing in the holy place, & the Myltery of Iniquity wrought by the Son of Perdition, let hym now perceyve, & fe, & understand. But be thou of a good hert, & strong cowrage in the Lord; which seal-eth the Seas, & poynteth the waves their Limytes, how far thei shal flow, & where their Surges shal burst within themselves. For when men hold their peace, the stones shal cry. So invincible is Gods Trewth; that the domb Elements must first confes yt, or be suppressed. And as it is impossible to cover the Son, but yt wil arise & shine over al the Erth, so it is impossible to lett the Course of the Gospel, but it shal ever, when God wil have it, come furth, & appere in the harts of men, & prosper in those things, wherunto God doth send it.

1. Job. 5.

I. Now forasmuch as many wondre what they lay to my charge, you shal know, that first afor the Councel was laid to me certayn Textes in a litle Boke of the X Commandments. The Texts are these, *Babes; kepe your selves from Images*. This Text thei lay to my charge as an heresy; that I wolde destroy al Ymages. But this is my mynd of Images. I think that Christen men owght not to worship them, nor serve them. Whether they may be in the Temples of Christen men, or no, there are dyvers Opinions, but al men agree, that they may not be worshipped. A gret occasion of flaundre hath come by them not only to Intidels, *Jews & Turks*: But they have been the Cause, that many honest men have bene murdered by Antichrist & his Chapleyns thorow the whole world: And whether other Abominatyons have chanced by them, read the 13 & 14 of the Boke of *Wisdom*.

II. Another Article propounded against me is, That I said Christ shal, at the day of Judgment, reward onli of mercy, & not our meryts. This Article is right falsely gathered owt of my Sermon in S. *Stephens* Day. Wherin when I had declared what the Law of God requireth of us, & how unperfect al our Rightwysnes is, & had moved al men to set hand upon Rightwysnes of Faith in *Jesu* Christ; Shewing that he is the perfection of the Law to al that beleve; I exhorted to such Good works as are required by the Law of God. Shewing by the Scripture, that though al our Works are unable to stond



stoned in the judgment of Christ, &, for their Dignytie, to require the Immortal glory : Yet God of his rich mercy wold for Christ & in Christ, accept them as perfect & welpleasing, & reward them with the Crown of immortal glory. And in this Declaring, I recyted a Saying of S. Austen, which is this, "*Thou, O God, shalt save them, saith David, for nothing. What is this, Thou shalt save them for nothing ? Thou findest in them nothing, wherby thou mayest save them, & yet dost thou save them. Freely thou givest, freely thou savest. Thou goest before al meryts, that thy gifts may obtayn thy meryts. Utterly dost thou give freely, save freely ; which findest nothing wherof thou mayest save, & findest much, wherof thou mayest condempn.*" And agein ; Thou hast done no good, In Ps. 31. & yet is remission of sins given unto thee. Let the Works be looked upon, & thei be found al evyl. If God shuld geve thee that which is dew to thy Works, he shuld surely dampn thee. But he giveth not the pain dew, but giveth thee grace, which is not dew. And again, When God crowneth thy Meryts, he crowneth nothing but his own gifts. For the Psalmist saith, *He crowneth thee with mercy & loving kindnes.*

But thes Texts & Sayings of the Doctors sounded so in the ears of Good Works. one Hoggard, that, according to his name, he swynishly hath accused me, This is myne Opinion of Good Works. Those are Good Works that the Scripture of God alloweth for Good. That is, Al that tend to the Glory of God, & to the profit of our Christen Brother. Thes Works ought every Christen man to apply with al his power : And yet knowledging the imperfectnes of this lyfe to say, as Christ teacheth, *We are unprofitable Servants.* Notwithstanding ther remayneth Luc. 17. much reward to those works ; forasmuch as God by Christ accepteth them as perfect, & crowneth them, not for their awn dignity, but for the Dignity of Christ, in whom thei are accepted. And wold to God al that profess Christ in tonge & word, wold study to excel in Good Works in dede & trewth : & then might they assuredly loke for the Reward of God, Rewarder of al Goodnes. But we cry out, & wil have no less then Hevin for our Works ; which yet are such, as nether are commaunded of God, & nothing at al profit our neibour. We esteame him an Holy one that every day heareth a Mas or twayn : Yet wil he not gretly stick to ly, forswere, disteyne & beguyle his neibour. He that eateth no eggs on the Friday is owned to fast wel ; but the same shal with his virulent & Adders tonge, devoure & eat his Brother by backbyting. Another seameth to have perfect Holines for saying over his Beads ; yet shal the same be nother affraid, like an Hoggard, to persecute & accuse even of Heresie his his Christen brother, & with his lyes & slanderous tonge embrew his hands with bloud of Innocents. Such was the Holines of the old *Pharisees*, to tyth Mint & Annett : But the weighty matters of the Mat. 23. Law, Judgment, Faith & Mercy they overpassed.

So our new *Pharisees* invent every one his awn phantasie to be Good Works, but the Good Works assigned & commaunded of God, they not once so much loke for it. And whensoever this their Hypocrisie is a litil towched, then begin thes Godly ones, to breath out their fry charitie, & cannot rest in quiet tyl thei have accomplished their



Loke on Chry-  
sostom, in the  
89 Hom. Of  
Prayer.

A place of  
Matthew  
expounded,  
Chap. 23.

Pf. 142.

Heb. 10, 11.  
Rom. 14.

Luc. 6.

1. Pet. 4.

1. Cor. 4.

1. Cor. 1.

their nature, & murdered their pore brother *Abel*. Oh! Hypocrisie!  
O! devilish Dissimulation! O! fained Sanctitie! Double Iniquity!  
With what face, countenance & chere canst thou lift up thy hands  
to God, the Fowntayn of goodnes, seing thy mynd overfloweth so  
with malignity & mischefe? How askest thou mercy of God, that  
nourishest such crueltie ageynst thy Brother? How darest thou ap-  
proch to God which giveth benefits to the unworthy & unkind, when  
thou art so ungentil & ful of wickednes, to work mischefe & evil to  
him, that studiously seeketh to do al men good & profit? How  
wilt thou drink, nay once come nere to drink the Bloud of the Te-  
stament, which dost nothing else but imagyne how to shed the Bloud  
of thy Neighbour? Oh! *Pharisee*, Hypocrite, seek first Jugement, Faith  
& Mercy, & make clean that which is within, & so shalt thou be  
sure to please God. He *seeketh Judgment*, that cometh into the con-  
sideration of his awn Conscience, & ther deliteth with the Law of  
God, & tryeth & examineth al his Words & Dedes. And he that  
thus doth, shal have smal pleasure in his awn Rightwysnes, nor no  
gret lust to crake of his awn deserts or meryts. He shal rather con-  
fes the Saying of *David* to be trew; *Lord, no lyving Creature shal  
be justified in thi sight.* And as *Job* saith, *If he wil contend with me, I  
cannot answer one for a thousand.*

But that men stick so fore to their awn Meryts, it is an evident  
token that such never yet knew the Law, nor felt the condempna-  
tion of it in their Consciences: Which whoso fealeth, shal soon cast  
down his Pecoock taile that before he spred, & so much gloried in.  
To *seek Faith*, is to do al things after the Word of God: Which  
whoso doeth, shal be assured in his Conscience, that his Work plea-  
seth God. But he that goeth about to please God by his awn Dreams  
& Imaginations, without the Word, the same can never be satisfied,  
nor certainly persuaded, that he pleaseth God, but stil evermore doubt-  
eth & wavereth in mynd, whether he pleaseth God, or no. Which  
what is it else but unfaithfulnes & sin? If this Faith were sowght  
for among men, they doubtles would be more earnestly bent to do the  
works commanded of God, & not so redy to destroy those, that god-  
ly rebuketh Hypocrisie & Wickednes of the World. He *seeketh mer-  
cy*, that considereth the gret mercies of God, shewed hym of God,  
& studyeth to be merciful, as the Heavenly Father is merciful. He  
that doth this, seeketh not to murder his Brother, but rather to save  
his life; not to impoverish & beggar him, but rather to mayntain his  
Substance & Welth. He that doth thus, seeketh not how to flaun-  
dre, backbyte, betray & falsely accuse his neiboure, but as Christ hath  
covered his faults, so spredeth he furth Charitie to his Brother, &  
covereth his faults with charitie, which hydeth the Multitude of sins.  
Briefly, the man that seeketh this Mercy is ful of bowels of pity,  
gentilnes, mildnes, patience, & long suffering; he is even another  
Christ to his Neighbour, doth good to al men, & hurt to no man, &  
evermore seeketh not his awn, but that which pleaseth *Jesu Christ*.  
And as for glorying in his awn merits & works, he cannot but ac-  
knowledgeth the saying of the Apostel to be trew, *What hast thou but  
thou hast received it? If thou receyvedst it, why boostest thou as though  
thou receyvedst it not?* And ageine, *Let him that boosteth, boost in the  
Lord.*

There



There was laid against me another Article of *Hoggard*; Thus. III.  
He said al mens Traditions shal be plucked up by the rote, as Christ  
saith, *Every plant that my Heavenly Father hath not planted, shal be pluck-*  
*ed up by the rote.* This Article said the Bishop of *Sarum* is Anabap-  
tistical. Wel, let it be what ye wil. I nether so spake, nor thought;  
but I said thus indede, Al mens Traditions contrary to the Law of  
God, & to the Doctrine of Christs Trewth, shal be plucked up by the  
rote. For so hath Christ said, *Every Plant that my Heavenly Father* *Mat. 15:*  
*planted not, shal be plucked up by the rotes.* And God hath so  
wrought even before our eyes, that we may se this every day more  
& more fulfilled. The abolishing of the *Romain* Bishop, the Throw-  
ing down of Abbays, the Destruction of Sects, the Putting away of  
pelting Pardons, & the Roting out of Famous Idols, teach plainly,  
that Hevin & Erth may pass, but the Word of God shal not pass.

The Residue of al the *Romain* Impostures must needs fall, though al  
the Papists wold set to their Shuldres, & list & undreprop til thei  
burst. And this I say to you in the Word of the Lord, that the Day *Note this, for*  
wil come, when the very rote of al Popery, even your Masses, wil *yt wil come to*  
be plucked up by the rote; & al the World shal know how shame- *pass, & that*  
fully ye abuse the Holy Supper of the Lord, & how now like Ty- *shortly.*  
rants ye be in persecuting & burning pore men. In that Day wil  
your shaven Crown, the Charact & Mystry of Iniquity cease, accord-  
ing to the saying of *Daniel*, *Cum venerit Sanctus Sanctorum, cessabit*  
*unctio vestra.* And then it shal be *Evangelical* to preach, *Every plant*  
*that the Hevinly Father hath not planted, shal be plucked up by the*  
*rotes:* And not, as the Bishop of *Sarum* saith, *Anabaptistical.* For  
then shal ye no more be called *Lords*; & al your Pomp & Power wil  
have such a Fal, as al the World shal wondre at the sodeyn destru-  
ctyon of *Babylon*, & at the Fal of the shameless Idol *Baal*, & his  
shaven Chapleyns. And as ye have brewed to others, so shal the  
Lord brew to you a bytter fore cup, & avenge upon you the bloud  
of al Rightwyse, that ye have shed from the beginning. In that  
Day the Lord wil shew mercy upon his Church of *England*, & wil  
give them Shephards according to his Wil, that shal teach them the  
Scripture, & not forbid it them. Even such Bishops as are written  
of in *Pauls* Epistles. Then shal your unpure Chastity be known to *1. Tim. 3.*  
be a filthy, wicked & detestable kind of *Sodomitical* Buggerie, & an  
whole Sea of whoredom & unclennes. Then shal Wedlock be hono-  
rable among al men, & the Bed therof holy, pure & undefiled. And  
shameful Whoredom shal be banished owt of Gods Ministers, & owt  
of al good & honest company, & not ouce able to shew her Whorish  
face. Lord *Jesu* arise, & accomplish this shortly. Let not Antichrist  
& his Chapleyns prevail any longer. O Lord, judg thou them, &  
destroy thou them; for their Pride is come up to the Hevin.

They have a Saying, *Malum benè Collocatum non est dimovendum.* An  
*evil wel placed is not to be removed.* This appereth to be the saying of  
some such, as said to *Paul*, *Let us do evil that good may come therof.* *Rom. 3.*  
But let al such take heed what *Paul* testifieth of such, *Their Damna-*  
*tion*, saith he, *is rightwyse.* But by this it appereth, that they them- *The Papists*  
selves think their Popery to be nowght, evil & wicked; yet it may *know their Po-*  
not be towched, because it is wel placed. O Hypocrites, & Placers *pery to be*  
of *nowght.*



of Iniquity! Which wil worship, I think, the Devil himself, if he were wel placed. Is this the Cure of a Bishop, to suffre an Evil wel placed? How agreeth evil with the Holy Church of God? Cal ye that *wel placed*, that standeth in the dispite of God, in the Blasphemy & Dishonor of his name, in the Contempt of his Gospel & Word? God said to *Hieremy*, *I have appointed thee over Nations & Kingdomes, that thou shuldest pluck vp by the rotes, & destroy, & throw down, & build, & plant.* This is the Office of a trew Bishop, to pluck up *Malum bene Collocatum*, & not only to remove it, but utterly to destroy it. And to place instead of yt the holy Word of God. Which as it is the moost precious Treasure that ever was; so at this day (the more pytie) it is but slenderly placed. Wel, you wil not dimove that Evil wel placed: But the Day wil come, that he that holdeth seven starrs in his Right hand, & walketh among the seven golden Candlesticks, wil come swiftly, & remove your Candlestick from his place, except ye repent. And then your *Evil wel placed* shal come to nowght, & perish with the Workers of it. Yet when that Day cometh, remembre, that I, whom you murdered, gave you warning how you might escape that daunger.

Hier. 1.

Apo. 2.

\* Yet I herde  
of it now.  
D. Roylsons.  
Vicar Gale, of  
Howsted in  
Essex.

There cam in ageinst me one Sir *John Massy*, & toke his oth devoutly, that he wold testify but Trewth, & al trewth. What he layd to my charge, I know not. Thes are al the matters they have ageinst me, save that they sough out of the Bishop of *Londons* Register old accusations layd to my charge two yeres agoe, & as truly gathered then ageinst me as the mine Adversaries have gathered now. Notwithstanding the Bishop of *London* then swore by his Baptism I shuld never more here of yt.\*

IV.

The Article then ageinst me was of *Free Wil*. That I shuld then have said, *A man hath no Free Wil to do good.* This I said, & say again, That a Man by the powre & strength of his awn Free wil only, is not able ether to do good, or to think good. But that he may do & think, & long to do ony thing good afore God, the H. Goost must come & create a new Hert, & governe him into al Trewth. Thou art Created, Healed & Saved. Which of all thes hast thou of thy self, O Man? Which of al these ys not impossible for thy Free Wil? Man could not Create himself before he was made, nor Redeme hymself when he was fallen; nor yet can he Conserve & Kepe himself after he is redemed. *Kepe me, O Lord, saith David, for my trust is in thee.* Ageine, *The Lord kepeth thee: the Lord is thy Protection, better than thy right hand.*

Pf. 15.

Pf. 120.

V.

Another Article, *That I spake ageinst the Invocation & Praying to Saints.* As for Invocatyon, which is to desire some good thing that we have nede of to be given us, or that some evil thing, that greveth us, to be taken away from us; this is the Work of the Third Commandment, & so pertayneth to God, that it is not to be given to ony Creature in Hevin & Erth. Saynts of God are right hyly to be prayded, & their Lyvings to be followed. Which the Hypocrits litel regarde. And to desire them to pray with us & for us, I think it after a maner tolerable. But he that never prayeth to them is never the farther from God, so he lean & pray to Christ, in whose name & not in the Saints, we are commanded to make our Prayers.

*Joh. 14, 15, 16.*  
*Chryf. in Mat.*  
*Cap. 23.*

But



But what a preposterous Hypocrisy of Holines is this, to make so much prating of Worshipping Saints, & to despise the Holines that the Saints had in their Lyving? To magnify the Prophets that are Dead, & to persecute the Prophets that are alyve? To laud & extol the Apostels, & to condempn them for Heretiques that teach the Apostels doctrine? Cal ye this Worshipping of Saynts? *Wo to you, Scribes & Pharisees, Hypocrites, that gilde the Sepultures & Monuments of Saints, saying, If we had bene in our Fathers dayes, we wold not have bene their Felowes in the bloudshede of the Prophets. Thus ye witnes, that ye are their Children that flew the Prophets. Fulfill you also the measure of your Fathers. You Serpents, Adders-fry, how wil ye escape the judgment of God?*

I besech thee, Gentil Reader, *Cloth thyself, as an Elect of God, a Col. 3. Saint & Beloved, with bowels of pitye, & kind hert, gentilnes, modesty, & humilitie, patience, long-suffring & charitie, peace, goodly joy, liberalite, faith, meakness, & temperancy.* As for praying to the Dead Saints thou art not commanded, nor counseled in the Scripture. But to have thes Vertues God commanded, saying, *Be ye holy, as I Lev. 19. am holy.* The Unction of God, which teacheth al things, shal also *1. Pet. 1.* teach you what is best, according to the Wil of God. To whom I commend thee.

*Item, Another Article. He spake against Censing in the Church, & other Ceremonies, & against Organs, Calling them Poping; Wherfore what should ye do with them?* VI.

Al the care is to maynteyn & uphold Ceremonies, Images & Singing, & playing on Organs. But as for Gods Word preaching or reading, they care not at al. Thei are like to a Nurse, that taketh away an Apple from a Child, & eateth it herself, & because the Child shuld not cry, she giveth it a Puppet of Clowts to dandle with. Even so thei have taken away the word of God; & because the People shuld not require it agein, they have such stuff in the place of it as is agreable for such Pastours. But let al Hypocrites know, that like as no Christen man but alloweth al goodly Ceremonies, & that are done in an ordre to Edifying, having thes significations declared owt of Gods Word; so nether I, nor none that love God, can allow that the People of God shuld be blindly & ignorantly noseled in ceremonious Superstition, without their dew Instruction to godlynes. And as Psalmes, Hymnes, & Spiritual Songs owght to be songe to the Lord in our herts, & all spirits must prayse God; so dowbtles it is nothing commendable, but utterly to be reproved, that the People shal come to the Churches, & tary there three or four hours, & have nothing tawght them of God, or of his Word, but only here a noise in a forayne tonge, that unneth the Singers themselves understand. Thus did I speak ageynst your Singing, Piping, Censing, & al other your Popery don without fruit, to the dishonor of God, to the hindrance of his Word, to the mayntenance of al Hypocritical Superstition & Papistry.

Another Article. *Item, He spake ageinst Trental Masses, saying, thei profit not Sowles departed.* VII.  
This Article, I think, thei take for my greatest Herefie. For indede this wringeth their God-belly, that his eyes water for pain. Yt is now tyme to loke about, when that

*golden Trental* is towched. This *Trental* is the main Post that upholdeth al the House. Wel, I wil deal gently with you, because when this were gone, a gret many of you might begg. For ye can nether preach nor teach, nor do any other good work to get your Living. And when ye have proved the History of *S. Gregories* mother to be trew, then wil I allow you *S. Gregories* *Trental*. In the mean season I wil exhort al that profes the name of *Jesu* Christ, that they so lyve in this lyfe in the fear of God, & works of his Commandments, that at their deth thei neade not your *Trental*. For sure if thei do, I am afraid they shal purge a good while in Hel, or your *Trental* wil help them.

## VIII.

There was sent for into *Essex* one Mr. *Lefwel*, who herd me preach upon Ester Tuesday was two yere. This man brought in a Byl of report upon my Sermon as here foloweth. “*Syr Robert Wisdome* exhorteth his Parishners to take the Scripture in their hands, when “thei met together on the Sondayes & Holydayes at the Alehouse, “& to talk, & commune, & reason of yt.” This Article I preached & so tawght indede. This is no Heresy. Yea, but said my Lord of *London*, when thei are drunken thei shal unreverently handle the Scripture, & much mischief may come by yt. I answer, I therfore exhorted them to have the Scripture in their hands, that remembring the fear of God, thei might abstain from excess & dronkenship. Nether is it the talking of the Scripture, that bredeth any evil, but the mischevous & malicious herts of Papists & Hypocrites, that cannot abide the Scripture. Their Owlsh eyes wil not suffer them to abide the Light. Their Works are evil, & they wil not come to the light, lest theyr Works shuld be rebuked. But if sometime perchance evil happen among them that have the Word of God present, what Mischef, Abomination, Blasphemies, Detractions, Slandres, Backbyting, Rybaldry, filthy Communication, unclean Gestures, uncheritable Rayling, horrible Othes, & such other Mischef wil be among them that have not Gods Words among them? What is the cause of so many Dronkards, so much Pride, that men set so much by themself, & so litil by God, that they are so Covetous, so puffed up, such shameful Hypocrites, such horrible Swerers, so cursed tonged, so disobedient to their Parents, so unthankful, so ungodly, & unnatural, such Brekers of Promise & Covenants, such Raylers, so Intemperate, so cruel, so neglecting al goodnes, such Traitors & so falseherted to their Prince, so heady in al mischief, so blowen up, such flatterers & lyars, such folowers of beastly lusts, rather than the love of God? Surely nothing else, but that thei have throwen from them the Word of God, & there is no Wisdome in them.

Joh. 3.

*These are the  
frutes of such  
as hate Gods  
Word.*

It is Seditious to rede the Scripture, but to talk of Whordom, of Filthines, of Craft, Mischef & al Ungodlines, doth no hurt at al, say our Hypocrites. But I must needs be an Heretick for exhorting them to the reading of the Scripture, & thei Catholicks that condemn the Scripture. To talk of Christs Deth, Cros, Passion, Resurrection, is seditious: to talk of Uncleannes, & such Filthines as infecteth the very air, is not only tolerable, but also laudable. I preached it even so, & I repent it not: Make on it what yee please.

Another



Another. *Item, he said, I trust to God to se the Day, that Maydes wil sing the Scripture at their Wheles, & Plowmen at their Plow. I thank God, thorow my Lord Jesu Christ, I have sene that Day, & I know husbandmen & men of occupation at this day, as wel seen or better in the Scriptures then a gret many of Priests, yea then some that were Heads, & are called Rabbi, & Master Doctor at every word. The name of God be blessed for it.* IX.

*Item, he said, We have a Lyving Christ, & not a Christ of Clowts.* X.  
 This I said, say, & wil say; my Lord Jesu Christ is risen from the Death, & lyveth, & reyneth Lord & King in the glory of his Father, world without end; able to save, kepe, maintayne & defend al his Servants from Sin, Deth, Devil, Despair, Hel & Damnatyon, & from al evils bodily & gostly; & he is al good, & wil work al things to their Salvatyon that trust in him. And he is able to destroy & punish al his Adversaries with al maner of Plages in their bodies, & with everlasting Damnatyon in their Sowles. And surely so wil he do except thei repent the soner, & ask for mercy. Thei shal know right wel, that he is nothing pleased with ther shameful hypocrisy, & glistering Superstition, nor with the Abhominatyons that reygne in this myserable & wretched World. Thei shal not find him a Christ of Clowts, one that cannot do the Office of God. But as he is God indede, so shal al the Wicked feal his mighty hand & powre, except thei repent. For he shal deliver them unto Wrath, Indignatyon, Tribulatyon, & perpetual Anguyshe & Damnatyon, that shal come up- the Sowle of al that work iniquitie. I trust ye wil let this stand for trewth til another yere.

*Item, he said, That Sowles departed do not come again & walk, & play Bo-peap with us. I said so indede. What is then to be said to such Apparitions as many one have seen in our Days? Surely nothing but the Words of S. Paul; Forasmuch as men receyved not the love of Trewth, that they might be saved, God shal send among them strong illusions, that they may beleve lyes: that thei al may be judged that beleved not the Trueth, but approved unrightwysnes.* XI.  
 We be wondrous careful for dead Saints, for Dead mens Apperings; but that God commaunded, we seek nothing for. They have, said Christ, Moses & the Prophets, let them hear them. Nay, say we, the Dead gosts walk, & we will have an one or other Sir John to conjure them. And then the puling sely goost must have Pilgrimage to this place, or that place, & thus many Trental Masses, & Masses of Scala celi, &c. And to blind the eyes of men, he requireth Almesse to some Convent of Munks & Friers, &c. But thanks to God, ever since the Word of God came in, thei nether be herd nor sene.

As concrening the Place whither the Spirits of men depart, the Scripture saith, that Al Rightwyse shal be with Christ, & the Wicked shal be dampned from the face of God, & the glory of his Saynts. When the ungodli man dieth, there shal be no more recovery, or hope, for him, & the loking of those that are careful for him shal perish. The Rightwyse man shal be delyvered from payne, or sorow. He that beleveth in Christ is not judged, but he that beleveth not is judged alredy. Because he beleved not in the Name of the only Son of God. Agein, He that beleveth the Son, hath eternal lyfe: But he that

De Verb. Ap.  
Serm. 18.

Cont. Pelag.  
Hypog. lib. 5.

beleveth not the Son, shal not se life, but the wrath of God continueth upon him. And S. Austin saith, After this life ther are two dwelling places, one in the everlasting fire, another in the everlasting kingdom. Ageine he saith, First, surely the Catholique Faith, by the divine Autho-ritie, beleveth that ther is the Kingdom of Hevin; from whence, as I have said, he that is not baptized is excepted. Secundly, That ther is Hel, where every one that forsaketh Christ, or els that is not of the Faith of Christ, seaeth by experience that ther are punishments. As for the third place we are utterly ignorant of it; nether find we in the Scriptures that there is ony such. Belike therfore this Purgatory began since S. Austines days, when men were more studious to teak such dead Holynes, than S. Austine was: Whose care was to instruct with Reding, Preaching & Exhorting men in this Life, & not to Mals them, & Trental them, when they be dead.

In Joan.  
cap. 19.

I exhort therfore al Christen men, lyve godly in this life, & loke for the life to come with Christ. And when ony Christen man dieth, Commend his Body to the Erth with honest christen Burial, & his Sowle to God with Psalmes, & devout Prayers, with Almes dedes; which, as Chrysostom saith, shal much profit him, & be an Ornament to him in the holy Resurrection.

XII. Item, That one of us ought to bere anothers burthen. As in the Body the Ecnys strengthen & maintayn the Flesh. This is S. Pauls Doctrin, Rom. 15. Gal. 6. Ephe. 4. Col. 3. And S. Petre, i. Pet. 4. And S. Joan, i. Joan. 3. And S. Jaines, Jac. 2. 3. And S. Jude, i.

XIII. Item, He said, That there was no difference of Meats: But that a man might eat al meats at al tymes. This Article he falsely layeth to my charge. Although by the Scripture it is trew, nevertheles because of Politique ordre, I wold have men not be heady upon flesh at such times as yt is forbydden them. The Kingdom of Hevin is not

Ro. 14.

meat & drink, but rightwisnes, & peace & joy in the holy goost. And certayn, those that thus serve God are accepted afore him. And as they are blameworthy, that without a reasonable nead, breke the publick Order; so are thei as much to be rebuked, that have their

1. Tim. 4.

Consciences so marked with the Iron of scrupulous Superstition, that thei wil not tast an egg for an C pound upon the Friday, or in Lent; no, though the King by Proclamatyon licence his Subjects so to do.

Mat. 15.

Such Hypocrites wil not stick to slandre, backbyte, falsely accuse, & seke ther brothers bloud; & to poll & pill ther neibours, & to begile them. Where in very dede of thes things shuld thei have conscience, & not of that which entreth into the mouth & belly, & is cast owt into the Draught. Christen men (saith Austin) kepe two Fastes at once: that is, abstaining the Body from meat, & the Sowle from wrath, fury, detraction, & blasphemy & brawling. For, as we have before shewed, thes are the Deadly meats, or rather poysons to the Sowle, that feedeth it into evil, & kil it with death everlasting.

De Salut.  
Document.  
cap. 48.

In — Hom. 10.  
cap. 16.

And Origen saith, Wilt thou that I shal shew thee what fast thou art bound to fast? Fast from al yll Dedes. Fast from ill Words: Abstene from evil thoughts.

The Cause of  
al this mat-  
ter, Envy.

Thus have you all the matters, both new & old, that are layd unto me. But yet ther is one, that is the special & only Cause of al my Troble, that is, the gret Envy that myne Adversaries had, that

the



the People so followed me, when I preached. For the Bishop of *Harford* \* said, that it was not for nowght, that so gret resort was to my Sermons, rather than to other better lerned than I, that had not half the Audience. It is, seid he, a token that ye teach some private Doctrin, & not as al other do. I answered, That [I called] God & my Conscience to witnes, I taught never other than that the Scripture of God teacheth. And that have I ever taught to the best of my wyt & connynge. And that it pleased God to move their herts to come, & to give me grace to edify them with his word, I do hartily thank God for yt.

This indede is the very only cause of my punishment. It greved them to se the people so drawn to here me; & I never wold in my Sermons teach such beggery & trash as some of them teach. And *loe!* said thei, *ye se that we profeet nothing at al. Loe! al the world goeth after him. What shal we do? This Fellow hath an exceeding Audience. Yf we let him alone thus, Al wil beleve him.* And so the Council concluded that I must ly by the heles. Wel, thanks to God for his holy hand, & merciful chastisement. And the blessed wil of God be don in me both in life & deth, *Amen*, & Thanks to God.

Now, gentil Reder, I beseeche thee, be strong in the Lord, & in the power of his strength. Arme thee with the Armour of God: & studiously apply the study of Gods Scripture, night & day, that thou mayst be a fruitful Olive tree in the House of the Lord. Pray continually unto the Lord, & without cessing. Desire his mercy to send furth Workmen into his Herveft, & to open the Dore of Faith, that his holy word may yet once have free passage. And pray for me, that al the Wil of God may be perfectly don in me, that I may have strength in his Spirit, that God may be glorified in me. And, yf it be the Lords pleasure, that I may be delyvered from this Hel: as I trust to be, the rather for your Prayers. Let al your Conversation be such as becometh the Children of Light, in al Sobrietye, Rightwisnes & Godlines; as ye have ever be taught by the holy Gospel of Christ. And as I have ever admonished & warned you, Walk wisely, because of such as yet are estranged from the Trewth; & Redeme the tyme, for the Dayes are evil. Let your Words & Talk be evermore powdered with grace, & Beware what ye speake, & to whom. Do good to al men, especially to such as are of the Household of Faith. Knowing, what you do to the littil ones, you do it to Christ. Salute one another with the holy Kifs. This is my Salutatyon to al that love the Lord *Jesu* unfainedly. Peace be to the Brethren, & Love with Faith, from God the Father, & the Lord *Jesu* Christ. The grace of our Lord *Jesu* Christ be with you al, *Amen*.

Sent from Lollards Towre by Robert Wisdome,  
Prisoner of Jesu Christ.

## NUMB. CXVI.

*Edicta Stephani Vintonienſis Episcopi, Cancellarij Cantabrigienſis, de Pronuntiatione Linguae Græcæ & Latinæ.*

Joann. Cheki,  
De Pronuntia-  
tione.

**S**TEPHANUS Wintonienſis Episcopus, Academia Cantabrigienſis Cancellarius, cum meâ tum Senatus uniuerſi aucthoritate Legitima, Rogatione ad me delata quid in Literarum ſonis, ac Linguae tum Græcæ tum Latinæ pronuntiatione, ſpectandum, ſequendum, tenendum, ſic itaq; Edico :

Quisquis noſtram Poſtatem agnoſcis, ſonos, literis ſive Græcis ſive Latinis, ab uſu publico præſentis ſæculi alienos, privato iudicio affingere ne audeto.

Quod uero ea in re maior Aucthoritas edixerit, jufferit, præceperit, id omnes amplectuntor, & obſervanto.

Diphthongos Græcas, nedum Latinas, niſi id Diæreſis exigat, ſonis ne diducito, neve diuellito. Qualitatem uſu alteri Vocalium prærogativam ne adimito. Sed ut marem ſceminæ dominari ſinito. Quæ uero earum in communione ſoni uſu convenerunt, ijs tu negotium ne faceſſito.

At & ε, α & α ab ι ſono ne diſtinguito. Tantum in Orthographia diſcrimen ſervato. Η, ι, υ uno eodémq; ſono exprimito. Cuiusq; tamen propriam in Orthographia ſedem diligenter notato.

In ς & γ, quoties cum diphthongis aut Vocalibus ſonos ι aut ε referentibus conſonantur, quoniam a Doctis etiamnum in uſu variantur, alijs denſiorem, alijs tenuiorem ſonum affingentibus, utriúq; Pronuntiationis, modum diſcito : Ne aut horum aut illorum aures offendas ; néve de ſonis litem inutiliter excites. Cæterum, qui in his ſonis a pluribus receptus eſt, illum frequentato.

B literam ad Exemplum noſtri B, ne inſpiſſato, ſed ad imitationem V conſonantis mollius proferto.

Literas π & τ, item γ & ς, pro loco & ſitu alios atq; alios ſonos adimere memento. Itaq; τ & π, tum demum β, quum proximè locantur hæc poſt μ, illa poſt ν, hic locis uidelicet litera τ referat noſtrum D, π uero B noſtrum exprimat.

Litera porro γ cum proxima ſedem occupet ante ς, χ, aut aliud γ, huic tu non ſuum, ſed ſonum ν literæ accommodato.

Ne multa. In ſonis omnino ne philoſophator, ſed utitor præſentibus. In hijs ſiquid emendandum ſit, id omne aucthoritati permittito. Publicè uero profiteri quod ab aucthoritate ſancita diuerſum, & conſuetudine loquendi recepta alienum ſit, nefas eſto.

Quod hic exprimitur, id Conſuetudini conſentaneum ducito, hætenusq; pareto.

Siquis autem, quod abominor, ſecus fecerit, & de ſonis (re ſanè, ſi ipſam ſpectes, leuicula, ſi Contentiones inde natæ indignitatem, non ferenda) Controverſiam publicè moverit, aut obſtinato animi Propoſito, receptum a plerisq; Sonorum modum abrogare aut improbare perrexerit ; quive ſciens prudens ad hoc data opera, quod hic ſancitum



ſancitum eſt, verbo factõe publico, palam contempſerit, hunc hominem, quiſqꝛ is erit, ineptum omnes habento ; & a Senatu, ſiquidem ex eo nuinero jam fuerit, is qui auctoritati præeſt, niſi reſipuerit, expellito. Inter Candidatos verò ſi ſit, ab omni gradu honoris arceto. Ex plebẽ autem Scholarium ſi fuerit, quum ita haberi id ei commodo eſſe poſſit, pro Scholari ne cenſeto. Puerilem deniq; temeritatem, ſiquid publicẽ auſa fuerit, domi apud ſuos caſtigari curato.

Postremò, Vicecancellarius & Procuratores, quæ hic præſcripta ſunt, ne contemnantur, neve Ediçto fraus aliqua fiat, pro modo Jurisdictionis ſinguli, providento.

Ab his ſiquid adverſum hæc admiſſum ſit, aut omiſſum, Mulcta eſt quam dixerit Cancellarius.

In ſumma, hoc Ediçtum omnes ſacroſanctum ita habento, ut nec Contumaciũ remiſſum, nec reſipiſcentiũ ſeverum, eſſe videatur. Datum Londini 18 Calend. Junias, Anno Domini 1542.

### N U M B. CXVII.

*Stephen L. Biſhop of Wincheſter, & Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, to Dr. Edmunds, his Vicechancellor. Reproving the Universities neglect in obſerving Lent : & requiring the obſervation of the Order for pronouncing Greek.*

**M**R. Vicechancellor. After my right hearty commendations ; Ye ſhal underſtand I have been advertiſed, how divers of the Regents of that Univerſity, who ſhould rule, & be good examples to others, have the Lent laſt paſt very diſſolutely uſed themſelves in eating of fleſh. Which fault how it hath been puniſhed here, I am ſure, ye have heard. Wherein I have been noted a great advancer, & ſetter forth of that puniſhment. Which rumor albeit it be not true, & that indeed the Kings Maſteſty himſelf, with the adviſe of the reſt of his Councel, did earneſtly proſecute, as the effect hath ſhewed in ſome that miſorder : Yet nevertheles becauſe the fault is greater in Scholars, than in others, & eſpecially called to the ſtate of Regents ; I cannot quietly paſs over, & neglect this Information, having ſo apparant & manifeſt truth, as it hath been brought to light ſundry wayes, as this Bearer can inform you. Unto whom, I pray you, give credence therin. Wherefore, I pray you, travail with me for reformation. Which I would have ſo uſed as the matter might be puniſhed without increaſe of the ſlander, which might do hurt to the whole Univerſity. And therefore I have deviſed & thought good, that ye ſhould ſecretly ſpeak with ſuch as be noted faulty, & induceing them to confeſs their fault, & pay ſome fine, by your diſcretion, to be taxed to the uſe of the Univerſity : So to diſmiſs them without further publiſhing of their names. Wherin I would ye uſed ſuch temperance, as the paine were not contemned, ne the party grieved aboute his aſtate. But I wil have it in any wiſe puniſhed :  
for

C. C. C. C. Li-  
brary. Miſcel.  
Cantabr.

for I wil not suffer the University with these dissolute manners to be corrupt. Londs have not been given, ne Lectures founded for any such evil purpose. If the offenders wil have pity of themselves, & their own fame, & so privily & secretly with you submit themselves to punishment, I wil gladly bear with them. But otherwise this charitable way not regarded, I wil procede to an open inquisition, & note the fault where I find it. I am not desirous to know their names, but onely to understand from you, that by payment of the taxation the matter is punished. Wherof, I pray you, certify me as shortly as ye shal have done any thing in it.

The last year, by consent of the whole University, I made an order concerning pronounciation of the *Greek* tongue, appointing paines to the Transgressors, & finally to the Vicechancellor, if he saw them not executed. Wherin, I pray you, be persuaded, that I wil not be deluded & contemned. I did it seriously, & I wil maintain it. If you se the transgressors punished, I have cause to be contented: but otherwise I intend in you, & the Proctors persons, to use mine authority, given me by the University: wherunto I trust yee wil not enforce me. To be Chancellor of the University is onely Honor, which by contempt is taken away. And I wil beware to give any man cause to contemn me. What information I have I wil not write: but by that I shal see henceforth, I wil believe that is past. How necessary it is to bridle the arrogance of youth, the experience of your years hath, I doubt not, taught you. And it would much grieve me privately to have any variance with you, with whom I have had so old acquaintance. Which cannot be, if ye suffer them not by toleration to hope more of you, then ye would avow they should.

The Kings Majesty hath, by the inspiration of the holy Ghost, componed al matters of religion: Which Uniformity I pray God, it may in that, & al others things, extend unto us: & forgetting al that is past, go forth in agreement, as tho there had been no such matter. But I wil withstand fancies even in Pronounciation, & fight with the enemies of Quiet at the first entry. Wherfore I pray you, Master Vicechancellor, look earnestly on these matters, & give me cause, by your industry, to rejoyce in the University: & onely to care for acquieting our matters with the Town. Wherin, I trust, ye shal have good speed by the grace of God: Who send you hartily wel to fare. At the Court, 15 May.

Anno 1543.

Your assured loving friend,

*Ste. Winton.*

N U M B.



## N U M B. CXVIII.

John Lelands *Newyears gift to K. Henry, in the 35 year of his Reign.*

**W**Heras it pleased your Highnes, upon very iust Considerations, *Ex Balzo.* to encourage me, by the auctorite of your most gracyous Commyssion in the xxxv year of your most prosperous Reygn, to peruse & dylygentie to search al the Lybraries of Monasteryes & Collegyes of thys your Noble Realm; to the entent that the Monuments of auncyent Writers, as wel of other Nacyons as of your own Provynce, myght be brought out of deadlie darknes to lyvelie Lyght, & to receyve lyke thanks of their posteritie, as they hoped for at such tyme, as they employed theyr long & great studyes to the publyque Wealth: Yea, & furthermore, that the holy Scripture of God myght be syncerely taught & learned, al maner of Superstycyon, & crafty-coloured Doctryne of a rowt of *Romayne* Bysshoppes, totally expelled out of this your most Catholyque Realme: I think it now no less than my very dewtie, brevely to declare to your Majestie, what frute have spronge of my laborious journey & costly enterprise, both rooted upon your infynyte Goodnes & Lyberalyte, Qualities ryght hyghly to be esteemed in al Prynces, & most specyally in Yow, as naturally your own wel known Proprietes.

First, I have conserved many good Authors, the which otherwise had bene lyke to have peryshed, to no final incommodite of good Letters. Of the which, part remayne in the most magnificent Lybraries of your Royal Palaces: Part also remayne in my Custodie. Wherby I trust ryght shortly so to describe your most noble Realm, & to publysh the Majestie of the excellent Acts of your Progenitours, hytherto fore obscured, both for lack of emprynting of such Works as lay secretly in Corners; as also because men of Eloquence hath not enterprised to set them fourth in a floryhing style, in some tymes past not commenly used in *England* of Wryters, otherwyse wellearned: & now in such estymacyon, that except Truth be delicately clothed in purple, her wrytten Verytees can scant fynd a Reader. That al the World shal evydently perceyve, that no particular Region may justely be more extolled than yours, for true Nobyltye & Vertues at al poynts renoumed.

Farthermore, Part of the Exemplaries curiously sought by me, & fortunately found in sondry places of this your Domynion, hath bene emprynted in *Germany*, & now be in the Presses chefely of *Frobenius*: that not alonely the *Germans*, but also the *Italians* themself, that count, as the *Grekes* did ful arrogantly, al other Nacyons to be barbarous & unlettered, saving their own, shal have a direct occasyon openly of force to say, that *BRITANNIA prima fuit parens, altrix, addo hoc etiam, & jure quidem optimo, Conservatrix, cum Virorum magnorum, tum maxime Ingeniorum*: that is, *Britain was the first Mother, Nurse, & I adde (& that deservedly) Maintainer as of great Men, so of great Wits especially.*

T t t t

And

And that profyt hath ryfen by the aforefaid Journey, in brynging ful many thyngs to light, as concernyng the usurped Autoryte of the Byffhop of Rome & hys Complices, to the manyfest & vyolent derogacyon of kyngly dygnyte; I referre my self moft humbly to your moft prudent, lerned, & hygh judgment, to dyferne my dylygence in the long Volume, wherein I have made answer for the Defence of your *Supreme Dygnyte*, alonely leaning to the strong pillar of holy Scripture, agaynst the whole College of *Romanyffs*, clokyng their crafty Assercyons & Arguments undre the Name of one poor *Pighius of Ultrajest* in *Germany*: & standyng to them as to their only anchorhold agaynst Tempests that they know wyl aryse, yf Truth may be by lycence let in, to have a Voyce in the General Council.

Yet herein only I have not pytched the supreme Work of my labour, wherunto your Grace, moft lyke a kyngly Patron of al good Learning, did anymate me: But also consyderyng & expendyng with my self, how great a numbre of excellent godly Wyts & Wryters, learned with the best, as the Tymes served, hath bene in this your Region; not only at such tymes as the *Roman* Emperors had recourse to it, but also in those days that the *Saxons* prevayled of the *Brytayns*, & the *Normans* of the *Saxons*; I could not but with a fervent zeale & an honest Courage, commend them to Memory: Els alas! lyke to have bene perpetually obscured, or to have bene lyghtly remembred, as uncerteyn shaddows.

Wherfore I, knowing by infynite Varyete of Bokes, & assyduous reading of them, who hath bene learned, & who hath wrytten from tyme to tyme in this Realm, have digested into four Bokes the names of them, with their Lyves & Monuments of Learning. And to theym added thys Tyle, *De Viris illustribus*: Following the profytable example of *Hierome*, *Gennadie*, *Cassiodore*, *Severian*, & *Tritemie*, a late Writer. But alway so handlyng the matter, that I have more expatiated in thys Camp, than they did, as in a thyng that desyred to be sumwhat at large, & to have ornature. The first Boke, begynnyng at the *Druides*, is deducted unto the tyme of the comyng of *S. Augustyne* into *England*. The second is from the tyme of *Augustyne* unto the Advent of the *Normans*. The third from the *Normans* to the end of the most honorable Reygn of the myghty, famous & prudent Prynce *Henry VII.* your Father. The fourth begynneth with the name of your Majesty, whose glory in Learning is to the world so clearly known, that though emong the Lyves of other learned men, I have accurately celebrated the names of *Bladudus*, *Molmutius*, *Constantinus Magnus*, *Sigebertus*, *Alfridus*, *Alfridus Magnus*, *Athelstanus*, & *Henry* the first, Kyngs & your Progenytours: And also *Ethelward*, second Son to *Alfride* the Great, *Humfryd*, Duke of *Glocester*, & *Tipetote*, Earl of *Worcester*; Yet conferred with your Grace, they seem as smal Lyghts (yf I may freely say my judgment, your hygh Modesty not offended) in respect of the Day star.

Now farther to insinuate to your Grace, of what matters the Writers, whose Lyves I have congefted into four Bokes, hath treated of: I may ryghtly say, that besyde the Cognycyon of the four tongues, in the which part of them hath excelled, that there is no kynd of lyberal scyence, or any feat concernyng learnyng, in the which they have



have not shewed certain Arguments of great felycite of Wyt. Yea, & concerning the interpretacyon of holy Scripture, both after the auntyent form, & synce the scholastical trade, they have reigned as in a certayn excellency. And as touching Historical knowledg, there hath bene to the nombre of a ful hundreth or mo, that from tyme to tyme, hath, with great dyligence, & no lesf sayth, wold to God with lyke Eloquence, prescribed the Acts of your most noble Predecessors, & the Fortunes of this your Realm so incredybly great, that he that hath not seen, & throughly redd theyr Works, can lytle pronounce in thys part.

Wherfore, after that I had perpended the honest & profytable studyes of these Hyfstoryographers, I was totally enflamed with a love to se throughly al those parts of thys your Opulent & Ample Realm, that I had redd of in the aforefayd Wryters. Insomuch that al my other Occupacyons intermytted, I have so travayled in your Domynyons, both by the Sea coasts, & the myddle parts, sparyng neyther labour nor costs, by the space of these fix years past, that there is almost neyther Cape nor Bay, Haven, Creke or Pere, Ryver or Confluence of Ryvers, Breches, Washes, Lakes, Meres, Fenny Waters, Mountaynes, Valleys, Mores, Hethes, Forests, Woods, Cityes, Burghs, Castels, pryncypal Manor-places, Monasteries & Colleges, but I have seen them; & noted in so doing a whole World of thyngs very memorable.

Thus instructed, I trust shortly to se the Tyme, that like as *Carolus Magnus* had, among his Trefures, thre large & notable Tables of Silver ychly enamaled, one of the Syte & Description of *Constantynople*, another of the Syte & Figure of the Magnificent Cyty of *Rome*, & the thyrd of the Descrpcion of the World; so shal your Majestie have thys your World & Impery of *England* so set fourth in a quadrate Table of Sylver, yf God send me lyfe to accomplysh my begynnyng, that your Grace shal have ready knowledg, at the fyrst syght, of many right delectable, fruteful, & necessary pleasures, by Contemplacion therof, as often as occasyon shal move you to the syght of it. And becaute that it may be more permanent & farther known, than to have it engraven in sylver or brass, I entend, by the leave of God, within the space of twelve monthes following, such a Description to make of your Realm in Wryting, that it shal be no Mastery after, for the Graver or Painter to make the lyke by a perfect Example.

Yea, & to wade further in thys matter, Wheras now almost no man can wel guesse at the shaddow of the auntyent names of Havens, Ryvers, Promontories, Hills, Woods, Cyties, Townes, Castels, & Varyete of kynds of People, that *Cesar*, *Livy*, *Strabo*, *Diodorus*, *Fabius Pictor*, *Pomponius Mela*, *Plinius*, *Cornelius Tacitus*, *Ptolomeus*, *Sextus Rufus*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Solinus*, *Antoninus*, & dyvers other make mencyon of; I trust to open this wyndow, that the lyght shal be seen so long, that is to say, by the space of a whole thousand years stopped up, & the old glory of your renoumed *Britaine* to refflorish through the World.

This don, I have matter at plenty already prepared to this purpose, that is to say, to wryte an Hyfstory; to the which I entend to ad-

scribe this Title ; *De Antiquitate Britannica*, or els, *Civilis Historia*. And this Work I entend to divide into so many Bokes, as there be Sheres in *England*, & Shyres & great Domynions in *Wales*. So that I esteeme that this Volume wyl enclude a fyfty Books. Wherof each one severally shal contayn the Begynnyngs, Encreases & memorable Acts of the Chief Townes & Castels of the Provynce allotted to it.

Then I entend to dysstrybute into fyx bokes such matter as I have already collected, concernyng the Isles adjacent to your noble Realm, & undre your subjection. Wherof three shal be of these Isles, *Vecta*, *Mona*, & *Menavia*, sometime Kingdoms.

And to superadd a Work as an Ornament, & a ryght comely Garland, to the entrepryses aforeseyd, I have selected stuff to be distributed into three Bokes, the which I purpose thus to entytyle, *De Nobilitate Britannica*. The fyrst shal declare the Names of Kings & Quenes, with theyr Chyldren, Dukes, Earles, Lords, Captaynes, & Rulers in this Realm, to the Comyng of the *Saxons*, & their Conquest. The second shal be of the *Saxons* & *Danes*, to the Victory of Kyng *Wylliam* the Great. The thyrd from the *Normans* to the Reygn of your most noble Grace, descendyng lyneally of the *Brytayne*, *Saxon*, & *Norman* Kings. So that al Noblemen shal clerely perceyve theyr lyneal Parental.

Now yf it shal be the pleasure of Almyghty God, that I may lyve to perfourm these thyngs that be already begon, & in a great forwardnes, I trust that thys your Realm shal so wel be known, ones paynted with hys natyve Colours, that the Renoun therof shal geve place to the glory of no other Regyon. And my great Labours & Costs, procedyng from the most habundaunt Fountayn of your infinite Goodnes towards me, your pore Scholar & most humble Servaunt, shal be evydently seen to have not onely pleased, but also profyted the studyous, gentyl & equal Reders. This is the brief Declaration of my *Laborious Journey*, taken by mocyon of your Hyghnes, so much studying at al hours about the fruteful preferment of good Letters & aunycient Vertues.

Christ contynue your most royal Estate, & the Prosperyte, with succession in Kingly Dygnyte, of your dere & worthyly beloved Son Prynce *Edward*, grauntynge you a numbre of Pryncely Sons by the most gracyous, benigne & modest Lady, your Quene *Kataryne*.

N U M B.



## N U M B. CXIX.

*A Benevolence granted to the King by the Subjects, upon Commission to al the Counties. 36<sup>o</sup> H. VIII. Ann. 1544.*

| Counties.                     | Benevolence. |    |    | Counties.          | Benevolence. |    |    |
|-------------------------------|--------------|----|----|--------------------|--------------|----|----|
| <b>C</b> estr. cum civit. - } | 640          | 6  | 8  | Dorset - -         | 1418         | 3  | 4  |
| Bedd. - - -                   | 1100         | 0  | 0  | Surr. - - -        | 2453         | 15 | 2  |
| Buck. - - -                   | 1261         | 18 | 8  | Sussex - -         | 2379         | 5  | 2  |
| Bristol - -                   | 365          | 11 | 4  | Southt. - -        | 1443         | 0  | 4  |
| Cant. - - -                   | 1788         | 14 | 10 | Warr. - - -        | 1641         | 16 | 4  |
| Hunt. - - -                   | 650          | 13 | 8  | Leic. - - -        | 629          | 14 | 0  |
| Cornub. - -                   | 643          | 2  | 0  | Wilts - - -        | 1769         | 5  | 8  |
| Cumbr. - - -                  | 57           | 15 | 8  | Wigorn - -         | 1573         | 12 | 0  |
| Devon - - -                   | 4527         | 2  | 4  | Civit. London      |              |    |    |
| Essex - - -                   | 5251         | 18 | 0  | Ebor - - -         |              |    |    |
| Hertf. - - -                  | 680          | 18 | 0  | Northumbr. -       |              |    |    |
| Glouc. - - -                  | 2528         | 19 | 4  | Westmerland -      |              |    |    |
| Hereff. - -                   | 1155         | 12 | 8  | Dunolm - - -       |              |    |    |
| Kant - - -                    | 6471         | 8  | 0  |                    |              |    |    |
| Lanc. - - -                   | 660          | 2  | 2  | <i>WALLIA.</i>     |              |    |    |
| Lincoln - -                   | 2176         | 15 | 8  | <b>A</b> ngleff. - | 195          | 13 | 10 |
| Midd. - - -                   | 2386         | 9  | 0  | Brecon -           | 161          | 01 | 8  |
| Monmouth -                    | 233          | 12 | 0  | Cardigan - -       | 186          | 1  | 4  |
| Northt. - -                   | 2108         | 16 | 4  | Carmarthen -       | 218          | 12 | 4  |
| Nott. - - -                   | 432          | 2  | 4  | Carnarvon -        | 136          | 13 | 0  |
| Derb. - - -                   | 438          | 9  | 4  | Denbigh - -        | 332          | 9  | 11 |
| Norff. - - -                  | 4046         | 7  | 0  | Flint - - -        | 163          | 19 | 0  |
| Suff. - - -                   | 4512         | 6  | 1  | Glamorgan -        | 316          | 13 | 0  |
| Oxon - - -                    | 1241         | 14 | 0  | Merioneth -        | 108          | 16 | 4  |
| Berk. - - -                   | 1407         | 2  | 10 | Mountgomery        | 114          | 11 | 8  |
| Rutland - -                   | 136          | 0  | 0  | Radnor - -         | 77           | 13 | 4  |
| Salop - - -                   | 875          | 14 | 4  | Pembr. - -         | 341          | 16 | 0  |
| Staff. - - -                  | 464          | 4  | 2  | Haverfore West     | 91           | 0  | 0  |
| Somerfet - -                  | 6807         | 13 | 4  |                    |              |    |    |
|                               |              |    |    | Sum. Total.        | 70723        | 18 | 10 |

MSS. D. G.  
Hicks, Eq. aur.  
& Bar.

## NUMB. CXX.

*Catalogus Tractatum ac Fœderum cum Ferdinando Hispano, cum Cæsare, & Rege Gallo, a Rege HENRICO VIII. initorum, seriatim dispositus.*

## I. Cum Ferdinando Rege Castellæ.

Anno Reg. HENRICI VIII. 2<sup>do</sup>.

Annoq; Dom. 1510.

E. Biblioth.  
Cotton.  
Caligula,  
E. I.

**T**RACTATUS Pacis & Ligæ Ferdinandi Reg. & Joannæ Regin. Castellæ cum Henrico Rege Angliæ. *Westmonast.*

Confirmatio Tractatus Ligæ & Pacis Reg. Ferdinandi & Reginæ Castellæ. *Westm.*

Commissio Ferdinandi Reg. Castellæ ad tractand. Pacem cum Reg. Hen. VIII. 6. Januarij. *Westm.*

## II. Cum Cæsare.

Anno Reg. HENRICI VIII. 2<sup>do</sup>.

Annoq; Dom. 1510.

**C**onfirmatio Tractatus Pacis fact. per Cæsarem Maximilianum cum Henr. VIII. Rege Angliæ. Dat. 12. Octobr. *Westmon.*

Anno Reg. HENRICI VIII. 5<sup>to</sup>.

Annoq; Dom. 1513.

Tractatus Pacis & Ligæ inter Oratores Serenissimi Pontificis, Imperatoris, Henr. 8. Reg. Angliæ, & Regis Hispaniæ conclus. Dat. - - - 1513.

Quoddam Fœdus de Matrimonio contrahendo inter Carolum Principem Hispaniarum, & Mariam Sororem Reg. Henrici, incipiens Maximilianus, &c. 15. Nov.

Confirmatio Tractatus Amicitæ inter Maximilianum Imperatorem, & Henricum VIII.

Acquietantia Maximiliani Imperatoris de Receptione 10000 Coronarum Auri de Rege Hen. VIII.

Confessio de receptione 3000 Coronarum Auri per Anthonium Fauconbergh Dnum. de Ligne, 27. Maij.

Quidam Tractatus habitus in Oppid. Insularum, Dat. 16. Octobr. Incipiens Nos Margareta, &c.

Confirmatio Tractatus Maximiliani Imperatoris cum Hen. VIII.

Ratificatio



Ratificatio certorum Articulorum conclusorum inter *Maximilianum Imperatorem Romanor. Henric. VIII. & Ferdinand. Reg. Arragonia.*  
Dat. *London. in Castro Bernardi* 18. April.

Confirmatio Tractatus habiti in Oppid. Insularum die 17. Octob.  
inter *Maximilianum Imperatorem & Regem Angliæ & Regem Arragonia.*  
Dat. 17. Octobr.

Juramentum *Ludovici Carroze* pro parte *Ferdinand. Regis Arragonia,*  
& *Regin. Castellia,* quod bene & fideliter observabunt Tractatum Amicitia, & singula Capitula in eodem Tractatu content. cum Illustriss.  
*Hen. 8. Reg. Angliæ.* Dat. *London. in Castro Bernardi,* 18. Apr.

Anno Regis HENRICI VIII. 13<sup>o</sup>.

Annoq; Dom. 1521.

Requisitio *Caroli Imperatoris Henrico VIII. Reg. Angliæ* fact. pro observatione Fœderis inter ipsos habit. contra *Franciscum Gallorum Regem.*

Transumptum Tractatus Pacis init. & fact. inter *Carolum Imperatorem Electum, & Francorum Regem Calixijs* 1521. mediante Reverendmo. Dno. Cardinali Locumtenente Regis *Henr. VIII.*

*Carolus Quintus Imperator* queritur de diversis Injurijs sibi illatis per *Franciscum Francorum Reg. & rogat villam Fontrabi* sibi restitui; alioquin bellum denunciet adversus *Gallos*; fœdere in hoc jungens cum *Hen. VIII. Reg. Angliæ.* Dat. 6. Dec.

Commissio pro contrahendis sponsalibus cum Dna. Principissa. Dat. *Brug.* 15. Aug.

Ratificatio Conventionis Dnæ. *Margaretæ* de dote Dnæ. Principissæ. Dat. 14. Sept.

Instrumentum *Cæsaris* super Conventionem servand. per Dnam. *Margaretam* factam.

Protestatio Reverend. Dni. Cardinalis de non recedendo a Fœdere *Bruges* fact.

Tractatus *Calixæ* fact. per Oratores *Hen. 8. & Caroli Electi* contra *Gallorum Regem, & alios, ipsorum Dominia detinentes.*

Commissio facta Dno. Cardinali ad tractand. de Pace & Amicitia inter Imperatorem & *Franciscum Reg. Francia.* Dat. *London.* 29. Julij.

Procuratorium *Cæsareæ* Majestatis pro tractand. de judicijs. Dat. 6. Decemb.

*Non ultra procedunt Negotiationes inter Regem Angliæ & Imperatorem in hoc MS.*

### III. Cum Galliarum Regibus.

Anno Regis HENRICI VIII. 1<sup>mo</sup>.

Annoq; Dom. 1509.

JURamentum Regis *Francorum* super observationem Pacis & Amicitia.  
Juramentum Oratorum ejusdem Regis in *Anglia* super observationem. Pacis & Amicitia eodem anno.

Anno

Anno Regis HENRICI VIII. 2<sup>do</sup>.

Annoq; Dom. 1510.

Instrumentum submissionis *Ludovici* Regis *Francorum*: Per quam recognovit se debere *Hen. VIII. Reg. Angliæ* quod restat insolutum de Summa 120000 Coronarum Auri de Arreragijs debitis *Edwardo Reg.* quondam *Angliæ*.

Anno Reg. HENRICI VIII. 3<sup>o</sup>.

Annoq; Dom. 1511.

Receptio 13000 Coronatorum *Franciæ* de *Francisco [Ludovico] Rege Francorum* solut. *Richardo Carewe* Locumtenent. *Villæ Calisiæ*, Decemb. 9.

Anno Reg. HENRICI VIII. 6<sup>to</sup>.

Annoq; Dom. 1514.

Juramentum Matrimonij contracti per verba de presenti inter *Ludovicum Francorum* Regem & *Dominam Mariam*, Filiam *Hen. VII.*

Tractatus Matrimonij inter *Lodovicum Francorum* Regem, & *Dnam. Mariam. Hen. VII.* Filiam contrahend.

Verba Matrimonialia signata manu Reg. *Francorum* inter eam & *Dnam. Mariam* filiam *Hen. VII.*

Literæ Patentes Dotis Reg. *Franciæ* 8. Octobr.

Confirmatio Tractatus Matrimonij inter *Lodovicum Francorum* Reg. & *D. Mariam* prædict.

Instrumentum Juramenti *Lodovici Francorum* Reg. super observatione Tractatus Pacis & Amicitiae præstiti.

Tractatus Pacis cum *Lodovico Francorum* Reg. 14. Septembr.

Literæ Acquietantiales *Lodovici Francorum* Reg. super Deliberatione *Dnæ. Mariæ* una cum *Jocalibus*, *Vasis argenteis*, &c. in villa *Abbeville*.

Obligatio Oratorum *Lodovici Francorum* Reg. 7. Aug.

Tractatus Amicitiae inter *Lodovicum Francorum* Reg. & *Hen. VIII. Angliæ* Reg. 7. Aug.

Commissio *Lodovici Franc.* Reg. fact. Oratoribus suis pro Obligatione fienda.

Juramentum *Lodovici Francorum* Reg. super observatione Tractatus Pacis & Amicitiae.

Commissio ad Tractandum de Pace 29. Julij.

Commissio *Lodovici Francorum* Reg. ad Contrahendum Matrimonium cum *Mariæ* Sorore *Hen. VIII.* 19. Julij.

Commissio *Lodovici Fran.* Reg. ad tractandum & concludend. cum *Hen. VIII.* super Matrimonio contrahendo, 8. Aug.

Obligatio *Lodovici Franc.* Reg. facta *Hen. VIII.* pro Solutione summæ unius millionis, five decies centum millium Coronarum Auri, 14. Sept.

Commissio



Commissio ad tractandum super Pacem. fact. per *Franciscum Francorum* Reg. 13. Januarij.

Commissio ad tractandum pro obligatione facienda, 14. Januarij.

Anno Reg. HENRICI VIII. 7<sup>mo</sup>.

Annoq; Dom. 1515.

Confirmatio Pacis & Amicitiae per *Franciscum Franc.* Reg.

Instrumentum publicum super praestacionem Juramenti *Francorum*.

Instrumentum submissionis fact. per *Franciscum* Reg. *Francorum* pro una Millione auri solvend. certis modis & formis.

Obligatio *Ludovici* [*Francisci*] Reg. *Franc.* pro Pecunia solvenda, 8. Maij.

Juramentum Reg. *Franc.* manu sua signatum super Observatione Amicitiae.

Intimatio de Comprehensione *Scotorum*, 6. Junij.

Obligatio Oratorum Reg. *Franciae* pro solutione unius Millionis Auri.

Anno Reg. HENR. VIII. 10.

Annoq; Dom. 1518.

Tractatus Matrimonij inter Delphinum & D. *Mariam*, London. 4. Octob.

Commissio pro Sponsalibus contrahend. inter Delphin. & D. *Mariam Andegaven*. 31. Julij.

Commissio *Francisci* *Francor.* Reg. ad perficiend. Sponsalia inter Delphinum & *Mariam*.

Instrumentum super Pollicitatione Sponsalium contrahendorum inter Delphin. & Dnam. *Mariam*.

Confirmatio Tractatus Matrimonij inter Delphin. & *Mariam*.

Instrumentum super Juramentum Matrimonij per Reg. *Francor.* praestitum, una cum Originali eidem annex. manu dicti *Franc.* Reg. signat.

Commissio *Francor.* Regis *Francisci* pro Sponsalibus, *Angiers*.

Instrumentum Sponsaliorum.

Ratificatio Regis *Francorum* super Tractatu habit. & conclus. cum suis Oratoribus de mutuo Colloquio habendo int. Reges *Angliae* & *Franciae*, 21. Dec.

Confirmatio Tractatus pro Depraedationibus int. Reges *Angliae* & *Franciae* coercent.

Tractatus Depraedationis, 4. Octobr.

Tractatus mutui Interventus, & mutui Colloquij utriusq; Principis.

Juramentum pro Observatione Tractatus Depraedationum una cum Originali per Dominum Reg. signatum.

Tractatus Amicitiae & Pacis *Londini* inchoat. cum Oratorib. Reg. *Angliae*.

Commissio ad liberandum & tradendum certos Nobiles *Franciae* Obsides, 13. Januarij.

Juramentum [Instrumentum] super Juramento Pacis manu *Francorum* Reg. signat. eidemq; annex.

U u u u

Commissio

Commissio Reg. *Francorum* de & super mutuo Conventu & Colloquio : Ac de Loco, Tempore, Modo & Forma : & similiter de Numero & Qualitate Personarum.

Instrumentum super Juramento per Reg. *Francorum* præstito super materijs concernentib. Reg. & Regnum *Scotiæ*.

Tractatus & Confœderatio generalis Pacis & Concordiæ int. Illustriss. *Angliæ* & *Franciæ* Reges, & *Romanum* Pontificem, pro Expeditione in *Turcas*, *Londin*.

Confirmatio Tractatus pro redditione Civitatis *Tornacensis* cum suis Appenden. 16. Dec.

Instrumentum super Confessione receptionis Civitatis *Tornacensis*.

Instrumentum super Juramento Tractatus *Tornacen.* una cum Originali annex. manu Regis *Franciæ* signat.

Commissio ad tractand. pro liberatione Civitatis *Tornacen.* 31. Julij.

Tractatus *Tornacensis*.

Articulus Comprehensionis *Scotorum*.

Obligatio facta per *Franciscum Francor.* Reg. *Hen.* VIII. pro solutione 60000. Coronarum Auri. *Parisijs*, 12. Januarij.

Commissio *Francisci Francor.* Reg. ad tractand. de Amicitia cum Oratoribus Reg. *Angliæ*. ult. Julij.

Articuli Recessus manibus *Francor.* Reg. subscript. *Parisijs*, 12. Januarij.

Commissio *Francisci Francor.* Reg. fact. *Gasparo de Coligny* Marechallo *Franciæ* ad tractand. cum Oratoribus *Hen.* VIII. pro receptione Villæ, sive Civitat. *Tornacen*.

Commissio *Gaspari de Coligny* facta *Ludovico Proisy* Ballio de *Tournay* ad recipiend. villam Civitat. & Castrum de *Tournay*, Seynt *Amande*, & *Morteigne*.

Potestas data per *Gasparum de Coligny* au Mons. *Hodyn*. pro deliberatione Villæ de *Mortayne*.

Protestatio facta Tempore liberationis Villæ de *Mortaigne*.

Instructions given to the Bishop of *Rocheſter*, the Earl of *Somerſet* Captain of *Calais*, & other Ambassadors, on the behalf of the King of *England*, to treat with the Ambassadors of *France*.

Anno Reg. HENR. VIII. 11.

Annoq; Dom. 1519.

Confirmatio Tractatus mutui Colloquij Principum apud *Guynes*.

Commissio & Procuratio *Francor.* Reg. fact. Dno. *Wolſey* Cardinali de mutuo Colloquio & Præſentia Dnorum. Regum in Campo juxta *Guynes*, 10. Januarij.

Commissio *Francor.* Reg. fact. Dno. Cardinali *Ebor.* ad tractand. & concludend. cum *Hen.* VIII. super modo & forma & loco Colloquij mutui. Dat. 23. Febr.



Anno Reg. HENR. VIII. 12.

Annoq; Dom. 1520.

Articuli & Capitul. tractatus inter Reges *Angliæ* & *Franciæ* una cum schedula annex. Jurament. præstit. per dict. *Francor.* Regem sua propria manu subscript. Dat. 6. Junij.

Literæ Christianiss. Regis *Franciæ* ad Hen. VIII. de permutatione Obsidum, Febr. 4.

Confirmatio Reg. *Gallorum* fact. super quibusdam Articulis Tractatus Belli Offensivi.

Anno Reg. HENR. VIII. 13.

Annoq; Dom. 1521.

Commissio ad Dnum. Cardinalem existen. in Villa *Calis* ad arctiorem Amicitiam & firmiorem Treugam percutiendam inter Hen. VIII. & Regem *Franciæ*, 29. Julij.

Commissio fact. Dno. Cardinali Locumtenent. in villa *Calis* de arctiori Fœdere concludend. inter Hen. VIII. & *Franciscum* Reg. *Franciæ*, 29. Julij.

Commissio fact. Dno. Cardinali ad tractand. de Pace & Amicitia inter Imperatorem & *Franciscum* Reg. *Franciæ*. Dat. *Londin.* 29. Julij.

Promissio facta per Cæsaream Majestatem, quod non concludet de re aliqua cum Rege *Franciæ* absq; consensu Regis *Angliæ* & N. Papæ, quousq; plenarie conclus. foret de Pace & Amicitia. Dat. 15. Julij.

Literæ Patentes Reg. *Gallorum*, quibus ostendit illum non solum esse paratum stare arbitrio & judicio Hen. VIII. Reg. *Angliæ* in compositione de Pace inter illum & Regem *Castiliæ*; ac etiam de mittendis Oratoribus *Calet* pro tractand. & concludend. eadem Pace. Dat. 1. Julij.

Requisitio facta per Reg. *Gallorum* pro bello movendo contra Cæsaream Majestatem juxta effectum Tractatus *Londin.* editus contra Invasores. Dat. 23. Januarij.

Anno Reg. HENR. VIII. 17.

Annoq; Dom. 1525.

Tractatus Deprædat. apud *Moore*, 30. Aug.

Confirmatio Tractatus pro Deprædationibus inter Regem *Angliæ* & *Franciæ* coercent.

Confirmatio *Francorum* Reg. super Tractatu Deprædationum apud *Moore*, 30. Aug.

Instrumentum super Confessione obligat. duorum Millium demsi, 11. Aug.

Tractatus Amicitiae cum *Francisco Gallorum* Reg. moderno initus.

Juramentum *Francisci Francor.* Reg. pro Observatione Tractatus Pacis.

Obligatio Civitatis *Aurelianae*, 3. Maij.

Confirmatio Tractatus pro Arreragijs solvend. apud *Moore*.

Literæ *Francisci* Reg. Confirmatoriae Pacis manu sua propria scriptæ.

U u u u 2

Confirmatio

Confirmatio Tractatus Obligationis apud *Moore* fact. per Illustrissim. *Lodovicum Francorum* Reg.

Tractatus Obligationis pro Solutione Pecunarium apud *Moore*, 30. Aug.

Confirmatio Tractatus *Lodovicæ* tam super Dote *D. Mariæ* Reg. *Francor.* solvend. quam pro Arreragijs ejusdem apud *Moore*, 30. Aug.

Juramentum Oratorum *Francorum* Reg. super Observatione Tractat. Pacis.

Obligatio Dnæ. *Lodovicæ* Regentis *Francia* de novis literis obligatorijs per Reg. *Francorum* conficiendis, *Lugduni*, 30. Sept.

Obligatio *Francor.* pro summa duorum Millionum Coronarum Auri de Sole. *Baione*, 17. Martij.

Tractatus Pacis & Amicitiae inter *Lodovicum Francor.* Reg. & *Hen. VIII.* apud *Moore*, 30. Aug.

Commissio Dnæ *Lodovicæ* Regent. *Francia* pro concipienda Obligatione.

Commissio Dnæ. Regentis *Francia* de tractanda Pace cum Oratorib. *Hen. VIII.* 9. Junij.

Obligatio Dnæ. *Ludovicæ* Regentis *Francia* de Tractatu Pacis per Regem confirmand.

Juramentum *Ludovicæ* Regentis *Francia* pro Observatione Tractat. Pacis.

Confirmatio Tractatus Pacis per Dnam. *Ludovicam* Regent. *Francia* apud *Moore* fact. Aug. 30.

Confirmatio Articuli de Duce *Albania* per *Ludovicam Francor.* Regentem.

Tractatus de Duce *Albania*, quod non intrabit *Scotiam*, durante minore ætate Regis *Scotia*, 30. Aug.

|           |                                                             |                                         |
|-----------|-------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| Obligatio | {                                                           | <i>Burdugallia</i> , 7. Martij.         |
|           | <i>Caroli</i> Ducis <i>Vandosme</i> , 29. Septembr.         |                                         |
|           | <i>Caroli</i> Comitis <i>Brienne</i> , 1. Octobr.           |                                         |
|           | <i>Ludovici</i> Comit. de malo <i>Leparario</i> , 1. Octob. |                                         |
|           | <i>Ducis Longaville</i> , 17. Septemb.                      |                                         |
|           | <i>Comitis S. Pauli</i> .                                   |                                         |
|           | <i>Dom. Laurentij</i> , 28. Sept.                           |                                         |
|           | <i>Civitatis Rothomagen.</i> 7. Martij.                     |                                         |
|           |                                                             | <i>Civitat. Lugdunensis</i> , 20. Oct.  |
|           |                                                             | <i>Civitat. Rhemensis</i> , 5. Novembr. |

Confirmatio per Dnam. *Ludovicam* Qualificationis Articuli Comprehensionis Reg. *Scotorum*, 30. Aug.

Confirmatio Tractatus Declarationis alternativæ, & quonam pacto Rex noster contribuet pro Bello inferendo contra Cæsarem. In quo & confirmatur Tractatus Obligationum duorum Millionum, 30. Aug.

Tractatus de Douagerio Dnæ. *Mariæ* apud *Moore*, 30. Aug.

|           |                                           |                                        |
|-----------|-------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| Obligatio | {                                         | <i>Civitat. Tholosa</i> , 3. Octobr.   |
|           | <i>Cardinalis Burbonia</i> , 26. Sept.    |                                        |
|           | <i>Civitat. Ambianensis</i> , 3. Nov.     |                                        |
|           | <i>Civitat. Parisiensis</i> , 24. Januar. |                                        |
|           | <i>Civitat. Turonensis</i> , 7. Martij.   |                                        |
|           |                                           | <i>Dni. de Montmorentio</i> , 6. Sept. |



Anno Reg. HENR. VIII. 18.

Annoq; Dom. 1526.

- Tractatus Reciprocae Obligationis *Francorum* Regis, 8. Aug.
- Confirmatio Tractat. reciprocae Obligationis *Francor.* Regis, 20. Aug.
- Commissio pro Tractatu mutuae & reciprocae Obligationis, 2 Junij.
- Confirmatio Regis *Gallorum* super Tractatu Pacis factae inter Oratores Regentis *Franciae* & Hen. VIII. 15. Apr.
- Commissio *Francisci Francor.* Reg. pro tradendis & recipiendis Literis confirmatorijs Pacis & Amicitiae ac Obligationum, 2. April.
- Confirmatio Tractat. concernen. Ducem *Albaniae*, 15. Apr.
- Instrumentum super praestationem Juramenti per Reg. *Gallorum* pro observatione Tractatus Pacis.
- Literae Patentes *Francisci Francor.* Reg. super Qualificatione Comprehensionis *Jacobi* Reg. *Scotorum*, 15. Apr.

Anno Reg. HENRICI VIII. 19.

Annoq; Dom. 1527.

- Tractatus Belli Offensivi inter *Angliam* & *Franciam* pro redemptione Filiorum Reg. *Gallorum*, 30. April.
- Tractatus arctioris Conjunctionis inter Regem *Angliae* & *Franciae*, *Westmonast.* habit.
- Confirmatio Tractat. Pacis & Amicitiae, *Ambiani*, 18. Aug.
- Tractatus perpetuae Pacis habit. *Westmonast.* inter Reg. *Angliae* & *Franciae*, Apr. 30.
- Tractatus Continuationis belli contra *Flandros*, 9. Maij.
- Confirmatio { Tractatus Belli Offensivi *Parisi*. 8. Junij.
- Tractatus arctioris Commutationis *Parisi*. 8. Junij.
- Tractat. perpetuae Pacis, 18. Aug.
- Tractat. de Generali Concilio non indicendo.
- Tractat. propter privilegia Mercatorum *Anglorum* in Regno *Franciae*, 18. Aug.
- Commissio { *Francisci Francor.* Reg. ad Tractand. pro Bello *Flandriae* per aliqua tempora supersedenda, & pecuniam quam ibi expositurus erat alibi exponend.
- Regis Christianissimi ad tractand. de modo & forma gerendi Bellum contra Caesarem.
- Regis *Francor.* pro Libertatibus & Privilegijs Mercatorum *Angliae* concedend.
- Ad communicand. & concludend. de privilegijs *Anglis* mercatorib. concedend. Dat. *Compendij*, 25. Sept.
- Pro tractat. arctioris Commutationis, & alijs Tractatibus, 3. Apr.
- Juramentum Reg. *Gallorum* super observatione quorundam Tractatum, Viz. Tractat. arctioris Commutationis, & Belli offensivi, *Parisi*.

Juramentum

Juramentum per Reg. *Gallorum* præstitum super observatione Tractat. perpetuæ Pacis, 15. Aug.

Instrumentum Juramentorum *Francor.* Regis & Reverendiss. Dni. Cardinalis *Ambiani* præstiti. Dat. *Ambiani*, 18. Aug.

Instrumentum act. nostri de juramento per Reg. *Gallorum* præstito, *Parisijs*, 9. Junij

Commissio ad vidend. jurament præstit. de fœdere perpetuæ Pacis observandæ, & ad tradend. Ratificationem ejusdem, 25. Sept.

Articulus de Relatione Tractatum. *Westmonaster.* 30. Apr.

Acquietatio *Anthonij* & *Joannis de Cavelerei* pro portione 60000 l. 17. Sept.

One Acquittance of 64444 Crowns of the Sun contributed for the Wars in *Italy*, for the Months of Novemb. & Decemb.

Tractatus Pacis & Amicitia habitus inter *Franciscum*, & *Hen. VIII.* Dat. *Ambiani*, 18. Aug. sub sigillo aureo, & remanet adhuc in una Cista in inferiori Thesauria infra Abbatiam. *Westm.*

Commissio ad incarceratos deliberandos, 19. Julij.

Commissio in qua Cardinalis *Ebor.* fit Locumteneus Regius: Cui datur Potestas conveniendi & concludendi Pacem & Amicitiam cum Rege *Francia*, *Cæsare* & *Venetis*, 18. Julij.

Commissio *Hen. VIII.* facta Dno. Cardinali ad tractand. super quocumq; Fœdere cum *Francorum* Rege, cum *Venetis*, pro resarcienda *Romanæ* Sedis Dignitate, 18. Junij.

Anno Reg. HENR. VIII. 20.

Annoq; Dom. 1528.

Commissio Regis Christianiss. pro Quietantia dand. 22. Octob.

Confirmatio Induciarum Reg. Christianiss. *Parisijs*, 23. Junij.

Confirmatio Tractatus Commutationis a partib. *Flandriæ* in *Italiam*.

Commissio Archiducissæ *Austriæ* fact. *Dominico de Mendoza*, Episcopo de *Burges*, *Gulielmo de Barras* a Secretis ejusdem *Margaretæ*, ad tractand. & concludend. tam cum *Francor.* Rege quam *Hen.* Octavo de Abstinencia Guerræ inter dictos Principes, 12. Maij.

Commissio *Hen. VIII.* facta *Thomæ* Cardin. *Ebor.* ad tractand. cum Oratoribus *Francor.* Regis, de Abstinencia Guerræ, 19. Maij.

Tractatus Pacis & Amicitia factus & conclus. per Oratores *Francor.* Regis, & *Hen. VIII.* 19. Maij.

Conclusio Pacis & Amicitia inter Reg. *Angliæ*, *Francia* & Imperatorem fact. per *Joannem de Bellay*, Episcop. *Baion.* Ambassiatorem *Francorum* Reg. 12. Maij.

The Copy of the French Kings Treaty, with one other Writing. In the same Box.

Anno Reg. HENR. VIII. 21.

Annoq; Dom. 1529.

Instrumentum quoddam super traditione cujusdam Monilis, sive Jocalis *Francisci* Reg. *Francor.* in speciem floreni Lillij, fact. pro summa 444000 Coronarum Auri de Sole, *Maximiliano* [*Carolo*] pignori. Dat. *Lond.* 18. Februar.

Instrumentum



Instrumentum *Francisci Francor.* Reg. *Hen. VIII.* fact. de restituendo Monili, sive Jocali aureo, si Imperator *Carolus* denegaverit deliberationem Liberorum dict. *Francisci* intra spacium semestree.

Tractatus inter Oratores *Francisci Francorum* Regis & *Hen. VIII.* de recipiendo dicto *Francisco* sufficientes Obligationes pro solutione 50000 Coronarum de Sole: Unde conjunctim cum Oratorib. prædict. *Hen. VIII.* constituit *Cuthbertum* Episc. *Londonensem* ad recipiend. obligationes. Dat. 18. Februar.

Commissio pro Sale singulis annis juxta Conventum in ea parte præstand. de Dat. 30. Januar.

Commissio *Francisci Francor.* Reg. fact *Wilhelmo de Bellay* Cubiculario suo & *Johanni Joachim* Oeconomo suo, ad tractand. cum *Hen. VIII.* pro relaxatione ejusdem Pensionis 47368 Coronarum Auri Solis debit. mensibus Maio & Novembri, 29. Januar.

Tractatus pro debita Solutione annuæ Pensionis Salis, 18. Febr.

Obligatio *Francisci* Reg. *Francorum* pro Solutione 552000 Coronarum, casu quo perpetua Pax ex parte dict. Regis non observetur, 29. Jan.

Anno Reg. H E N R. VIII. 22.

Annoq; Dom. 1530.

Commissio ad tractand. de commutatione Salis in annuam nummariam Solutionem, *Burdugalliæ*, 16. Junij.

Instrumentum Acquietationis *Caroli* Imperatoris per *Hen. VIII.* fact. de 10000 l. si idem Imperator deliberaverit Filios Regis *Franciæ*, & non aliter, 30. Junij.

Tractatus Commutationis Salis in Nummariam annuam Solutionem, Dec. 2.

Confirmatio Tractat. Commutationis Pensionis Salis in nummariam Solutionem.

Anno Reg. H E N R. VIII. 24.

Annoq; Dom. 1532.

Commissio ad petendum Literas Confirmatorias Tractatus ad mutuam Dignitatem Regnorum, Subditorum & Rerum omnium utriusq; Principis Defensionem & Conservationem conclus. & similes Literas Confirmatorias tradendas & deliberandas. Dat. 4. Julij.

Tractatus arctioris Commutationis. *Lond.* 23. Junij.

Confirmatio Tractatus arctioris Commutationis, *Vilocherin.*

Pañum inter utrumq; Principem conclus. pro Bello contra *Turcam* inferendo, *Caleti*, 28. Octob.

Qualificatio Expensarum pro Bello inferendo contra *Turcam*. *Caleti.*

Anno Reg. H E N R. VIII. 38.

Annoq; Dom. 1546.

Commissio *Francorum* Regis ad tractand. cum *Hen. VIII.* super perpetua Pace & Amicitia, 21. Apr.

Commissio

Commissio ad petend. Literas confirmatorias Tractat. perpetuæ Pacis ex parte *Angliæ* Reg. tradi, & ad tradend. & deliberand. Literas Confirmatorias ejusdem Tractatus ex parte Regis *Franciæ*.

Commissio *Francor.* Regis ad recipiend. Juramentum Reg. *Angliæ* super observatione perpetuæ Pacis.

Commissio ad prorogandum præstationem Juramenti in longiorem terminum. Dat. 8. Julij.

Tractatus perpetuæ Pacis & Amicitiae, Junij 7.

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Literæ Patentes Oratoris Christianiss. Regis, quibus apparet dict. Oratorem fateri se recepisse Literas Confirmatorias perpetuæ Pacis 7. Junij. conclus. sub magno Sigillo & Manu Reg. *Angliæ* signat. Dat. *London*: 17. Julij.

Conventio & Concordatio, ut dies ad requirend. Juramentum pro observatione Tractat. perpetuæ Pacis 7. Junij 1546. præstand. per utrumq; Principem limitatus, ad viginti amplius dies prorogetur, *London*, 17. Julij.

Commissio ad petend. pecunias debitas D. *Hen. VIII.* Reg. *Angliæ* pro Redemptione *Joannis* olim *Francorum* Reg.

Instrumentum autenticum super Juramento præstito per *Francorum* Reg. de observatione Tractat. perpetuæ Pacis & Amicitiae, de Dat. 7. Junij.

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- Numb. II.* King *Henry* to his Ambassador in *Flanders*, Dr. *Knight* : In behalf of *Thomas Barnaby* Merchant.
- Numb. III.* King *Henry* to his Ambassadors, Sir *Edward Ponyngs*, and Mr. *William Knight*, with the Prince of *Castile* : For Satisfaction to be demanded, for staying of a Merchant-man, put in by strefs of Weather into *Zealand*.
- Numb. IV.* The Constables of *Tournay*, being the Yeomen of the Kings Guard there, to Cardinal *Wolfey*, & the Privy Council : Certifying the great Hardships & Inconveniences they must undergo, if, according to a late Order, their Wages should be altered from Quarterly, to Half-yearly Payments.
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- Numb. VI.* The Lord *Mountjoy* and the Council at *Tournay*, to Cardinal *Wolfey* : Upon his Information of an Enterprize intended against that Place.
- Numb. VII.* A private Combination of *France*, *Denmark*, & *Scotland*, of Invading *England*, & Attacking *Tournay* : Discovered to Sir *Richard fernegan*
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- Numb. IX. A Commission of Cardinal *Wolfey* to the Bishops ; To require all *Luthers* Books to be brought in, & delivered up to them, from all Persons whatsoever. And they to send them to him.
- Numb. X. *Fox* Bishop of *Winchester* to the Cardinal : Upon his Purpose of Reforming the *Ecclesiasticks* and *Religious* in both Provinces. For which he sheweth an earnest Desire, as highly necessary.
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- Numb. XIII. Instructions by the King, for Mr. *Pace*, sent to the State of *Venice*.
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- Numb. XXXI.* *Cardinal Wolsey* to Secretary *Gardiner* ; To inform him of the Kings Consultation concerning him.
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- Numb. XXXIV.* The Cardinal to the Secretary ; To be his Friend in a Suit with Mr. *Strangwish*, for 700 l. which the Cardinal owed him. Written from *Southwel*.
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- Numb. XLVII.* A Letter of one Friar *Laurence*, written to *Crumwel* ; Concerning the Divorfe ; & the Favour of some Friars of *Greenwich* to Q. *Katharines* Cause.
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- Numb. LXIV.* The Proposals, called the Petitions of John *Frederick*, Duke of *Saxony*, and Philip Landgrave of *Hesse* : Given to the Kings Ambassadors ; In order to a League.
- Numb. LXV.* The Opinion of Stephen Bishop of *Winchester*, concerning the Articles presented to the Kings Highnes by the Princes of *Germany*.
- Numb. LXVI.* The Answer of the Kings Ambassadors, made to the Duke of *Saxony*, and Landgrave of *Hesse*.
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*Numb. LXX.* *Ryche*, the Kings Solicitor, to the King. His Advice concerning taking Possession of the Goods and Jewels of *Katharine* Princess Dowager, deceased.

*Numb. LXXI.* The Lady *Bryan*, Governess to the Lady *Elizabeth*. Her Letter to the L. *Crumwel*, from *Hunsdon*. For Instructions concerning the said Ladies Household & Table: After the Death of Q. *Anne* her Mother.

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- Numb. CXVII. *Stephen L.* Bishop of *Winchester*, & Chancellor of the University of *Cambridge*: To *Dr. Edmunds* his Vicechancellor: Reproving the Universities Neglect, in observing Lent, & requiring the Observation of the Order for pronouncing *Greek.*
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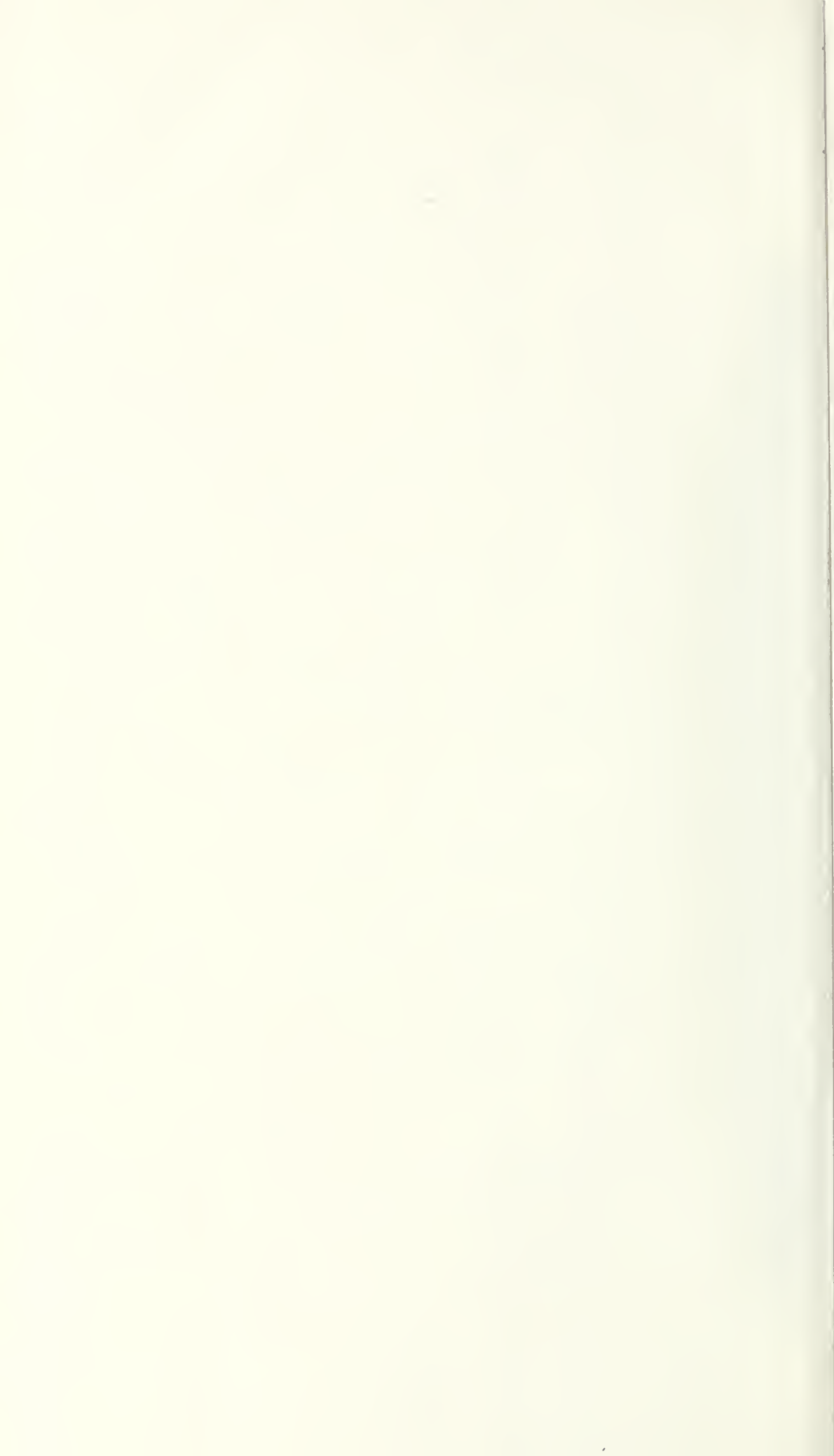
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